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ARCHIVES

OF

ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE.

Henry R Schoolcraft.

9268

INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES of the UNITED STATES:

Collected and prepared under the

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT L.L.D.

Mem: Royal Geo. Society, London. Royal Antiquarian Society, Copenhagen. Ethnological Society, Paris. &c &c.

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PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

ARCHIVES

OF

ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE.

CONTAINING ALL THE

ORIGINAL PAPERS LAID BEFORE CONGRESS

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, LANGUAGE, ETHNOLOGY, PICTOGRAPHY,
RITES, SUPERSTITIONS, AND MYTHOLOGY,

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, LL.D.

With Illustrations.

Onaindun ih ieu muzzinyegun un.—ALGONQUIN.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOLUME VI.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1860.

INSCRIPTION.

TO THE

CHEVALIER C. C. J. BUNSEN, D. C. L., &c.,

OF PRUSSIA,

AUTHOR OF THE "PHILOSOPHY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY;"

RECENT MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA AT
THE COURT OF LONDON,

&c. &c. &c.

TO

JAMES BUCHANAN, ESQ.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sir:

The first part of this work having been addressed to the President of the United States, and by him communicated to the Senate, it is deemed proper that the generalizations of the volumes should take the same direction.

The Indian tribes constitute an anomalous feature in our history. Recognised as a strongly-marked variety of mankind, they appear to be branches of oriental stocks, who relapsed into the nomadic state at primeval periods, and of whom no records, either oral or written, can now be found, to guide the labors of the historian. We are, in truth, better acquainted with the history of the antediluvians than with that of these tribes. Their geographical position, and their prior occupation of the continent, constitute the basis of an appeal to our benevolence; and they have a just claim on our nationality, which it were wrong to deny, and cruel to reject.

In 1847, Congress recognising this relation, and being desirous of giving certitude to the scanty information then possessed respecting them, directed the statistics of the tribes to be collected and published, together with such other facts as might serve to illustrate their history, condition, character and prospects; thus presenting them to the public in their true light — neither overrated by exaggeration, nor underrated by prejudice.

Whatever relates to their actual history, as distinguished from their traditions, oral imageries, and cosmologies, must necessarily be of modern origin. The detailed narrative of aboriginal modern history has been traced, in chronological order, from the earliest debarkations of white men in Florida, Louisiana, and New Mexico, to the marked epoch of 1776; thence, through the twelve years, comprised within the revolutionary epoch and confederation, to 1789; and from the adoption of the present Constitution, through the consecutive thirteen presidential terms, of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren.

As a slight introduction to the details of their statistics, a sketch of their ancient status has been attempted. With the Indian the past has ever been a conjectural era: he regards it as a golden age; it is the dream-land of his fertile imagination; and his ideas of it are generally found, upon analyzation, to be derived from oral traditions, reminiscences, or fabulous inventions. Success in the pursuit of inquiries in this ancient historical field can only be attained through the medium of the languages and antiquities, and the study of the mental constitution and general ethnological phenomena of the race—all demanding the most mature labor and research.

Trusting that the desiderata here offered may have the tendency to direct public attention to the tribes, and merit and receive your consideration,

I am, with high respect,
Your obt. servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

REPORT.

To the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Interior Department.

Washington, *October 30th*, 1857.

Sir:

Conformably to a provision contained in the act of March 3d, 1855, I now report to you that the generalizations required by that act have, so far as time permitted, been completed. Owing to inherent difficulties the statistical inquiry has, from its inception, been one of *ora et labora*. Both the Indian and the local officials have been either adverse to the object, imprecise in their statements, or generally indifferent to the investigation, but yet, notwithstanding every discouragement, the tables now submitted, which are the result of elaborate researches, are believed to be more accurate and comprehensive than any previously obtained. They are entirely freed from those duplications of synonyms, and exaggerations of estimates, which have been inseparably connected with the topic during the lapse of two centuries. By my letter of the 10th of February last, the office was apprized of the impossibility of compressing all the necessary condensations and synoptical papers within the present limits; nor has it been practicable, notwithstanding the elisions, abridgements, and segregations made, to present more than a sketch of their ethnography.

It was essential that a summary narrative of the modern history of the tribes should be submitted, which carries this subject down from the earliest times to the period of the annexation of Texas, when a more completely nomadic and predatory class of tribes were brought into intercourse with the government. The admission of Texas was but the prelude to the subsequent acquisition of New Mexico, California, and the Pacific coasts, to the Straits of Fuca; thus extending the national jurisdiction over the wide area of the Indian territory, from Oregon east to the Missouri river. Most of these tribes furnish but trifling information that could be embraced under the head of statistics. Roaming over vast areas, cultivating little, and often failing by their exertions to secure the scant means of subsistence, their very existence as tribal communities presents a problem which is somewhat difficult of solution. White men, who possessed industry, care, and foresight in such a limited degree, would certainly perish. Destitute of arts or agriculture, possessing no domestic animals, and nothing at all that deserves the name of a government, it should excite no surprise that public sympathy is frequently appealed to on their behalf, to avert from them the impending horrors of pestilence or starvation. Nearly all the tribes who shelter themselves in the gorges, or wander over the summits of the Rocky Mountain chain, are, to a greater or less extent, robbers, thieves, and bandits.

With this class of tribes our intercourse has ever been imperfect and tardy; and we are mainly indebted to the potency of the military arm, for the power to resist their fierce inroads, and keep them in actual check. The difficulties of a system of management, so perplexing at all times, is increased at such remote points, on a continually progressive frontier, by the fluctuations incident to the organization of the department, and the changes in its subordinate officials. Much of the country is a terra incognita, and some of the agents located at remote points have not been in a position to report at all. Most of the tribes, conscious of having but little to exhibit, have been unwilling to report their condition.

If but scanty information regarding their resources and means has been obtained from the nomades of the prairies and mountains, it may tend to relieve the disappointment, to say, that but little was expected from these predatory and furtive tribes. From the other class, comprising the older tribes of the Union, whose appellatives have been the familiar by-words in our frontier history during two centuries, and who have fled from the Atlantic to the Alleghanies, and thence to the Mississippi, as civilization pressed on in their rear, very different details have been gleaned. Participating in the benefits derivable from attention to labor and the arts, from equal laws and general instruction, they have, as the enlarging circle of civilization advanced, embarked in agricultural life with more or less avidity and success, adopted pastoral habits, and accepted education, as well as the principles of social life. They now prominently stand forth as a body of firm and sober-minded men, ready to move forward in the path of progress, and to enter on the noble career of civil and social life. Such are the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Creeks and Cherokees.

Reference to details will denote the distinguishing classes of the aboriginal tribes. All the most advanced tribes have passed through the trying ordeal of our colonial history, subject to the triple discouragements of indulgence, and the cupidity and contempt of European races. Foremost in the band of reclaimed aborigines stands the Appalachian group above named; and there is no just reason to conclude that the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and other advanced members of the three great ethnologic groups, may not attain equal prominence in morals and industry.

It is desirable that the hiatus in the history, from 1841 to the present time, should be supplied. It would also tend to fulfil a high object, interesting alike to America and Europe, if curt vocabularies and grammars of the several languages were prepared, by means of which their ancient history, and former connection with other races of the globe, might be investigated.

Very respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

To J. W. DENVER, ESQ.

PREFACE.

THE Indians have been prejudged, misjudged, and subjected to harsh judgments in various ways. Respecting the origin of the tribes, and the manner in which the continent may have been peopled, Charlevoix, in 1721, after an elaborate examination of all that had been written on the subject, expresses the opinion that "we seem to be just where we were before this great and interesting question began to be agitated." He thus affirms the universality of their manners: "To see one, is to see all."

A century later, viz: in 1826, an astute observer and fluent writer, who has since attained eminence as a statesman, lays especial stress on that general uniformity of traits and character, and rigid adherence to preconceived standards of manners, customs, and institutions, which so characteristically marks the race. At their discovery, he remarks.

"From Hudson's Bay to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, the country was possessed by numerous petty tribes, resembling each other in their general features, separated into independent communities, always in a state of alarm and suspicion, and generally on terms of open hostility. These people were in the rudest state of society, wandering from place to place, without science, without arts (for we cannot dignify with the name of arts the making of bows and arrows, and the dressing of skins). They were without metallic instruments, without domestic animals; raising a little corn by the labors of their women, with a clam-shell, or the scapula of a buffalo; devouring it with savage improvidence, and subsisting, during the remainder of the year, on the precarious supply furnished by the chase, or by fishing. They were thinly scattered over an immense extent of country, fixing their summer residence upon some little spot of fertile land, and roaming with their families, or their mat, or skin houses, through the forests, in pursuit of the animals necessary for food and clothing.

"Of the external habits of the Indians, if we may so speak, we have the most ample details. Their wars, their amusements, their hunting, and the most prominent facts connected with their occupation and condition, have been described with great prolixity, and, doubtless, with much fidelity, by a host of persons, whose opportunities for observation have been as different as the times and places, and the eras in which they have written. Eyes have not been wanting to see, tongues to relate, nor pens to record, the incidents which from time to time have occurred. The eating of fire, the swallowing of daggers, the escape from swathed buffalo skins, and the juggling incantations and ceremonies by which the lost is found, the sick is healed, and the living killed, have been witnessed by many, who believed what they saw, but who were grossly deceived by their own credulity, or by the skill of the Indian wabeno. But, of the moral character and feelings of the Indians, of their mental discipline, and their peculiar opinions, mythological and religious, and of all that is most valuable to man, in the history of man, we are about as ignorant as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence."

Such was the state of society in which the aborigines were found, and such have the wild foresters remained to the present day. To enlarge the record from which the tribes must be judged; to ascertain their names, numbers, position, and statistics; to mitigate error, and induce precision; and to bring into one comprehensive view a body of fresh and authentic facts, derived from personal observation, which might be useful alike to the statist and moralist, appeared, in the year 1837, to be an object worthy the attention of the national legislature. Congress did not merely require a record of arithmetical figures, to decide the relative numbers between the sum total and the divisor of a tribe's annuity — but sought also to control its appropriation, and to direct it to objects suited at once to arrest their extinction, to promote their well-being, and advance in the scale of life.

No general history of the tribes has been written. The numerous local histories, prolix in themselves, commonly begin and end with a limited geographical boundary, or the hunting-grounds of a tribe, or family of analogous bands. The New England tribes have been most frequently associated in this view. The Indian is a man who has but little respect for artificial boundaries, or indeed for any kind of limits to his freedom of geographical action; while all observers bear testimony that he exhibits, over vast areas, the same features, manners, customs, and physical traits of a national race.

Of the numerous local publications referred to, Mr. Colden's History of the Five Nations is by far the most comprehensive, clear, and exact. It is only to be regretted that the narrative terminates in 1698, with the period of the treaty of Ryswick, at which time William and Mary were seated on the British throne. The opening of the eighteenth century was, in fact, the period from which these confederated tribes assumed their most formidable power. In 1712, they were joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, who constituted the sixth member of the confederacy. During a period of forty years, while the head-quarters of the British superintendency of Indian affairs in North America was located in their territories, they were most important auxiliaries to the British armies in their contests with New France, and served reputably in the final conquest of it in 1760.

The Iroquois power had virtually predominated over all the tribes from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, with the exception of the Appalachian group. This power had apparently originated in extensive ancient Indian wars, and in the overthrow of populous tribes, considerably advanced in arts and industry, who were located in the Mississippi valley. The influence acquired during three centuries prior to the landing of the English in Virginia, had placed them in such an impregnable position, that no single tribe could cope with them. Their power was strengthened and their influence extended by the deference paid to them by the colonies, which became most obvious during the long-protracted contest for supremacy in America, waged between England and France. The brief period which elapsed between 1760 and 1776, was employed to invigorate and consolidate their confederacy by a closer alliance with the British, with whose commanders and their forces they became favorites. When they had reached the culminating point of their history, they were, with the exception of one tribe, namely, the Oneidas, impelled, with bitter and desolating force, against the Americans. The triumph of the Revolution was, however, the tocsin of their defeat, and resulted in the tacit dismemberment of the time-honored Onondaga league. A few decades they lingered on in a state of political inaction, dwelling on reminiscences of the glory of former days. The war of 1812, in which they were urged to participate by Great Britain, found them indisposed to engage in a second contest. Tecumseh had no aid from the Iroquois. The war-paths of olden times were obliterated; symbolically speaking, their ears were sealed; and, when that contest closed, they forever laid aside the warlike hatchet, and turned their attention to agriculture. The tomahawk was exchanged for the plough, the school-house, and the Gospel.

The other stocks of Indians who, next in order to the Iroquois, figured prominently on the continent, were the Algonquins and Appalachians. The Algonquins were ever the staunch friends and allies of the French. They defeated Braddock on the Monongahela, and secured success for the arms of Montcalm on the waters of Lake George. The Appalachians, who had successfully opposed De Soto, maintained their position in the south. Clinging to the coast lines of the Gulf of Mexico as their inheritance, they, by their activity and bravery, repelled the repeated Spanish invasions. There was still another stock, residing on the banks of the Gila and of the Rio Grande del Norte, who made vigorous, though, as events proved, unavailing efforts to oppose the domination of the Spaniards. The Dakotah history is of modern date.

The causes which brought the Indians into conflict with the colonies were general in their operation, and founded on the same principles. They loved their hunting-grounds, highly prized their independence, exulted in their freedom from all the restraints of labor, and spurned the maxims of civilization. It imported not what were the originating causes of hostility, nor the sources of misunderstandings; the Indians were sure, in the end, to find national maxims to defend their conduct, if they did not sustain their policy.

The ruins of Checheticali, of Peos, of the platform mounds of Florida, and of the Mississippi valley, bearing evidences of cultivation and arts beyond that now possessed, supply archæological materials which invite learned research. The tribes on this ample field, spreading from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Superior, create an impression that these regions were once occupied by others possessing similar manners, who far exceeded in numerical strength, resources, and energy of character, the tribes actually occupying the country at the period of the discovery. Traditions of the Kaskaskia and Tuscarora Indians make direct reference to ancient Indian wars and contentions.[1]

There are evidences also in minor monumental reliquiæ, that a foreign people had trod the American shores before the era of Columbus, or the planting of Virginia. These are purely topics of literary research.

We are, perhaps, at fault in attaching less interest to the remote origin of an unfortunate family of the human race, and to their ancient history, than should be felt. Better results could be hoped for, were as much enthusiasm displayed in regard to this subject as a naturalist evinces respecting the color, geometrical shape, rays, macula, or formation of a leaf, the angles of a crystal, or the organic structure of a fish, an insect, a shell, or a lobster. Could this intense predominancy of physical over moral investigations be reversed, the archæologist might not despair of being able to penetrate through the intensity of the gloom overshadowing their ancient history.

Compared to the Indian tribes who occupied the southern parts of the continent, the Vesperic families of North America were characterized by greater personal energy, manliness, eloquence, and power of thought. If they evinced the pristine traits of nomadic habits, in the chase and war, and by relying on the spontaneous products of the forest, they were also remarkable for greater vigor of constitution and character than the southern tribes. Nationality had not exerted, as it did in the tropics, such unpropitious influences on individuality. They were bold and free. Private, and not municipal, or public works, absorbed their energies. No imperial cacique, or Inca, had arisen to place on their necks the dynastic yoke of either ecclesiastical or civil despotism. The voluntary labor expended on the construction of an earth-mound by the population of a village, and the compulsory toil exacted by the erection of a teocalli, or pyramid, are the examples of the two extremes of the Indian polity.

The Indian of these latitudes is an instance of the inherent love of liberty; in his breast the passion for independence subduing every other. This, as the tribe increased in numbers, and extended its domain, was favored by the magnificence and fresh exuberance of the immense forests and fertile valleys of the temperate latitudes — forests which yielded spontaneously all the necessary means for the support of life. The aborigines roved over domains which monarchs might be proud to own, and satraps and rajahs covet. They made voluntary offerings to gods of the elements, whom they regarded as subject to the rule of a cosmic Great Spirit. Horrific idols there were none, from the capes of Florida to the St. Lawrence — from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. Neither a Brahma, nor a Siva, a Gunga or a Juggernaut, received the knee-worship of millions. No victim of superstition plunged himself into a sacred stream; no widow sacrificed herself on the funereal pyre of her husband; no mother was the cruel murderess of her own female infant. The Great Spirit was adored as the giver and the taker of life.

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[1] Vols. IV. and V.

Such were our Indians. They neither raised costly temples to false gods, nor paid taxes to man. Power was wielded upon the model of the patriarchal system. The father of a family was the head of his clan, and the ruler of his country. No frightful image of Teoyaomiqui, or of the sanguinary Huitzilopochtli, stood on the banks of the Ohio, the Susquehanna, the Mississippi, or the Niagara. No ruins like those of Papantla, of Cholula, or of the valley of Oaxaca, were found, to serve as monuments of past times, and indicate to posterity where the domestic circle of the hunter had been rudely invaded, his hearth-stone desecrated, and the liberties of a people utterly crushed.

Powhatan and Tamanund, Massasoit and Atatarho, were but the presiding chiefs of sachemdoms and bashabaries, the people of which were living in their primal state. Power and custom had not then degenerated into tyranny; religion required no human sacrifices. The prescriptive laws of war left to each tribe and clan the choice of its own totemic banner of skin or feathers, and, by leaving the hunter tribes untrammelled in their actions, secured to them the power of effectively refusing their assent to wars and conquests not approved. Their very mythology possessed a social feature in such imaginative creations as Iagoo, Quasind, Papukwis, and Pauguk. Even their demi-gods, Manabo and Hiawatha, were the impersonations of kindness and benevolence, and were regarded as having come down among the human race, with the feelings of men, to teach them arts and knowledge.

Such a people had some noble elements in their character. Fearless of death, brave in war, and eloquent in council, they were exemplifications of the highest perfection of the forester's state; and when, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, they endeavored to oppose the growth and spread of European colonization, their efforts were but attempts to cement more closely the links which had bound them together for unnumbered centuries. The hunter-state was symbolically the golden age, which it was deemed essential to guard with jealous vigilance. Around the frontiers they displayed a united front against the introduction of civilization, with its attendant arts, laws, industry, letters, and religion; the details of this opposition to the onward progress of the European race constitute materials for a voluminous and elaborate history.

A hurried collation of the incidents of their history during the long period of three centuries and a half, has necessarily rendered this view brief and summary. Attention was perpetually called from minutiæ to results. The acts and principles of the Indian, like the symbolic characters of his pictography, must frequently be judged of by implication. Armies enter the field, or conceal themselves in ambush, and chiefs and sachems take a seat at the council-fire, to defend principles which the Indian feels are necessary to the preservation of his independence, but his conclusions he does not so much arrive at, by the power of ratiocination, as the dreams of fanatical delusions. If these minutiæ should be traced up to every Indian battle-field, the narrative would become verbose, and the events perhaps possess but little general interest. The Indian race wastes away without regret, and without sympathy.

In forming an estimate of the man, in ascertaining his faults and virtues, studying his physical and mental development, and inquiring into his history, the author has spent many years of active life on the American frontier. To this object the exploration of its geography and mineralogy became, at length, subordinate; and if assiduity merited success, he might claim it. In presenting the results thus far obtained, he has availed himself of an extensive correspondence with residents in the Indian country, reaching, it is believed, to every prominent tribe between the Atlantic and the Pacific. To these observers in the field, acknowledgments are made *passim.* But personal inquiries, however efficiently made, are alone inadequate to the compilation of Indian history. Books are required; and whoever endeavors to trace the subject, will find many of these to be rare, and only extant in foreign libraries. The government, under whose liberal auspices these inquiries have been pursued, has not in any manner withheld these prerequisites; nor has the author failed, in one single instance, to obtain ready access to the leading libraries of the country. To no source, however, is he more indebted in this respect, than to Peter Force, Esq., of Washington, who, with his characteristic comity, placed his large and distinctive American library at all times freely at the disposal of the author.

To Capt. S. Eastman, who has illustrated the first four volumes of the work, and to the other eminent artists employed on it, painters and engravers, the public rest under obligations.

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

WASHINGTON, *October 24th*, 1857.

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DEATH WHOOP.

DIVISION FIRST.

A CONDENSED VIEW
OF
THE POST-COLUMBIAN;
OR,
MODERN INDIAN HISTORY.

SECTION FIRST.

INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN VIEWED AS A MAN OUT OF SOCIETY.

SAVAGE and civilized society have been regarded as presenting a necessary state of conflict. There is a perpetual opposition of thoughts, manner, and opinion — a perpetual struggle of races.[1] It is not just to suppose that the civilization of Europe, at the settlement of this country, required more of the aborigines than it ought to have done. The very reverse is true. Civilization required him to quit hunting — religion required him to quit idolatry, and virtue required him to quit idleness. The Indian was gazed at with wonder, as a man without history, but he was not hated. Civilization combated only his errors and his moral delinquencies. Letters, labor, art, morals, Christianity, demanded no more of him, than they had previously demanded, fifteen centuries before, of the Britons, Celts, Franks, Danes, and Goths, and the predatory Angles and Saxons, from the banks of the Iser and the Weser. Man was created, not a savage, a hunter, or warrior, but a horticulturist and a raiser of grain, and a keeper of cattle — a smith, a musician — a worshipper, not of the sun, moon, and stars, but of God. The savage condition is a declension from this high type; Greece and Rome were in error on this point. The civil and social state was the original type of society for man, and it was just, therefore, to require a return to it. Those who pronounce the Indian a "noble race," only mean some gleams of a noble spirit, shining through the thick moral oxydation of barbarism. The exaltation of thought that sometimes bursts out from him is ennobling, because it represents in him a branch of original humanity — of man in ruins. A noble subject of philosophical and moral inquiry the Indian truly is, and this constitutes the animus of these investigations.

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[1] Ethnological Researches, respecting the Red man of America, Vol. I., 1851; Vol. II., 1852; Vol. III., 1853; Vol. IV., 1854; Vol. V., 1855.

In any comprehensive view of the transference of civilization into the boundaries of savages, we must regard it, in every phasis, as a contest between two bitterly opposing elements. The one aiming to advance by the peaceful arts of the loom and plough; the other, by the tomahawk. It was ever as much a conflict of principle against principle, as of race against race. It was not the white man against the red man, but of civilization against savageism. It is a war of conditions of society. When the English landed in America, the hunter and the agricultural state grappled in deadly combat. It has been a perpetual struggle between labor and idleness, education and ignorance, sobriety and indulgence, truth and error. Safety was ever the result of caution and manual power during the early ages of the colonies; and this struggle, often fearful and of doubtful issue, continued till the population of the new or intrusive element reached its equilibrium. The lower orders of Hindoos are hated as a *caste*, the Indian only as the representative of a *condition* — and, as in all conflicts of a superior with an inferior condition, the latter must in the end succumb. The higher type must wield the sceptre. This is true in a moral as well as a political sense. The prophet announces that the nation and kingdom that will not serve the Lord shall perish.[1] It is a useless expenditure of sentimental philanthropy to attribute the decadence of the Indian race to anything else. When the fiat had been uttered, "Thou shalt live by the sweat of thy brow," the question was settled. We sympathize with him, truly, but we do so with our eyes open.

The Indian tribes never appreciated the landing of Europeans in America as an advent of propitious omen. Far from it. "You are robbers and plunderers," said Vittachucco.[2] They were, it is true, glad of its indulgences, and the products of arts and commerce. But they underrated its refinements and promises. They hated its schools and religion. At the call of commerce, they sprang with new vigor to the chase; but this soon became destructive of the very state they contended for, as it destroyed the animals upon which they subsisted.

The Indians having produced no historian, have never had the advantage of stating their side of the question. The native born philosopher of the woods averred, that God had made him exactly as he ought, and had given him arts and knowledge suited to his sphere. He was prone to refer to his past history as a golden age. The Great Spirit, in his view, was exclusively a God of kindness, not of holiness. All the Red man's elaborate cogitations were of the *past*. His sages represented the future as a sphere of rewards, not of punishments; deeming this life to be a scene of such vicissitude, that the future was designed to be a theatre of compensations. It never entered into the Indian theory that justice was an attribute of the Deity. He did not fear, but rather loved death, and he sang his funeral song at the stake, with an assurance that he was on the eve of departing to a land of bliss. It is necessary to comprehend the Indian before we declare him to be void of reason. The Christian philosophy stood counter to all this. He hated Christianity, because he neither understood nor believed it. He denied that he had worshipped stocks and stones, the sun, moon, and stars, but affirmed that he had employed them merely to exhibit his offerings to a higher power. He avowed his belief in the Great I AM—the great IAU.[1] Such were the teachings to be gathered from the words of Opechanganough, Tamenend, Sassacus, Passaconawa, Pontiac, Achinwa, and other eminent chiefs.

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[1] Isaiah, chap. lx., 12.

[2] Garcilleso de la Vega.

Resting in the conviction that his state was, in every respect, precisely that which the Overruling Power had designed, he turned a deaf ear to other theories, and modes of life, and obligations. He did not believe that his forefathers were not wise, and had not worshipped the Great Spirit aright. He could not comprehend that he himself was a savage. There is no word in the Indian language that means savage. They had no use for such a word. Christian philosophy taught that he lived in a state of very great declension from his original state; and that knowledge and ignorance, instead of being prejudged or fated conditions of men, as he believed, were but the mere results of human exertion, under the benign and universal law of original mental freedom of act and thought. Gall and sweetness could not be more opposite than these two theories. A war of conditions was the consequence. In this conflict the parties never more than half comprehended each other. Misunderstandings and dissatisfactions continued through centuries. Both parties were suspicious of each other to the last degree. The Indians were often cruel and treacherous. Arms were appealed to, when reason would have been better. But the teacher and the philanthropist, the humanitarian and the Christian, plied their cares with renewed vigor whenever the pauses in the contest rendered it practicable. For centuries together, councils and treaties, war and peace, succeeded each other with fitful and uncertain periods.

But whatever they thought of the advent of the Europeans, they by no means believed that the severe toil and high standard required in all moral, intellectual, and legal accountability between man and man, and God and man, were any equivalents for the idleness, the spasmodic pleasures, and the wild independence of the chase. Least of all, did they think it an improvement to give up their Jossakeeds and seers for Christian pastors. They adhered with tenacity to the power of a Great Manito, or a Wahconda—an Owayneo, or an Aba Inca. Such were, in an emphatic degree, the ideas and the Vesperic families of the United States Indian tribes.

The history is one, of an unfortunate and benighted branch of the human race, in which there is more cause of pity than blame. In narrating it, there is a perpetual and unavoidable conflict between barbarism and civilization. Sombre traits in the narration will sometimes be relieved by bright ones. The fiend will often change places with the hero and the noble minded. But there are no ruins of arts, no monuments of bygone thoughts and labors, to decorate the way. A rude piece of pictography on a rock, alike perpetuates, in doubtful characters, his triumphs over man and over beasts. A scroll of bark, inscribed with hieroglyphics, serves his memory to awaken his magic, or medicine songs. His consecrated meda sack, embraces those charmed articles which he supposes to be proof against disease; to render him invulnerable to the darts of his enemy; to draw the wild animals to his path; and to secure, in fine, the great objects of prosperity in life. He puts a pine stick, with marks, at the head of his loved and honored dead, not regarding its perishable nature, for he too, soon expects to perish and rejoin the person interred, in blissful scenes, to which he has been privileged first to go.

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[1] The Algonquin verb "To Be."

But in depicting such a history the survey can borrow no charm from arts, letters, or refinements. Even the semi-civilization to which some of the tribes had reached in southern latitudes, he had not attained. But it cannot fail to be perceived, in the references we shall make to these tribes, that if he had not reached their attainments in agriculture, and the erection of buildings and temples, he had also escaped their brutal idolatry, loss of all personal independence, and loose and corrupt manners. The only merit, therefore, to which the narrative can aspire, will be to depict things in their true light and true order, with simplicity and clearness. The task itself has not been voluntarily undertaken, nor would it have been assumed as one of public duty, had it not been for the occasion it presented of throwing around the subject a body of authentic materials, illustrative of their mental habitudes, and their present condition and prospects; and thus, promising to furnish a true basis for the governmental policy to be pursued with them as tribes and nations, and for the pursuit of the momentous object of their reclamation and salvation as men.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OCCUPIED—ETHNOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE PRINCIPAL STOCKS.

THE tribes, on the planting of the colonies, rather roved over than occupied the continent. To hunt the deer and go to war were their prime employments. Powhattan called himself a king in Virginia, and Massasoit in Massachusetts. But the governing power of their kingdoms was a rope of sand, and the Indian society so many camps of anarchy. This was a necessary result of the hunter-state, which is bound together by slight cords, and always requires large districts of forest to lie in the wilderness condition, that wild animals may multiply.

Another striking trait in the Indians was, that they existed in an infinite variety of tribes and septs. Every great valley, lake, or mountain-range, had its separate tribe, although, when closely examined, the languages proved them to be only speaking dialects of a few parent stocks. In all the range of the North Atlantic there were not over three or four generic stocks, and not apparently more than seven in the entire area east of the Mississippi river. These were the Algonquins, Iroquois, and Floridians or Appalachians, and the Cherokees, Utchees, and Natchez or Chigantualguas.

The era assumed for this survey is 1512. De Leon had landed in Florida. Cabot and Cortereal had seen the Indians of the North Atlantic shores, ten or fifteen years earlier. Casting the eye over the map of North America, from the influx of the St. Lawrence, along the indentations of the coast, successively settled by the British colonies, reaching to the latitude of Pamlico Sound in North Carolina, the country was occupied by the multiplied and affiliated tribes of the Algonquin stock.[1] Hence, appeared a family of littoral tribes, who extended along the coasts of the Carolinas, of whom not a soul is known to be living. In the latitude of St. Helena, Broad river, and the Combahee, the Spanish called them Chicoreans, but they are known to English history as Yamassees.[1]

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[1] ALGONQUIN. For an Essay on this language, see Vol. II., p. 351; History, Vol. II., p. 135. Their dialects are given in full vocabularies, in Vol. I., p. 288; Vol. II., pp. 458, 470, &c. Their power of numeration appears in Vol. II., p. 204. Their pictography, Vol. II., p. 222. Their craniological developments, Vol. II., p. 335. The names of the several tribes, their numbers, and industrial means, Vol. I., p. 454; Vol. II., p. 538, &c. Intellectual capacity and character, Vol. I., p. 316; Vol. II., p. 204; Vol. III., p. 316; Vol. IV., p. 254; Vol. V., p. 243. Sac and Fox tribes, Vol. III., p. 260. Pontiac confederacy, in 1763, Vol. II., p. 240. Chippewa language, Vol. V., p. 297. Alleghans, Vol. V., p. 133. Kenistenos, Vol. V., p. 164. Massachusetts, Vol. I., p. 284. Algonquin biography, Vol. V., p. 510; Nomenclature, Vol. V., p. 535.

Tradition[2] assigns the next place to the Utchees, but they had been, at the earliest dates, subdued by the Muscogees or Creeks, and the remainder, who had escaped the calamities of war, had been adopted into the Creek confederacy, which is a prominent member of the Appalachian group.[3]

Geographical names, still existing, denote that the Muscogees extended, at the colonization, from the Coosahatchee, in South Carolina, through Georgia to the Appalachicola, embracing both its branches, to the Tallapoosa, and the Alabama. Their most ancient seat of power was on the Altamaha, whence, about the settlement of South Carolina, it was removed to Wetumpka. The Seminole tribe of this people extended down to the peninsula of Florida. The Muscogees were conquerors coming from the west, and they had, past doubt, subdued or driven out prior occupants.

The coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Mobile bay, the lower parts of the Alabama, Tombigbee, and the Pascagoula, to the Mississippi, were occupied by the Choctaws.[4] The Natchez, a people of apparently Toltec origin, occupied a position along the banks of the Mississippi, from a point nearly opposite the Red river to the mouth of the Yazoo. North of the territory of the Natchez, began the boundary of the Chickasaws, reaching east to the head of the Tombigbee, and extending up the left banks of the Mississippi, and into the Ohio, through the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky.[5]

The Cherokees occupied the termination of the Appalachian, neither reaching to the Atlantic, the Gulf, or the Mississippi. In this secluded position, abounding in pure streams of water and fertile valleys, they had lived from ante-historical times. The Cumberland river anciently bore their name, and appears to have been their outlet to the Ohio valley.

At the point where the jurisdiction of the Chickasaws ceased, a professedly neutral war-ground existed, which has received the name of Kentucky, and which was in part occupied at a subsequent time by the Shawnees, an Algonquin tribe. From this point, eastwardly and north-westwardly, the Algonquin group extended over the Alleghanies to the Powhatanic tribes of lower Virginia, the Susquehannocks of Maryland, and the Lenni Lenapees of Delaware and Pennsylvania, the Munsees of New Jersey, and the Manhattans and Mohicans of New York and all New England.

The Algonquins, thus widely spread and divided into septs and tribes, also extended west of the Ohio under the name of Shawnees, Kaskaskias, and Illinois, along the banks of the Mississippi to a point near the entrance of Rock river. There the Chippewas, Ottowas and Pottawattamies, Miamies, and kindred tribes, spread eastwardly and northerly to the shores of Lake Michigan, the Straits of Michilimackinac, the basins of Lake Huron, St. Clair, the Straits of Detroit, the Miami, the Muskingum, and the Wabash. This group of tribes also extended, under the name of Chippewas and Kelistenos, through the straits and river St. Mary, to and around the borders of Lake Superior, and thence, west and northwest, to the sources of the Mississippi. Under the name of Crees, or Kelistenos, they extended their conquests along the line of the Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and through the great Lake Winnepek, to the waters of the Churchill or Missi-neepi [much water] river. They pushed their conquests west of the Suscatchewine to its falls, where, as we perceive from comparisons of language, they acquired the name of Blood Indians, and finally of Black feet, with which name they reached the banks of the Missouri. Under the name of Mushkeags, *Gens de Terre*, and other nicknames, they extend to the Nelson, and the lower part of Churchill, river, of Hudson's Bay, and thence through the broken and sphagnous regions to the St. Lawrence, and by its northern shores, through the Lake Nepissing, to the great chain of the upper lakes. The whole of New England was covered with tribes of this generic stock. Such a diffusion and dispersion of a group of tribes, has no parallel in North America, and it indicates an original energy of character which is noteworthy. There were not less than twenty degrees of latitude along the north Atlantic, occupied by the Algonquins in their divisions, covering the entire area between the Mississippi river and the Ocean. Within the immense area of Algonquin and Appalachian occupancy, the Iroquois had intruded themselves before the country was discovered. The Iroquois[1] were the Goths of North America. Where the point of their original growth to nationality was, it is difficult to determine, as well as to account how the Indian mind developed that power of confederation and combination, both civil and military, which made them the terror of the Indian tribes of North America. Writers have not been wanting to suggest the existence of a Grecian element in their languages and character.[2] Their own traditions (vide Vol. V., p. 631) deduce their origin from the waters of the great Kanawaga, or St. Lawrence. But language discloses the fact that, at the earliest dates, tribes of this stock occupied upper Virginia and North Carolina, under the names of Mohicans and Tuscaroras. This subject will be examined in its proper place. However they may have wandered, their seats of power at the opening of the sixteenth century were in western New York. They were not littoral, but interior tribes, although they had, at ante-historical dates, carried their conquests down the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Alleghany.

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[1] Syms' History of South Carolina, p. 96.

[2] Vide Hawkins' Sketch of the Creeks, or Muscogees.

[3] APPALACHIAN. General History, Vol. VI. Muscogees and Alabamas, Vol. I., p. 265; Vol. V., pp. 251, 691. Chickasaws, Vol I., p. 309. Creek antiquities, Vol. V., p. 660. Cranial volume, Vol. II., p. 335. Physical type, Vol. II., p. 316. Origin of the Muscogees, Vol. V., p. 259.

[4] The Mobilicans of Du Pratz.

[5] Vide Map, Vol. V., p. 252.

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[1] IROQUOIS. History of their confederacy, Vol. III., p. 181; Vol. IV., p. 244. Iroquois cosmogeny and mythology, Vol. I., p. 316; Vol. II., p. 235; Vol. III., p. 314. Iroquois pictography, Vol. I., p. 429. Languages, Vol. II., p. 482. Biography, Vol. IV., p. 614; Vol. V., p. 509. The Cherokees (Mr. Gallatin's 46th language and VIth family) have distant affinities with this group. Their vernacular name is Tsallakee; they are manifestly the Tallageewi of Delaware tradition.

[2] Charlevoix.

The Iroquois, by occupying this central position on a broad summit of fertile table-land, favorable for raising the zea maize and abounding in game, had a position of unrivalled advantages. The leading rivers towards the north, the east, west, and south, originated on this summit, which gave them the power of descending rapidly into the enemy's country, and, by abandoning their water craft, or leaving it at a fixed point, returning scatheless by land. Thus they had conquered the Mohicans, the Delawares, Susquehannocks, and others, spreading the fame and the fear of their arms from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

West of the Mississippi there were two generic stocks of great importance. They were the Dakotahs or Sioux, and the Shoshonees. The geographical limits of these tribes were also immense; and they were divided into languages, and dialects, and clanships, even more numerous than the Algonquins, Iroquois, and Appalachians.

First in influence of these two stocks, and in the savage energies, manners, and customs, are the Dakotahs, or Sioux.[1] Like the Algonquins, the Iroquois and the Appalachians, who had crossed the Mississippi at different points, at early epochs, they appeared to have come from the south and south-west. At the era denoted for these researches, they spread from the Red river, and the Arkansas, up the valley of the Mississippi, on its western borders, to its sources, having, at early dates, extended themselves eastward to the head of the great lake chain. They embraced the Arkansas, Quappas, Cadrons, Witchetaws, Osages, Kanzas, Pawnees, Iowas, Ottoes, Omahaws, and Missourians, Arickarees, Minatarees, Tetons, Yanktons, and other known Sioux tribes. The Assinaboins, a Sioux tribe with an Algonquin name, were the most northerly tribal element of this ethnographic horde. One of their tribes, the Issati, were found on the head of Lake Superior in Hennepin's day; another, the Winnebagoes, also a Dakotah tribe with an Algonquin cognomen, were seated at Green Bay, at La Salle's first visit, and have but recently retraced their steps, under the removal movement, to the west of the Mississippi.

The Shoshonees have, from the remotest times, occupied the plateaux, and summits, and valleys, of the Rocky Mountains. Lewis and Clark found them to possess its summits in latitude 48° in 1805. Fremont found them spread over the latitude of 42° in 1840. Under the name of Bonacks, and Root Diggers, they have excited compassion, being often reduced to live on roots and larva. Under the name of Niunas, or Cumanches, they cover Texas. The Utahs are, linguistically, Shoshonees. Under this name they are the scourge of New Mexico, and constitute the unreliable and perfidious of the tribes of the Territory of Utah. California and Oregon have numerous bands and clans of the Bonacks.

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[1] Nawdowissnees of early writers. This is a mere nickame of the Algonquin, meaning *our enemies*.

Besides the five prominent stocks of Algonquins, Iroquois, Appalachians, Dakotahs and Shoshonees, there existed, intercalated as it were at wide points, the small tribes of Natchez, Utchees, and the ancient Corees and Chicoras, of Georgia and the Carolinas. The Eries and Andastes, the Mundwa, the Attuckapas, the Mascotins, and Allegans, occupied minor positions.

To the entire groups of tribes, east, west, north, and south, the name Vesperic may be applied, as a term geographically limited to the exact area of the United States.

SECTION SECOND.

FIRST EUROPEAN ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE INDIAN TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGINAL CONTINENTAL POINT OF OBSERVATION.

THE first Indian tribe recognised in America was the Caribs. They revealed themselves to the wondering eyes of Europeans with that peculiar set of physiognomical features and traits, physical and mental, which have been found to be generic throughout the continent. The Caribs were a mild and indolent people, who, living in a delightful tropical climate, were nearly in a state of nudity. They subsisted on spontaneous fruits, and the productions of the sea coasts. They were without anything which deserve the name of industry, arts, or government. The island of Hayti, the central point of their location, was but one of the Caribbean group, which stretches, in the form of a bow, from the capes of Florida, over seven degrees of latitude, to near the mouth of the Orinoco; and their residing in the beautiful district of Xaraqua, the elysium of the Antilles, and the memory of their thoughtless lives of pastoral ease, singing and dancing, and the fate and fortunes of their beautiful Queen Annacoand,[1] wreathed in flowers, are the only mementoes we have that the Carib nation existed.[2]

If history has awarded the just meed to Columbus of having first, in 1492, displayed the flag of civilization to the Caribbean group of tribes, it has been equally ready to ascribe to Cabot, in 1497, the merit of unfolding the British type of it to the Vesperic groups of hunter tribes between the St. Lawrence and the capes of Florida. No attempt at colonization was made by the latter. Nearly an entire century passed away before the English began to colonise. Meantime Spain had early discovered Florida, a name once covering the whole continent from the tropics to the Arctic; and it is to her that history must ascribe the first discovery of a more vigorous and formidable class of tribes, who existed north of the Gulf of Mexico, namely, the Appalachians, Chicoreans, and Cherokees. Against these tribes, supposing the country to conceal those treasures of gold and silver which Mexico had so abundantly yielded, she commenced that series of extraordinary expeditions, which almost equal the Crusades for the spirit and enthusiasm which they generated. A few details will suffice to show this.

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[1] Vol. II., p. 209.

[2] The English language, which has laid the world under contributions for its enrichment, has derived three words from the Carib, namely, canoe, an Indian boat; picanini, a half-cast child; and picayune, a small piece of money.

CHAPTER II.

THE LANDING OF PONCE DE LEON IN FLORIDA, AND OF LUCAS VASQUEZ IN THE ANCIENT CHICORA.

1512 It had required but twenty years to spread the Spanish power from St. Domingo, through the Caribbean islands and around the Cuban shores, to the straits of Florida. Ponce de Leon, in 1512, landed on the peninsula of Florida, as if he was about to realise the long-taught fable of the garden of the Hesperides. To his imagination its crystal fountains appeared, as the natives had depicted them, as the fountains of youth. It is known that the vast tertiary deposits of marine sands of this peninsula yield copious springs of the most transparent water. That these pure springs should excite the admiration and superstition of the Indians, and lead them to believe in extravagant notions of their sanative qualities, is not strange, nor that reports of their extraordinary virtues should be carried to the neighboring coasts of Cuba. But it is amazing that such stories should gain belief, even in the low state of medical knowledge at the opening of the sixteenth century.[1]

With such notions, however, De Leon landed. The balmy airs of a tropical spring, redolent with the aroma of flowers, which met and saluted his senses on landing, was not calculated to dispel his prior notions of an elysium. But from the fact of the day of his discovery being Easter Sunday, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, he named the country Florida.[2] He was informed that some of their limpid springs were of such wonderful virtue, that they would restore the vigor of youth to the person who bathed in them. In search of these fountains of youth he roved over the country. By these excursions the suspicions and animosity of the Indians were excited, and he at last paid the forfeit of his life for his credulity,[3] having died in Cuba from wounds received.[4]

Geographical truth is of slow growth. From this time Florida appears to have been regarded as a garden of Hesperides. It chanced that a Spanish mariner named Miruela, visited the sea coasts of Georgia and Carolina in quest of traffic with the natives. In this traffic he received some small quantity of gold. The incident created a sensation on his return to St. Domingo, where a commercial company was formed to prosecute the discovery thus made. Several men in official positions engaged in this, the principal of whom, was Lucas Vasquez D'Allyon. Two vessels were dispatched to the coast, prepared for the trade. These reached the mouth of the river Combahee, in South Carolina, where a profitable traffic ensued. The coast is called Chicora, and the Indians Chicoreans. When the trade was finished the natives were invited to gratify their curiosity to go below decks, but they were no sooner got below than the hatches were closed, and the vessels immediately hoisted sail for St. Domingo. One of them foundered on the way, and all were lost. The other reached St. Domingo, and the Indians were sold as slaves.[1]

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[1] Vide Dr. Pitcher's article "Medicine," Vol. IV., p. 502.

[2] Alcedo's Geographical Dictionary, Vol. II., p. 103.

[3] Robinson's History of America.

[4] Alcedo, Vol. II., p. 104.

In the meantime Vasquez D'Allyon had visited the court of Spain, and made such representations of the regions of Chicora and its natives, that he returned with the commission of Adalantado of the newly discovered country, with authority to found a colony. On reaching St. Domingo, a squadron of three ships, with Miruela for chief pilot,[2] was fitted out for the purpose, and guides taken to conduct them to the scene. Entering by the straits of Helena, he proceeded to the mouth of the Combahee, where the largest of the three vessels was stranded. Here he resumed the traffic with the Indians. During this time nothing was revealed on their part, to indicate that they had any remembrance of, or resentment for, the carrying off of their countrymen. Having finished his trade, Vasquez went to seek a suitable site for his colony, and pitched on a spot on the waters of Port Royal sound, at, or perhaps a little south of, the present town of Beaufort, South Carolina. A part of his crews had landed, to prepare for the new town, a small number still remaining on board the vessels at anchor in the roadstead. They had hardly commenced their labors, when a deputation of the Combahee Indians arrived to invite the men to attend a great feast at the village at the mouth of the Combahee. Two hundred persons accepted this invitation, and were received and treated with the most friendly hospitalities. They were feasted for three days.[3] When the feast was over and the men were sunk into a sound sleep, the Indians arose, near the break of day, and massacred the whole party. Not a man was spared. The Indians then proceeded, in hot haste, to the selected site of the new town of Vasquez, where they knew there was lax discipline. They fell on the parties of men in their disorganized state, and put many to death. A terrific tragedy ensued. Indian clubs, spears, and arrows, were arrayed against swords and matchlocks.[4] Vasquez escaped, wounded, to his vessels, and died. Thus failed the first attempt to found a colony in the area of the United States. This incident furnishes a dark spot in Spanish colonial history, that has been but little dwelt on by historians.[5]

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[1] Ethnological Researches, Vol. III., p. 27.

[2] Vol. III., p. 25.

[3] Vol. III., p. 26.

[4] Vide Plate 1., Vol. III.

[5] Hareras, Vol. II., p. 26, Note.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE ENTERS THE FIELD OF DISCOVERY. VERRAZANI, AN ITALIAN IN HER SERVICE, DISCOVERS THE COAST FROM THE LATITUDE OF TROPICAL PLANTS TO NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND. HE LANDS IN THE GREAT BAY OF MANHATTAN.

THE next reconnoissance of the Vesperic Atlantic coast tribes was made by
1524 John De Verrazani. France was not unobservant of events passing in the West Indies and Florida, and determined to share North America with Spain. Florida was then a geographical term, which comprehended all North America north of the Gulf of Mexico.[1] Verrazani was a noted mariner in her service, an Italian, a native of Florence, who had been employed by France for some time, with four public vessels, in cruising against the Spanish commerce. Separated from his consorts in a tempest, he resolved to undertake a voyage of discovery, and reconnoissance, of the then unbounded region of Florida, on the North Atlantic. He left the outer isle of the Madeira group of barren isles, called the Deserters, on the 17th January, 1524. About the middle of March he made the coast, in latitude 34°, which is about the present position of Wilmington, North Carolina.[2] Thence he sailed south in search of a harbor, to the appearance of "Palm trees," consequently to the area of South Carolina or Georgia. He then changed his course, holding towards the north, and, running down the coast, with occasional landings, till he reached his former latitude, found himself passing a flat diluvial coast of sand hills and islets, peopled with Indians, but without a harbor; he anchored off the coast, and landed. The Indians were in the greatest excitement, running to and fro in wonder and fear. Having, by signs of friendship, induced some of them to approach, they were gradually quieted, and brought him some provisions. They were naked, save an azian, or small apron of furs. They ornamented their heads with bunches of feathers.

They were well shaped, with black eyes, and straight black hair, and were very swift of foot. It is impossible, from so generic a description, to tell what group of tribes he was among, or what latitude he was in. If he saw, at this landing, "cypress, laurels, and palm trees," he had but hardly retraced his steps to latitude 34°, and, from the descriptions, was off the low sandy coasts of North Carolina, not remote from Cape Hatteras. Still sailing on, and coming to a part of the coast trending east, and seeing many fires ashore, and the natives friendly, he sent his boat ashore, but the surf was too violent to permit landing. One of the sailors here offered to swim ashore with some presents, but when he came near his fears prevailed, and, throwing out his presents, he attempted to return to the ship; but the waves cast him on the strand half-dead, and quite senseless. The Indians immediately ran to his assistance, carried him ashore, dried his clothes before a fire, and did everything to restore him. His alarm, however, was excessive. When they pulled off his clothes to dry them, he thought they were going to sacrifice him to the sun, which then shone prominent over the hills. He trembled with dread. As soon as he was restored, they gently led him to the shore, and then retired to a distance, until the ship's boat had been sent for him, and they saw him safely get on board.

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[1] This fact must be remembered by naturalists in investigating the history and spread of quadrupeds, and other species, stated to inhabit Florida in 1600.

[2] New York Historical Collections, Vol. I., p. 23. Forster is greatly out, in supposing this place to have been in "New Jersey, or Staten Island, or Long Island." — *Forster's Voyages*, p. 434.

Verrazani now went on, and observed the coast still trending northward. After a run of fifty leagues, he anchored off a fine forest country, where twenty of his men landed, and went two leagues into the interior. The Indians fled into the forest. The sailors caught an old woman and a young woman, hid in the grass. The old woman carried a child on her back, and had, besides, two little boys. The young woman had charge of three female children. Both shrieked vociferously as soon as they were discovered. The elder gave them to understand that the men had fled to the woods. She accepted something to eat at their hands, but the young woman refused it with scorn. She was a tall and well shaped person, and they tried to take her with them, but she made such cries and struggles, it was impossible. They took one of the boys.

These coast Indians had nets. Their canoes were made from solid trees, burned out with fire. Their arrows were pointed with bone. They were partly clothed with a vegetable tissue. No houses were seen. The trees denoted a more northerly climate, but had vines climbing to their very tops. Three days were spent in the reconnoissance of these manifestly ichtheopagi. He was now, evidently, on the coasts north of the capes of the Chesapeake, or of the Delaware, which were inhabited by numerous small tribes of the Algonquin family, who were without forest meats; subsisting chiefly on the productions of the sea coasts; who navigated the inlets and shores with log canoes, and used bone, and not flint, or hornstone, or jasper, as the material of fishing, hunting, and war. These bands stretched, apparently, along the entire Maryland and New Jersey coasts, to the Navasink mountain, and the Metoacs.

He continued his voyage along these coasts, until he came to the out-flow of a "large river," and, entering it, found a good harbor in north latitude 41°. This, historians determine to have been the bay of New York.[1] It was thus an Italian footstep that was first planted on these shores.[2] The surrounding country is described as being very pleasant. The Indians, who are pronounced a very fine race, showed him where the deep water was. A storm coming up, they landed on a well-cultivated island (probably Staten Island), beyond which spread the harbor, where they observed numerous canoes. We are indebted to Hackluyt, for preserving Verrazani's description of this harbor.[3]

"This land is situated in the parallel of Rome, in forty-one degrees, two tierces, but somewhat more cold by accidental causes. The mouth of the haven lieth open to the south, half a league broad, and, being entered within it, between the east and the north, it stretcheth twelve leagues, when it weareth broader and broader, and maketh a gulf about twenty leagues in compass, wherein are five small islands, very fruitful and pleasant, full of high and broad trees, among the which islands any great navy may ride safe, without any fear of tempest or other danger." [4]

In this ample harbor he remained fifteen days, during which he frequently sent his boat and men, and went ashore himself, to obtain supplies and examine the country. Some of the men stayed two or three days on one of the islands. Their excursions extended five or six leagues into the interior, which was found to be "pleasant, and well adapted to the purposes of agriculture."

With the natives, who were, as we now know, of the Mohican family of the Algonquins, he had frequent intercourse, and he speaks of them with kindness. They were uniformly friendly,[5] and always accompanied his parties, in more or less numbers, ashore. He describes them as of a russet color, with large black eyes, black hair, of a good stature, well favored, of a cheerful look, quick witted, nimble and athletic. He compared them to Saracens and Chinese. The women wore ornaments of wrought copper; wood only was used in the construction of their wigwams, which were covered with coarse matting, called by him "straw."

This is the first description we have, of the great Algonquin family of the shores of the north Atlantic. Verrazani appears to have had an aptitude for observing the character and condition of the natives, and the geographical features of the country. The strong physical traits noticed by him, were confirmed by the observations, a hundred years later, of the respective landings in Virginia, under Raleigh, by Hudson in New York, and the English in Massachusetts.

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[1] New York Historical Collections.

[2] Forster says, "The three great empires of those times, Spain, England, and France, made, each of them, use of an Italian to conduct the voyages of discovery set on foot by them. Spain employed Christopher Colon, a Genoese; England, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian; and France, John de Verrazani, a Florentine." — *History of Northern Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 436.

[3] Voyages, Vol. III., p. 95, folio edition, 1600

[4] Hackluyt, p. 300.

[5] Verrazani's letter to Francis I.

Having refreshed himself, and recruited his provisions at this point, on the 5th of May he continued his voyage northward; after a run of one hundred and fifty leagues,[1] he discovered high lands overgrown with forests. The Indians were found to be of savage habits. They lived on roots and other spontaneous products. A large party of the crew, who landed here, were received with a volley of arrows. He continued his voyage to north latitude 56°, which, Forster observes, is about the position of Nain, on the coast of Labrador, and, having given the name of New France to his discoveries, he returned to Dieppe, whence he writes his letter to Francis I., bearing date 8th July, 1524.

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[1] The leagues of the early voyagers must be computed at two miles.

CHAPTER IV.

SPAIN EXPLORES FLORIDA. NARVAEZ INVADES THE INDIAN TERRITORY, AND BRINGS THE APPALACHIAN, OR FLORIDIAN, GROUP OF TRIBES TO OUR NOTICE.

We are informed that the northern coasts of the Mexican gulf had been explored as early as 1516. Cordova discovered Yucatan in 1517, and, the following year, Grizalba commenced an exploration of the Mexican coasts. During the year which witnessed the fall of the Mexican empire, (1521), Garay received a royal patent to colonize the coasts of the Mexican gulf, stretching north of Panuco.[1]

Pamphilio de Narvaez had been defeated, in 1520, by Cortez, at Zempoala, in an attempt to arrest him in his unauthorized career. After seven years' attendance at the court of Spain, expended in vain efforts to obtain redress for a gross civil and military wrong, he returned to Cuba, with the appointment of Adalantado of Florida, and the grant of full powers to conquer and govern the country. It is affirmed by De Vaca, that he left Spain in July, 1527, with six hundred men, well officered by cavaliers and gentlemen. Owing to incidental delays, at St. Domingo and Cuba, it was not until the 13th of April, 1528, that he landed at Tampico Bay, in Florida. His force had then been reduced to four hundred men, and forty-two horses.[2] With this small army he entered a country, the geographical features of which opposed great obstacles to a direct march. It was covered with alternate thickets, lagoons, and swamps, and was soon found to be unable to yield an adequate subsistence for either the men, or the horses. Beside this, Narvaez had no interpreter through whom he could communicate with the Indians. This was the more to be regretted, because he was of a haughty and imperious temper, and aimed to strike terror into the natives by acts of tyranny and cruelty. He was thus continually exposed to be misunderstood and misapprehended. To ferret the Indians out of their impenetrable jungles and fastnesses, he carried bloodhounds along with him. He did not appear to know that the Indians, inured to the severest vicissitudes from infancy, and fortified by savage maxims, from age to age, are not possessed of very vivid sensibilities; and that acts of harshness, cruelty, and injustice, only served to infuriate and embitter their minds. Within a few leagues of his point of departure from the coast, he came to the village of a chief, named Hirrihagua, whom, for some non-performance, it would seem, of a former agreement, he mutilated by cutting off his nose, and also caused his mother to be torn in pieces by bloodhounds. The prestige of this act, spreading among the natives, caused the name of Spaniard to be hated.

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[1] Alcedo.

[2] Ethnological Researches, Vol. III., page 28.

Caba de Vaca represents the toil, and privations endured on this march, to be beyond all precedent in civilized warfare. When the soldier had journeyed through blind paths all day, he had nothing to refresh him at night; and, at every defile, he was subject to be harassed by a concealed foe, who fled when attacked, and no body of whom could be encountered together. The army was forty-seven days in marching to the Sawanee river.

But toilsome marches were the least of the difficulties Narvaez encountered. It does not seem possible for a commander to have evinced less knowledge of the geography and resources of the country. He had parted from Caba de Vaca, who did not like him, and had, after the first fifteen days, absolutely no commissariat. He was buoyed up with the prospect of soon arriving at some populous town, where he might find resources; but in this he was deceived by rumors and by the guides, whom he took, and compelled to serve him, beyond the Sawanee. The Indian name of one town after another was constantly used, as some catchword to inspire hope. At length expectation was centred on the name of "Apalache." For this point the army marched with renewed exertions, and thither it eventually arrived. It appears to have been an Indian village, on the waters of the Appalachicola river,[1] called by Narvaez "Madalena." It consisted of forty humble Indian abodes, covered with cane or thatch. A dense forest of high trees, and several large bodies of water, surrounded it. The adventurers found fields of maize fit for plucking. There was also some ripe as well as dried maize, and stone mortars wherein to pound it. There were dressed deer skins in the lodges, and some woven mantalets of thread, made from a species of hemp. At first, the men had fled precipitately, leaving the women and children; but, opening negotiations, they returned to beg leave to carry off their families. Narvaez granted this, but detained the chief, to serve as a hostage for their good conduct. Next day they made a fierce attack on his camp, but he repulsed them, killing one man.

At Apalache he remained twenty-five days, recruiting the strength of his men, and of his horses. During this time, he procured some information respecting the country. The Indians represented it as abounding in great lakes and solitudes; that its population was small and scattered, there being no place at all equal to Apalache, where they then were. They stated that it was but nine days' march south, to the sea, and that there was a wealthy town in that direction, called "Aute."

For this location Narvaez therefore directed his course, but it soon appeared that the Indians' estimate of a day's march was widely different from his. After travelling fifteen days, he arrived at "Aute;" but his journey thither was obstructed by large bodies of water, in the passage through which, the Indians attacked the Spaniards with arrows, killing and wounding some of the men and horses. These Indians were men of fine stature, great activity, and expert and accurate bow-men. In these skirmishes two of the natives were killed. The town was found to have been abandoned, but the neighboring fields yielded an abundant supply of maize, beans, and pumpkins.

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[1] Ethnological Researches, Vol. III., p. 31.

By this time, enough was ascertained to convince Narvaez that a part of his followers were engaged in a conspiracy. Nothing had transpired as had been expected. There were neither rich towns, nor mines, nor evidences of any high or respectable art, or civilization. They had found hostile tribes, separated by impassable fastnesses, and a country destitute of resources. Narvaez was unwell himself, his men dispirited, his horses reduced to skeletons, and everything presenting the worst aspect. In this exigency he resolved to find the sea, by journeying along the banks of the river, and, having done this without finding his fleet, he encamped at its mouth, designing to build boats with which to explore the coast towards the west. But how was this to be done without means, or tools? While pondering over his difficulties, a soldier came to him, and said, he could make pipes of wood, and convert them into bellows by the aid of deer skins. The idea was instantly acted on. It was only necessary to construct a blacksmith's forge, and immediately stirrups, spurs, cross-bows, &c., were converted into nails, saws, and axes. The pine yielded pitch. A kind of oakum was obtained from the palmetto. Hair from the tails of horses was twisted into ropes, and the shirts of the men supplied sails. The horses were killed, and their flesh used for food. The men searched the bays for oysters, while others were sent on perilous trips to forage for Indian corn. All worked so diligently that, in sixteen days, they had constructed five boats, each of which was twenty cubits long, and capable of containing fifty-six men; the remnant of the army comprising two hundred and eighty-one men.[1]

Narvaez had now proceeded about two hundred and eighty miles along the gulf coast, from his point of debarkation. He had reason to believe that his ships could be found in the vicinity of the coast, and that, by putting his troops into boats, he could continue the exploration, which he had found it impossible to complete by land. The energy manifested in the construction and equipment of his flotilla, without artisans, or materials suitable to the work, manifests a capacity for conquest which no other part of his conduct so well sustained. No sooner were the boats completed than the adventurers eagerly embarked. The season had now so far advanced that the high winds began to prevail, added to which the gunwales of his boats were too low to sustain the shock of the seas. He proceeded, therefore, with embarrassment, the men often wading through sands and shallow bays, to avoid the heavy waves. This close and careful hugging of the shore was continued for seven days, before they put out to sea. The capture of five Indian canoes enabled them to lighten the boats, which were also protected by waste boards. They suffered greatly from the failure of both water and provisions, and were compelled to coast along the shores and islands, as the best position for obtaining supplies. All this time they had, in the Indians, a fierce enemy to contend against on shore, who never omitted an opportunity to annoy them with arrows.

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[1] Narvaez had 400 men. A loss of forty is acknowledged, but there are eighty-nine unaccounted for, who may be supposed to have been killed or captured by the Indians, to have died in swamps, or perished by starvation.

Agreeably to Caba de Vaca, for thirty days they proceeded by slow stages, down the gulf coast, toward the Mississippi. But nothing was seen of the vessels. The miseries of the men were every day augmented, and, meantime, the winds increased in severity. Some of the soldiers became delirious from drinking sea water, and four of their number died. One night they were attacked by Indians, while sleeping in camp, or on an island; but the assailants, having but few arrows, were repulsed. In the contest, Narvaez received a severe blow in the face from a stone. Tortured with hunger, and parched by thirst, they continued their course until the 1st of November, when the boats separated in a storm. One of them soon foundered. The last that was seen of the boat of Narvaez was in the vicinity of the Perdido. The storm was blowing off the coast, and during its continuance the whole flotilla perished. The next morning nothing was seen of it. The boat in which Caba de Vaca embarked was cast on the shore of a little island, where the survivors were kindly treated by the natives; for, when they saw that their enemies had not the power to inflict further injury, their enmity was at an end, and they treated with humanity the few castaways whom the tempest had spared.

The expedition of Narvaez is important, as embracing the materials of Indian history, inasmuch as it gives us the first view, however unpremeditatively, of the Appalachian group of tribes,[1] who may be regarded as the extreme southern outcrop (to use a geological term) of the wide-spread Vesperic class.

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[1] The term Floridians was vaguely applied to these tribes; Florida, itself, being a changing, vacillating, and contracting term. Mobilian is, likewise, a word relating particularly to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Muscogee refers only to the Creeks. The term Utchees is quite local. Of the broader term, Chicorean, it appears to refer exclusively to tribes who lived on the sea coasts of Carolina and Georgia, and who preceded the coming of the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, from the west. The Natchez were also a prior and distinct element. So were the Cherokees, who would appear, by some things, to be the Alleghewi of the Lenni Lenapees.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE RESUMES HER DISCOVERIES. THE ALGONQUINS ARE FOUND TO INHABIT THE ATLANTIC COAST, NORTH, UP TO THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE. THEY ARE SUCCEEDED IN POSITION, IN ASCENDING THAT VALLEY, BY THE IROQUOIS.

THE voyage of Verrazani, under the French flag, promising but trifling, or no advantage to the revenues of France, attracted little attention, and was, for some time, forgotten. 1534 In 1534, the admiral, Philip Chabot, represented to the king the advantages to be derived from sharing, with Spain, the rich prize of North America, by establishing a colony. In accordance with this suggestion, Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, in Normandy, was presented to the king, and approved as a person suitable for the undertaking.

He sailed from the port of St. Malo on the 20th of April, 1534, with two ships, and one hundred and twenty two men. His crew took a solemn oath, before sailing, "to behave themselves truly and faithfully, in the service of the most Christian king, Francis I." The excitement concerning American discoveries was still the order of the day in the European courts. The conquest of Mexico had been completed but thirteen years before, and Pizarro was now in the height of his triumphs at Truxillo, Guanuco, and Caxamarca.

After an unusually prosperous voyage, of twenty days, Cartier made Cape "Buona Vista" in Newfoundland, which he states to be in north latitude 48° 30′. Here, meeting with ice, he made the haven of St. Catherine's, where he was detained ten days. This coast had been known since the voyage of Cabot in 1497, and had been frequently resorted to by fishing vessels. Jean Denis, a native of Rouen, one of these fishermen, is said to have published the first chart of it in 1506. Two years afterwards, Thomas Aubert brought the first natives from Newfoundland to Paris, and this is the era, 1508, commonly assigned as the discovery of Canada. The St. Lawrence remained, however, undiscovered; nor does it appear that anything, beyond a general and vague knowledge of the coast, and of its islands, had then been ascertained. The idea was still entertained (indeed, it will be seen, by subsequent facts), that America was an island, and that a passage to the Asiatic continent existed in those latitudes.

On the 21st of May, Cartier continued his voyage, sailing "north and by east" from cape Buona Vista, and arrived at the Isle of Birds, so named on account of the unusual abundance of sea-fowl found upon it, with the young of which the men filled two boats; "so that," in the quaint language of the journal, "besides them which we did eat fresh, every ship did powder and salt five or six barrels." He also observed the godwit, and a larger, but vicious bird, which received the name of margaulx. While at this island, they descried a polar bear, which, in their presence, leaped into the sea, and thus escaped. Subsequently, while crossing to the main land, they encountered, as supposed, the same animal, swimming towards land, and, "by main strength overtook her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calf two years old." This bear is described to have been, "as large as a cow, and as white as a swan."

On the 27th, Cartier reached the harbor of "Carpunt," in the bay of "Les Chasteaux," latitude 51°, where, on account of the accumulation of ice, he was constrained to lay by until the 9th of June. The narrator of the voyage describes certain parts of the coast of Newfoundland, and adjoining seas, the islands of St. Catherine, Blanc Sablon, Brest, the Isle of Birds, and a numerous group of islands, called The Islets; but these memoranda are unconnected with any important observations or discoveries. Speaking of the island of Brest and Bird island, he says, they afford "great store of godwits, and crows with red beaks and red feet," which "make their nests in holes underground, even as conies." Near this locality "there is great fishing."

On the 10th of June, he entered a port in the newly discovered island of Brest, to procure wood and water. Meantime, boats were despatched to explore the islands, which were found to be so numerous "that it was not possible they might be told, for they continued about ten leagues beyond the said port." The explorers slept on an island, and the following day continued their discoveries along the coast. Having passed the islands, they found a haven, which was named St. Anthony, and, one or two leagues beyond, discovered a small river named St. Servansport, where they reared a cross. Distant about three leagues from the last mentioned, another river of larger size was discovered, in which salmon was found. Upon this stream they bestowed the name of St. Jacques.

While at St. Jacques, they descried a ship from Rochelle, on a fishing cruise, and, rowing out in their boats, directed it to a port near at hand, in what is called "Jacques Cartier's Sound," "which," adds the narrator, "I take to be one of the best in all the world." The face of the country examined by the explorers was, however, of the most sterile and forbidding character, being little else than "stones and wild crags, and a place fit for wild beasts; for in all the north island," he continues, "I did not see a cart-load of good earth. Yet went I on shore, in many places, and in the island of White Sand (Blanc Sablon) there is nothing else but moss and small thorns, scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Cain."

Immediately following this, we have the first account of the natives. The new are described as being "of an indifferent good stature and bigness, but wild and unruly. They wear their hair tied on the top, like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pin within it, or any other such thing, instead of a nail, and with them they bind certain birds' feathers. They are clothed with beast skins, as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their waistes girded. They paint themselves with certain roan colours; their boats are made of the bark of birch trees, with which they fish, and take great store of seals. And, as far as we could understand since our coming thither, that is not their habitation, but they came from the main land, out of *hotter*[1] countries, to catch the said seals, and other necessaries for their living."

From this exploratory trip, the boats returned, on the 13th, to the newly styled harbor of Brest. On the 14th, being the Sabbath, service was read, and the following day Cartier continued his voyage, steering southerly, along the coast, which still wore a most barren and cheerless aspect. Much of this part of the narrative is occupied with the details of distances and soundings, as well as the denomination of capes and islands, of very little interest at the present day. On the 18th, the voyagers saw a few huts upon the cliffs, and named this part of the coast "Les Granges," but they did not stop to form any acquaintance with their tenants. Cape Royal was passed, and duly named, on the 17th, and is described as "the greatest fishery of cods there possibly may be, for in less than an hour we took an hundred of them." On the 24th, the island of St. John was discovered. Myriads of birds were seen upon the group of islands named "Margaulx," five leagues westward of which they discovered a large, fertile, and well-timbered island, to which the name of "Brion" was given. The contrast presented by the soil and productions of this island, compared with the bleak and waste shores they had previously visited, aroused their warm admiration; and, under the influence of this excitement, they here saw "wild corn," peas, gooseberries, strawberries, damask roses, and parsley, "with other sweet and pleasant herbs." Here, also, they observed the walrus, bear, and wolf.

Very little can be gleaned from the subsequent details of the voyage, until the arrival of the expedition in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Mists, head winds, barren rocks, sandy shores, storms, and sunshine, alternate in the landscape presented to view. Much caution was observed in tacking back and forth, on an iron-bound coast, and the boats were frequently made use of in exploring the shores of the main land. While thus employed near a shallow stream, called the "River of Boats," they saw natives crossing it in their canoes, but the wind commencing to blow toward the land, they were compelled to retire to their vessels without opening any communication with them. On the following day, while the boats were traversing the coasts, they saw a native running after them along the beach, who made signs directing them, as they supposed, to return toward the cape they had left. As soon as the boats turned, however, he fled, but, notwithstanding, they landed, and fastening a knife and a woollen girdle to an upright staff, as a good-will offering, returned to their vessels.

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[1] I Italicise the word "hotter," to denote the prevalent theory. They were searching for China, or the East Indies.

This part of the Newfoundland coast impressed them as being greatly superior, both in soil and temperature, to the portions which they had before seen. In addition to the productions previously found at Brion's island, they noticed cedars, pines, white elm, ash, willow, and what are denominated "ewe trees." Among the feathered tribes, the "thrush and stockdove" are mentioned; the latter, without doubt, being the passenger pigeon. The "wild corn," here again mentioned, is said to be "like unto rye," from which it may be inferred that it was the zizania, although the circumstance of its being an aquatic plant is not mentioned.

While running along this coast, Cartier appears to have been engrossed with the idea, so prevalent among the mariners of that era, of finding a passage to India, and it was probably on this account, that he made such a minute examination of every inlet and bay, as well as of the productions of the soil. Whenever the latter afforded anything favorable, there appears to have been a strong predisposition to admiration, and to derive inferences therefrom correspondent with the pre-existing theory. It must be recollected that, seventy-five years later, Hudson entertained similar notions, while sailing up the North River. Hence, the application of several improper names to the animals, as well as to the productions of these latitudes, and the apparently constant expectation of beholding trees laden with fruits and spices, "goodly trees," and "very sweet and pleasant herbs." That the barren and frigid shores of Labrador, and the northern parts of Newfoundland, should have been characterized as a region subject to the Divine curse, is not calculated to excite so much surprise, as the disposition evinced, with every considerable change of soil and verdure, to convert the favored region into a land of oriental fruitfulness. It does not appear to have been sufficiently understood, that the increased verdure and elevation of temperature were, in a great measure, owing to the advancing state of the season. Cartier arrived off the coast on the 10th of May, and prolonged his stay through July. Now, however, it is very generally known, that the summers in high northern latitudes, although short, are attended with a great degree of heat.

On the 3d of July, Cartier entered the gulf, to which, during a subsequent voyage, he gave the name, St. Lawrence, the centre of which he states to be in latitude 47° 30′. On the 4th, he proceeded up the bay to a creek called St. Martin, near Baie du Chaleur, where he was detained eight days by stress of weather. While at anchor there, one of the ship's boats being sent off to make explorations in advance, proceeded seven or eight leagues, to a cape of the bay, where two parties of Indians, "in about forty or fifty canoes," were observed crossing the channel. One of the parties landed, and beckoned to the explorers to follow their example, "making a great noise," and showing "certain skins upon pieces of wood," *i. e.* fresh-stretched skins; but, fearing their numbers, the seamen kept aloof. The Indians in two canoes prepared to follow them, in which movement they were joined by five canoes of the other party, "who were coming from the sea side." They approached in a friendly manner, "dancing, and making many manifestations of joy, saying, in their tongue, Napew tondamen assuatah."[1] The seamen, however, suspecting their intentions, and finding it impossible to elude them by flight, discharged two shots among them, by which they were so terrified, that they fled precipitately to the shore, "making a great noise." After pausing some time, the "wild men" re-embarked and renewed the pursuit, but, after coming alongside, they were so terrified by the thrusts of two lances, that they again fled in haste, and made no further attempt to follow.

This appears to have been the first rencontre of the ship's crews with the natives. On the following day, by the approach of said "wild men" in nine canoes, an interview was brought about, which is thus described: "We being advertised of their coming, went to the point, where they were with our boats; but so soon as they saw us they began to flee, making signs that they came to traffic with us, showing us such skins as they clothed themselves withal, which are of small value. We likewise made signs unto them that we wished them no evil, and in sign thereof, two of our men ventured to go on land to them and carry them knives, with other iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their captain. Which, when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skins, and so began to deal with us, seeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, still dancing, with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast sea water on their heads. They gave us whatever they had, not keeping anything, so that they were constrained to go back again naked, and made signs that the next day they would come again, and bring more skins with them."

Observing a spacious bay, extending beyond the cape where this interview had been opened, and the wind proving adverse to the vessels quitting the harbor, Cartier despatched his boats to examine it, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it might not afford the desired passage; for it must be kept in mind, that he was diligently seeking the long-sought passage to the Indian Ocean. While engaged in this examination, his men discovered "the smokes and fires" of wild men" (the term constantly used in the narrative to designate the natives). These signs were observed upon the shores of a small lake, communicating with the bay. An amicable interview resulted, the natives presenting to the navigators cooked seal, and the French making a suitable return "in hatchets, knives and beads." After these preliminaries, which were conducted with considerable caution, by deputies from both sides, the male natives approached in their canoes, for the purpose of trafficking, leaving most of their families behind. About 300

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[1] "Napew" means man, in the Sheshatapoosh, or Labrador. "Naba" is a male, in the Algonquin. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that these were a party of Sheshatapoosh Indians, whose language proves them to be kindred with the great Algonquin family.

Indian men, women, and children, were estimated to have been congregated at this place. They evinced their friendship by singing and dancing, as also by rubbing their hands upon the arms of their European visitors, and then lifting them up towards the heavens. An opinion is expressed that these people (who were in the position assigned to the Micmacs, in 1600, in Mr. Gallatin's ethnological map,) might very easily be converted to Christianity. "They go," says the narrator, "from place to place. They live only by fishing. They have an ordinary time to fish for their provisions. The country is *hotter* than the country of Spain, and the fairest that can possibly be found; altogether smooth and level." In addition to the productions before noticed, as indigenous on Brion's island, &c., and which were likewise found here, he enumerates "white and red roses, with many other flowers of very sweet and pleasant smell." "There be also," says the journalist, "many goodly meadows full of grass, and lakes wherein plenty of salmon be." The natives called a hatchet, *Cochi*, and a knife, *Bacon*.[1] It was at this time near the middle of July, and the degree of heat experienced on the excursion induced Cartier to name the inlet, Baie du Chaleur; a name it still retains.

On the 12th of July, Cartier left his moorings at St. Martin's creek, and proceeded up the gulf; but encountering bad weather, he was forced into a bay, which appears to have been Gaspe, where one of the vessels lost her anchor. They were forced to take shelter in a river of that bay, and were there detained thirteen days. Meanwhile, they opened an intercourse with the natives, who were found in great numbers, engaged in fishing for mackerel. Forty canoes, and two hundred men, women, and children, were estimated to have been seen during their detention at this place. Presents of "knives, combs, beads of glass, and other trifles of small value," were made to the Indians, for which they expressed great thankfulness, lifting up their hands, and dancing and singing.

These Gaspe Indians are represented as differing, both "in nature and language," from those before mentioned, being abjectly poor, but partially clothed in "old skins," and possessed of no tents to protect them from the weather. "They may," says the journalist, "very well and truly be called *wild*, because there is no poorer people in the world; for, I think, all they had together, besides their boats and nets, was not worth five sous." They shaved their heads, with the exception of a tuft on the crown; sheltered themselves at night under their canoes, on the bare ground, and ate their provisions but partially cooked. They were unacquainted with the use of salt, and "ate nothing that had any taste of salt." On Cartier's first landing among them, the men expressed their joy, as those at Baie du Chaleur had done, by singing and dancing; but they had sent all their women, except two or three, into the woods. A comb and a tin bell, given to each of the women who had ventured to remain, excited the avarice of the men, who quickly brought their women, to the number of about twenty, from the woods, to each of whom the same present was made. They caressed Cartier by touching and rubbing him with their hands, and also sung and danced. Their nets were made of a kind of indigenous hemp; and they also possessed a species of "millet" called "Kapaige," beans called "Sahu," and nuts called "Cahehya." If anything was exhibited with which they were unacquainted, they shook their heads, saying, "Nohda." It is added that they never come to the sea, except in fishing time; which, we may remark, was probably the reason why they had no lodges, or much other property about them. They would naturally desire to disencumber their canoes as much as possible, in these summer excursions, that they might carry a large return freight of dried fish. The language spoken by these Gaspe Indians is manifestly of the Iroquois type. "Cahehya" is, with a slight difference, the term for fruit in the Oneida.

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[1] Koshee and Bahkoff. These are not the terms used to designate a hatchet and a knife, neither in the Micmac, in the old Algonquin, nor in the Wyandot.

On the 24th of July, Cartier erected a cross, thirty feet high, bearing the inscription, "*Vive le Roy de France.*" The natives, who were present at the ceremony, seem, on a little reflection, to have conceived the true intent of it, and their chief complained of it in a "long oration," saying, in effect "that the country was his, and that he should not set up any cross without his leave." Having quieted the old chief's fears, and used a little duplicity to induce him to come alongside, Cartier seized two of the natives, named Domaigaia and Taignoagny (Iroquois), with the view of conveying them to France, and, on the following day, set sail up the gulf. After making some further explorations, and being foiled in an attempt to enter the mouth of a river, Cartier began to think of returning. Being alarmed by the rapidity of the tide setting out of the St. Lawrence river, and the weather becoming remarkably tempestuous, he assembled his captains and principal men in council, "to put the question as to the expediency of continuing the voyage." The result of their deliberations was as follows: Considering the easterly winds began to prevail, "that there was nothing to be gotten;" the impetuosity of the tides was such "that they did but fall," and storms and tempests beginning to reign, it was evident that they must either promptly return home, or else remain where they were until spring. Under these circumstances it was decided to be expedient to return; and with this counsel Cartier complied. No time was lost in retracing their route along the Newfoundland coast, and they arrived at the port of "White Sands" on the 9th of August. On the 15th, being "the feast of the Assumption of our Lady," after the religious services of the day were concluded, Cartier set sail for France. "About the middle of the sea" he encountered a heavy storm of three days' continuance, and arrived at the port of St. Malo, on the 5th of September, after an absence of four months and sixteen days.[1]

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[1] Hackluyt.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER EXPLORATIONS IN THE ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY, BY THE FRENCH.

The account which Cartier gave of his discoveries, and the prospective benefits therefrom promised to the future commerce of France, verified as the narrative was, by the presence of Domaigaia and Taignoagny, the two Iroquois captives, induced the Vice-Admiral Melleray to recommend him to the king for further employment. Accordingly, early in the spring of 1535, he was placed in command of another squadron, consisting of three ships, well provisioned and manned, for the purpose of still further prosecuting his researches in those latitudes. On the 6th of May, he, together with the crews of his vessels, attended divine service at the cathedral of St. Malo, where they received the ecclesiastical benediction. He sailed from St. Malo on the 19th of May, taking with him a number of young gentlemen, who were ambitious to seek their fortunes under his auspices. On the outward passage a severe tempest was encountered, during the continuance of which the vessels parted company. Cartier arrived at Newfoundland on the 7th of July, where, after waiting until the 26th, he was rejoined by the rest of his squadron. The succeeding day he carefully continued his voyage along the coast, taking soundings, with the view of finding good-anchor-ground, and tracing out the bays and harbors of this dangerous locality. On the 8th of August he entered the gulf visited by him the previous year, and now named it the St. Lawrence. After some preliminary reconnoissances of the capes, as also of the main land, and obtaining more definite information concerning the geography of the country, from Domaigaia and Taignoagny, who accompanied him, he sailed up the river, and, on the 1st of September, anchored at the mouth of the Saguenay river, which locality appeared to be familiar to the two captives. At this point the explorers met four canoes containing Indians, who evinced their usual caution and shyness; but, being hailed by the captive Iroquois, they came freely alongside of the ships, and a friendly interview took place. 1535

As Cartier continued to advance up the river, the tides attracted his notice, as being very swift and dangerous. Tortoises were found in this vicinity, and for the first time they here observed the sturgeon, which is pronounced "savoury and good to be eaten." After ascending for seven days, the vessels reached the island of Orleans, where.

having cast anchor, he ordered the boats to be manned, and went ashore, taking with him Domaigaia and Taignoagny as interpreters, through whose influence the fears of the Indians were appeased, and a friendly feeling established. The latter evinced their joy by dancing, and loaded him with presents, comprising several sorts of fish, and a large quantity of the zea maize, called "great millet." On the following day, the chief Donnaconna, accompanied by his entire band, arrived in twelve canoes, ten of which he directed to stop at a distance, and with the other two he pulled toward Cartier's ship. Donnaconna stood up as he approached, and, with violent gesticulations, addressed Cartier in a long speech. The captives related to him what they had seen abroad, and how kindly they had been treated, with which Donnaconna was so much pleased, that he desired Cartier to extend his arm over the side of the vessel, that he might kiss his hand. He then laid Cartier's arm fondlingly about his neck, whereupon the latter descended into the chief's canoe, and, having ordered bread and wine to be brought, they ate and drank together, and parted mutually gratified with the interview. Thus happily commenced the intercourse of the French with the Iroquois.

Cartier, having determined to ascend the river to Hochelaga, the present site of Montreal, anchored his larger vessels in the entrance of a small river, on the north shore, opposite the head of the island called by him Santa Cruz, and, on the 19th of September, in his smallest vessel, accompanied by two boats, and fifty men, he commenced the undertaking. To prevent this movement the Indians had in vain employed all their arts, and resorted to the most extravagant demoniacal dances; but all this served no other purpose than to encourage him in his design. A voyage of ten days' continuance brought him to an expansion of the river, named by him Lake Angolisme, but which is now called St. Peters. Finding the river was becoming shallow, he left his vessel at anchor, and proceeded forward with the two boats, and twenty-eight armed men. He was charmed with the scenery, the fertility of the soil, and the luxuriant productions of the new country. Every where above this point the Indians received him with friendship, and brought him presents of fish, corn, and game. When he anchored for the night, the natives assembled on shore, built fires, danced, and uttered shouts of joy; in this manner making his voyage resemble a triumphal journey. He arrived at Hochelaga on the 2d of October, where a multitude of the natives, of both sexes, old and young, awaited his arrival, and expressed their joy by dancing. Cartier having arrayed himself in gorgeous clothing, landed on the following morning, accompanied by a band of twenty mariners. Following, for four or five miles, a well-beaten path through the forest, he came to an open spot where a bright fire was burning. Here he was received by a deputation from the town, and desired to rest himself. A speech of welcome was then addressed to him, after which the procession advanced, without further interruption, to the town of Hochelaga, which was situated amidst cultivated fields, and surrounded with rude ramparts, constructed for defence. Mats having been spread for him, he was ceremoniously seated, and was soon joined by the chief, Agouhanna, an old man afflicted with palsy, who, sitting on a stag skin, was borne on the shoulders of men. Around his forehead he wore a band, or frontlet, of red-colored hedgehog skins, but, in other respects, he was not dressed better than his people. As neither Domaigaia or Taignoagny would accompany Cartier, he had no interpreter, and, during the interview, communication was principally carried on by signs. After the close of the conference he ascended to the top of the neighboring mountain, accompanied by natives. It afforded an extensive view of all the surrounding rivers, rapids, plains, and mountains. Transported by the scene, he bestowed on this elevation the name of Mount Royal. Having asked the Indians the name of the adjacent country, they replied, "Canada;" having, without doubt, understood him as referring to the town.

Thus having, on the 3d of October, 1535, terminated this eventful interview, Cartier hastened to return. Favored by both wind and tide, he reached his vessel in Lake St. Peters on the following day, and the post of the Holy Cross on the 11th. At this place he endured a cold winter, from the middle of November to the middle of March; the ice in the St. Lawrence is said to have been "two fathoms thick," and the snow four feet deep. Twenty-five of his men died of scurvy. He was detained in the river of the Holy Cross until the 6th of May, when he sailed for France, carrying with him the chief Donnaconna, and his two former captives, Domaigaia and Taignoagny. He reached the French coast, and cast anchor in the harbor of St. Malo, on the 6th of July, 1536.

Speaking of the Iroquois, he says: "They possess all property in common, and are clothed in skins during the winter. The men perform but trifling labor, and are addicted to smoking. The condition of the women is one of servitude and drudgery. Polygamy is tolerated; the young women are dissolute, and married women condemned to remain widows after the death of their husbands. Both sexes are very hardy."

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO TO FLORIDA. APPALACHIAN GROUP OF TRIBES.

1538 UP to this period all attempts to found colonies in America had proved complete failures. De Leon, Vasquez, Narvaez, and Cartier, had each added their quota to geographical knowledge, and recorded details of the manners and customs of the Indians, but no one of them had established even the first outlines of a colony. Nine years after the disastrous termination of the expedition of Narvaez, Ferdinand de Soto determined to effect the conquest and colonization of Florida. As the origin of this expedition cannot be well understood, without reference to events which occurred on the north-western confines of Mexico, it becomes necessary to enter into some details respecting them.

In 1530, an Indian, named Tezon, a native of New Gallicia, told the governor of that province a wonderful tale, about the existence of seven cities in the terra incognita, north and east of the river Gila, each of which cities were as large as Mexico. He stated that the country so abounded in the precious metals, that entire streets in these cities were occupied by goldsmiths. In confirmation of what he asserted, he said that his father, then dead, had been a trader in ornamental feathers, and, in return for his goods, had brought from that quarter large quantities of gold and silver. This was the germ of the long prevailing myth of the seven golden cities of Cibola.

It so happened that, while this story was yet credited, Caba de Vaca, with three companions, one of whom was an African, arrived at Compostella, the capital of New Gallicia, after having been nine years traversing the continent. De Vaca had been the treasurer of Narvaez, and was the only officer of his army who had escaped the fury of the waves, and the vengeance of the Indians, on the Florida coast. The very fact of his safe passage over vast territories, occupied by hostile tribes, was of itself a wonder; but yet, not more so than the extraordinary tales he related, of the state of semi-civilization in which he had found some of the tribes whom he had encountered, and of the arts and wealth they possessed. These disclosures rekindled the latent cupidity in the imaginations of the Spanish adventurers, who were seeking their fortune in Mexico. All classes believed in the new land of golden promise, and fresh vitality was imparted to the stories of Tezon. De Vaca was summoned to the vice-regal court of Mexico, where his presence created a great excitement. The Viceroy, Mendoza, questioned him respecting the strange incidents of his escape, and as to the state of arts and civilization among the Indians. De Vaca represented the tribes on the Rio Grande and Gila, as wearing woven stuffs, living in large houses, built of stone, and possessing rich mines. From Mexico his fame preceded him to the court of Charles V., where he arrived in 1537, and where he was lionized on account of his adventures, sufferings, and the tales of golden wealth to be found in America. Nothing was too extravagant for the credulity of his audiences. Sufferings and perils he had indeed encountered; but, instead of plainly telling the Spaniards that Florida was a country containing no gold mines, destitute of cities, possessing no agriculture, roads, bridges, or any traces, either of high art, or semi-civilization, and that it was solely inhabited by savages, who cherished determined hostility to the Spanish race, he conformed to the preconceived notions of the court, the nobility, and the people, and represented, if he did not himself believe, that it was another Mexico — another Peru. The public mind was engrossed with the idea. Prominent among the believers of this tale was Ferdinand de Soto, who had been the most valuable assistant of Pizarro, in Peru, and had shared largely in the plunder of the Inca, Atahualpa.

De Soto determined to organize a new expedition for the conquest of Florida; one which *should*, and which in reality *did*, exceed in means and splendor anything of the kind which, at that period, had ever visited the New World. Gentlemen, and noblemen of rank and means, vied with each other for the honor of participating in the scheme. The finest horses of Andalusia and Estremadura, the most chivalric and enthusiastic cavaliers, and the bravest footmen, all armed and equipped in the most ample manner, as well as in the most glittering style, and well provided with drums, trumpets, and banners, formed the materiel of the army of De Soto. He received from the king the commission of Adalantado, together with the most ample powers for the establishment of a government.

During his transit to Cuba, where he spent a year, and augmented his forces, nothing occurred to dampen the ardor of his followers. Meantime, four natives, who were captured on the Floridian coast, were taught Spanish, that they might serve as interpreters. All his preparations having been completed, he embarked with his entire force, and arrived in the Bay of Espirito Santo, now Tampa, about the middle of May, 1539, having been twelve or thirteen days on the passage. He remained at anchor six days, while making reconnoissances. It was evident that the Indians designed meeting him in a hostile manner, for, though they had abandoned the coast, they had kindled fires to alarm the neighboring tribes.

On leaving the Spanish coast his force numbered 900 men, accompanied by twelve priests, and eight inferior clergy. At Cuba, numbers of adventurers joined him, who possessed many of the finest blood horses. At this time, his entire army must have exceeded 1000 men, a large body of whom were mounted. On the 31st of May, 300 men were landed to take possession of the ground, and serve as a cover for the general debarkation. No enemy appearing, they bivouacked unmolested; but, just before daybreak on the 1st of June, they were aroused by the horrid yells of the Indians, who suddenly attacked them with arrows and clubs. Many of the Spaniards were wounded, notwithstanding their bodies were protected by armor. Panic-struck, they fled to the shore in confusion, where they were reinforced from the ships, but by that time the Indians had gained the shelter of the forest. In this engagement the Spaniards lost only a single horse, which was pierced by an arrow, which, after passing through the saddle and housings, buried one-third of its shaft in the body of the animal. The whole army then debarked.[1]

The antipathy of the Indians to the Spaniards, and their apparent determination to contest, with all their natural ferocity, the invasion of their territory, could be judged of by this attack. Fired with the spirit of adventure, flushed with the hope of finding mines of the precious metals, and having a large body of the most spirited cavaliers of Spain and Portugal to lead his squadrons, De Soto pushed forward with extraordinary energy. The natives could not mistake his object: he came to conquer and rule, not with the peaceable design of seeking to obtain wealth from the earth by the aid of the plough. They fled before him, awed by the presence of such a large force, and by the evil prestige of the Spanish name; which nation had, from the advent of De Leon, sent military expeditions into the country, with no other objects than conquest and plunder.

Soon after entering Florida, De Soto heard that a white man was detained in captivity at one of the Indian villages. By negotiation with the chief, this man was surrendered, and proved to be John Ortez, one of the adherents of Narvaez, who had taken shelter in an Indian lodge, married, and learned the language. Owing to the similarity in the dialects of the Appalachian group, Ortez succeeded in holding communication with the Indians until the army reached the eastern shores of the Mississippi river; although, on some occasions, it had been found necessary to make use of several dialects, or languages, in order to communicate (as it were, through a succession of links), with particular tribes.

De Soto was a man of energy and decision of character, capable of directing a great enterprise. He had enacted no insignificant part in the overthrow of the Indian empire of the South, and in Florida he had expected to encounter a race of Indians equally unfitted for making a bold and determined resistance. But, instead of the mild Peruvians, he had to deal with an implacable race, whose policy was a subtle one. They fled before him, and again rallied their forces in his rear, occupying the country through which he had passed. They continually harassed his flanks, and waged a guerilla warfare, peculiar to themselves. In their negotiations with him, the most profound concealment and dissimulation was practised. They amused him with false reports of mines, which kept him marching and countermarching over immense districts, in pursuit of this golden ignis fatuus. He penetrated dense forests, crossed rivers, traversed valleys, skirted swamps, and marched over open and dry plains, parched with thirst and tormented with hunger, until he had explored the whole breadth of northern Georgia, and reached Cofatchequi, now Silver Bluffs, in South Carolina; but, not finding any gold mines there, he determined to seek them elsewhere. Diverging west and northwest for the Appalachian mountains, he entered a part of the Cherokee country, whence he descended in a southerly direction, to the waters of the Flint, Coosa, and Alabama, following the latter to its junction with the Tombigbee. In this march he carried with him an influential chief, called Tuscaloosa, or Black Warrior, who eventually induced him to encamp, with all his baggage, in a formidable timber fort, called Mauvilla; but, before the remainder of his army arrived at this place, the Indians attacked him with desperate fury, and drove his garrison out of the fortification. They then closed the gates, lowered themselves down from the walls, and attacked him. The contest was maintained for three hours with great obstinacy on both sides; but at length De Soto, having been reinforced by a body of cavalry which had been left at his last encampment, ordered the gates to be hewn down with battle-axes, and entered the fort. The fight was here renewed, on the part of the natives, with a courage and desperation such as Spaniards had never before witnessed in America. To prevent the Indians from retaining possession of certain buildings within the area of the fort, of which they had obtained control, some Spanish soldiers fired them. The result of this act was most disastrous; the entire fortification was soon in flames, and with it were consumed the Spanish baggage, commissariat, medicines, camp stores, and supplies of every kind. In this battle and siege the Spaniards acknowledge a loss of eighty-two men, among whom were several distinguished officers. They had also forty-two horses killed. But the casualties among the Indian warriors present a vast disparity, being stated at 2500 by the historian.[1]

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[1] Vol. III., Plate XXXV., p. 39.

Toilsome marches, insufficient food, and hard fighting, having by this time cooled the ardor of some of the officers, they had arrived at the sage conclusion that the auriferous prize, which had lured them from their homes, was not easily attainable. The results of the last battle were so dispiriting, that De Soto accidentally overheard conversations which he deemed treasonable. Some of his cavaliers expressed a strong desire for a re-union with the fleet, which was supposed to be at that time in what is now called Mobile Bay. Nothing, however, could dampen his ardor or spirits. Stung by the remarks, of which he had been an auditor, he determined to proceed northward in his career of exploration. The blow struck by the Appalachian tribes at Mauvilla, could not fail to be very severely felt; but, had it not been for the disclosure of dissatisfaction on the part of his followers, it is doubtful whether he would have determined to proceed towards the north and west. Instead, therefore, of descending the Mobile river to the Bay, meeting his vessels, and establishing his colony there, as he had intended, he directed his march toward the north. He crossed the rivers Black Warrior, Tombigbee, and Yazoo, though not without strong opposition, and directed his course in a northwesterly direction to the town of the Chicaza, which was found to have been deserted on his approach. It being at this time late in December, and the weather assuming a wintry aspect, he determined to encamp his army and pass the winter at this place. During two months the army enjoyed comparative repose, making no movement, except when necessity required them to forage for provisions, or to repulse the guerilla attacks, to which they were subjected night and day. At length the Chickasaws resolved to burn the encampment; the buildings having been constructed of poles, canes, reeds, and other inflammable materials. A dark and windy night having been chosen, the camp was fired in several places, the savages at the same time uttering furious yells, and making a desperate attack. The high winds fanned the flames into irresistible fury, and for a time the confusion rendered it impossible to resist the impetuosity of the assailants. Discipline and courage, however, regained the ascendency, and the enemy was repulsed. But the camp was totally destroyed, together with all the arms, saddles, accoutrements, and provisions belonging to the army. All that had been spared by the conflagration at Mauvilla, was here annihilated. The droves of hogs which had formed their main resource for provisions, were burned in their pens. The temper of their swords had been impaired by the action of the fire, and almost every valuable article of equipage was consumed. Forty Spaniards had fallen, and fifty horses had been slain.[1] The effects of this conflagration were even more disastrous than that at Mauvilla. But nothing could diminish the zeal, or divert the purpose, of De Soto, who may truly be styled, a hero in disaster as well as in victory. He formed a new camp, on an eligible spot, distant four leagues from his former one, naming it Chickasilla.[2]

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[1] Vol. III., p. 44.

The 1st of April had arrived before he could repair his losses, and place his army in condition to continue his march; it was only, however, to encounter renewed opposition. A hostile spirit was aroused in every direction, which expended its fury in guerilla attacks, no body of the enemy being willing to encounter De Soto in the field. He soon came to a strongly stockaded and well defended fort, called Alabama, erected on the banks of a stream. This he carried by a desperate assault, in which he lost fifteen men. He then moved on, through tangled paths, to a village called Chisca, which was immediately stormed. It had been deserted by the warriors, but all the women, children, and old men were captured, and retained as hostages for the good behavior of the Chickasaws. De Soto then continued his course to the north, by easy marches, during four days, when, to the joy of the entire army, they deployed on an elevated plain of cleared ground, having bluff banks, which were washed by the rushing waters of a great river, which De Soto named Rio Grande. It was the Mississippi river. He had probably reached the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, in north latitude, about 32°.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 45.

[2] Ibid, p. 47.

On this elevated and eligible spot, De Soto rested for twenty days, while engaged in making preparations to cross that magnificent stream, and pursue his explorations to the west of it, in the direction of the Pacific Ocean. By a most eccentric line of march,[1] he had traversed the area of the present States of Florida, Georgia, a part of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee, and at every point had encountered, either an open or secret enmity from the Indians, especially the Muscogees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, who had fought with unexampled ferocity. They were a poor, but brave and warlike people, determined to protect their country and their natural liberties. Tribes which had formerly been at variance, united to repel this formidable invasion. They were, ethnologically speaking, branches of one great stock. During the previous twenty-five years they had acquired bitter experience of Spanish invasion, and hence hated the race with such intensity, that they determined to die rather than surrender the country. That the Spanish character had been well weighed by them, and that their dislike was deep-rooted, as well as general, may be gathered from the following quotation from Garcellaso de la Vega.

"Others of your accursed race," said Acuera, a Muscogee chief, to De Soto's messengers, "have, in years past, poisoned our peaceful shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds, from land to land, to rob the poor, to betray the confiding, to murder the defenceless in cold blood. No, with such a people, I want no peace — no friendship. War, never-ending war, exterminating war, is all the boon I ask."[2]

Two younger brothers of the Micco of Vitachucco, a Muscogee chief, having been captured, sent messages to him, speaking favorably of the Spaniards, and imploring submission. "It is evident enough," he replied, "that you are young, and have neither judgment nor experience, or you would never have spoken as you have done, of these hated white men. You extol them greatly as virtuous men, who injure no one. You say that they are valiant, that they are children of the sun, and merit all our reverence. The vile chains which they have hung upon you, and the mean and dastardly spirit which you have acquired during the short period you have been their slaves, have caused you to speak like women, lauding what you should censure and abhor.

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[1] Vol. III., Plate XLIV.

[2] Vol. III., p. 38.

"You remember that these strangers can be no better than those who formerly committed so many cruelties in our country. Are they not of the same nation, and subject to the same laws? Do not their manners of life prove them to be children of the Evil Spirit, and not of the sun and moon—our gods? Go they not from land to land, plundering and destroying? taking the wives and daughters of others, instead of bringing their own with them—and, like mere vagabonds, maintaining themselves by the labor of others?"[1]

All the Indians encountered in Florida, from Tampa Bay to the Mississippi river, were characterized by a very decided spirit of independence, and the most deep hostility to all foreign aggression.[2]

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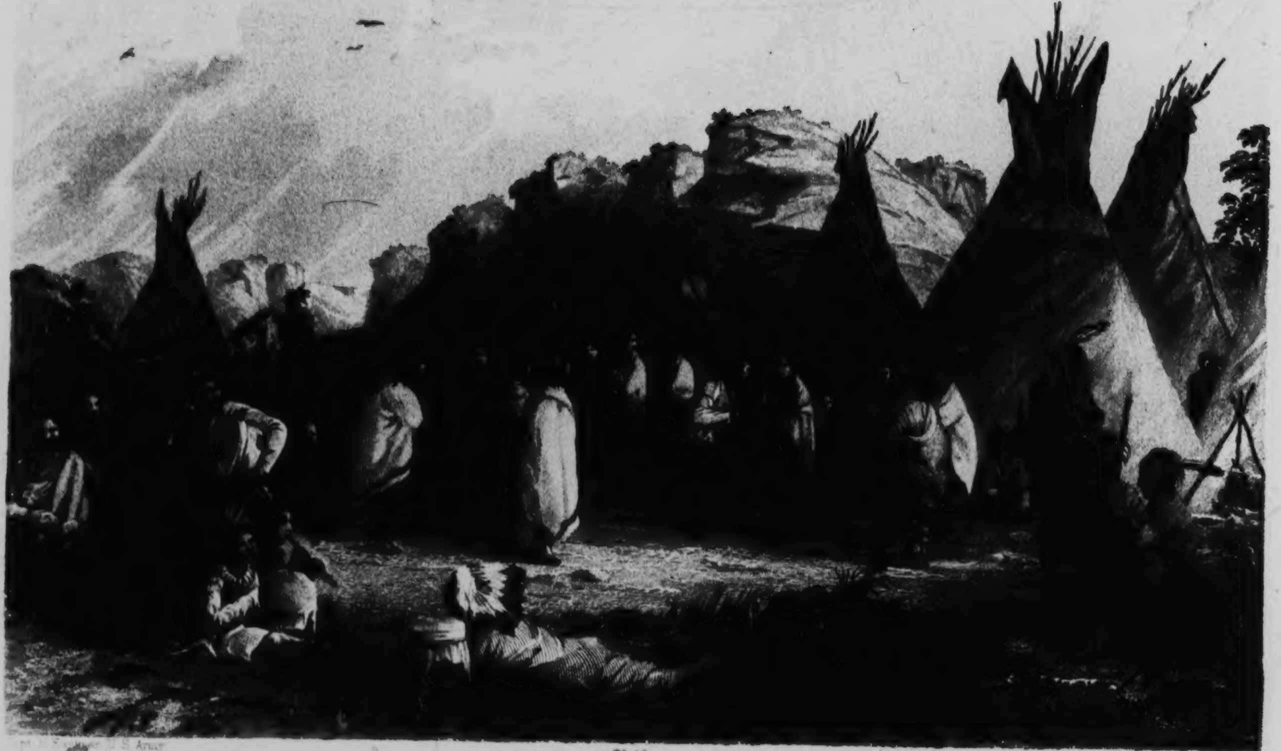
[1] Ethnological Researches, Vol. III., p. 39.

[2] Florida Indians of the Era of De Soto.



Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army

PL. 12

S. Hunt

SCALP DANCE OF THE DACOTAHS

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CHAPTER VIII.

DE SOTO CROSSES THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, AND TRAVERSES THE PRESENT AREA OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS. FAMILY OF DAKOTAHS, OR PRAIRIE TRIBES.

De Soto, having recruited his army on the high and beautiful elevation of the Chickasaw Bluffs, and restored its failing strength, every means which 1540 an able commander could adopt, were resorted to for repairing his losses. Forges were erected, where the swords and spears of his soldiers were re-tempered. Buckskin was ingeniously employed in repairing the burnt saddles and accoutrements. The horses regained their strength when pastured on the rich prairie grass, and all the arms were re-burnished. Once more the squadrons of De Soto were able to assume a martial bearing. Plumes nodded, and glittering steel again flashed before the eyes of the wondering natives. The gallant men, and fine horses, lost at Mauvilla, at Fort Alabama, on the Yazoo, and at Chickaza, were at the moment forgotten, and the old chivalric character of the Spaniard shone forth with renewed lustre, as he marched down to the margin of the Mississippi, and prepared to pass that boundary, which he was destined never again to recross, but, like another Alaric, to make its bed his mausoleum. The month of May had but just manifested its arrival by its mild airs, and the expanding vegetation, combined with the increased flow of the waters, which served to give life and animation to the scene.

Boats had been constructed to convey the whole army over in divisions, at the old Indian crossing above the mouth of the St. Frances. The Indians presented themselves on the opposite banks in a hostile attitude. The horse and infantry were embarked in as proud array, and as compact masses as possible. To protect the debarkation of the troops, a body of picked men, with their horses, had been ferried over before day-break, and effected a landing without meeting with any opposition. The river was estimated to be half a league in width, but pronounced swift and deep. Two hours before sunset the whole army had crossed; the Indians not having made any combined effort to oppose it, not a man was lost. De Soto immediately made arrangements to put his columns in motion for the high grounds. But his position was one of embarrassment. He had rid himself of the Chickasaws, and their affiliated tribes, on the east banks of the river, but was surrounded by others, characterized by more savage manners and customs, and actuated by a still fiercer spirit of enmity. Their language, also, being entirely different, John Ortez could no longer make himself understood, and the tedious circumlocution in the translation, sometimes made four different renditions imperative. These tribes were of the Issati, or Dakotah, lineage.

Dense forests, rearing their towering growth on swampy lands, surrounded him; but onward he marched, following the Indian footpath. After a journey of five days' length, he reached the table lands of Missouri, and encamped near a village of the Casqui (Kaskaski), on the St. Francis. The Casqui received him joyfully, and entered into a treaty with him. But it was a league which had nearly proved fatal to De Soto, as they were a weak tribe, and at war with the Kiapaha (Quappas). The latter had their strong-hold on the right banks of the Mississippi, apparently near the present site of New Madrid. The Casqui offered to accompany them in full force, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying the baggage of the army, but they had no sooner arrived in the vicinity of the Quappa villages, than they slily advanced and furiously attacked them. The latter, who were temporarily absent from the principal village, soon rallied, and proved themselves to be most brave and determined enemies. They at last fled to a strong position on an island in the Mississippi, where the Spaniards, having followed them, were, in the end, compelled to retreat. This was the first tribe of the great prairie group, or Dakotahs, that De Soto had encountered.

While at the Kiapaha village, he sent messengers westward to inquire into the truth of rumors of mineral wealth; but they found nothing but copper. They, however, penetrated into the western plains, and discovered the Buffalo.

De Soto then returned to the country of the Casqui, where he spent many days, to allow the army time to recruit their forces. This vicinity afforded plenty of food, and had the advantage of being an open country, where cavalry could manœuvre. His army having been refreshed, he moved south to Qiquate, where rumors of mineral wealth reaching him, drew him north to a spot called Caligoa,[1] at the sources of the St. Francis. He was at this time in the granite tract of St. Michael's, Missouri, celebrated for its volcanic upheavals, and pinnacles of Azoic rocks, its iron mountains, its lead mines, and its ores of cobalt.[2]

Reports of new and tempting mineral regions in the south, soon led him in search of a country called Cayas. He crossed the Unica, or White river, at Tanico,[3] and allowed his troops to rest for twenty days in a fine valley, at a place called Tula. The Indian residents of this place were "ill-favored, tattooed, and ferocious." The army then marched five days toward the west, over an elevated, uninhabited region, comprising the broad and rugged district of the modern Ozark Mountains. Beyond this broken chain De Soto entered the country of the Quipano (Pani, or Pawnee),[1] which has a comparatively level surface. A few days' farther march westward, he found himself in a territory abounding in game, well supplied with grass, and dotted over with prairies. Having discovered the Arkansas river, he here determined to establish his winter quarters. Ordering stalls to be constructed for his horses, and a regular encampment to be formed, on this spot he passed the winter of 1541–42. The site of this camp appears to have been on the banks of the Neosho, and was in the midst of beautiful natural meadows.

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[1] This was the most northerly point he attained. The speculations of Mr. Noah Webster, published in Carey's American Museum, for 1790, attributing the mounds and fortifications of the Ohio valley to De Soto's army are the vaguest possible, and scarcely require refutation. He was never within 500 miles of them.

[2] A highly picturesque mineral region, which I first brought to the notice of naturalists, in 1818, in my "View of the Lead Mines of Missouri."

[3] The writer, having visited this valley in 1818, observed some remains of smelting apparatus below the Buffalo shoals, and at a point a little lower down, some white, limey remains, apparently the residuum of bones. "Vide Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains, in 1818 and 1819. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1 vol., 8vo., 1854."

When spring had opened sufficiently to warrant him in moving forward, he proceeded down the Arkansas, crossing that stream near the present site of Van Buren, or Fort Smith, and, following its southern plains down to Little Rock, again crossed to the north, and directed his course along the banks of the stream, till he reached its mouth, notwithstanding he was greatly embarrassed by the deep inlet of White river. Being in a feeble state of health, and a fever beginning to prostrate him, De Soto here encamped, and calmly contemplated his approaching end. After having appointed Moscoso, his camp-master, to succeed him, surrounded by his officers, who had followed him through scenes of danger and trial, over nearly half the continent of North America, he calmly yielded up his spirit. At first his body was interred in the vicinity, great precautions being taken to conceal the spot, lest the Indians should exhume, and mutilate his remains. Finally, his followers placed the corpse in a sarcophagus, formed from the hollowed trunk of a tree, which they conveyed in a boat at midnight to the centre of the Mississippi river, and sunk beneath its turbid waters.

With the death of De Soto, that intrepid daring and noble emulation, which had been called into action by his master mind, began to flag; but, though the enterprise was, in fact, crushed, the truth did not immediately appear.

1543 As soon as the sad funereal rites were finished, Moscoso prepared to lead a new expedition toward the west. He ascended the southern banks of the Arkansas, directing his course in a southwesterly line, across the Washita, and the smaller affluants of the Arkansas and Red rivers. He encountered the most determined opposition from all the tribes he met. They fought with a desperation which was extraordinary, and were repulsed with that chivalrous and dashing bravery which had, from the first, characterized the entire operations of the expedition. He eventually reached the buffalo plains, which stretch from the Canadian fork of the Arkansas to the sources of the Red river. Though it was expected that they should, somewhere in this vicinity, meet parties of Spanish military explorers from the south, this hope was at last relinquished, and the army retraced its steps to the mouth of the Arkansas, amid great perils, and with unparalleled toil.

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[1] Ethnological Researches, Vol. IV.

To found a colony at a point so remote from the sea, with the crippled and inadequate means in their possession, and subject to the active hostility of all the Indian tribes, both east and west of that stream, appeared to be so impracticable, that Moscoso resolved to build boats, and descend the Mississippi in them to its mouth. As soon as they were completed, the whole force embarked, the horses being placed in long, narrow boats, with their fore feet in one, and their hind feet in another. The Indians exulted on seeing the Spaniards making preparations to leave their country, and, embarking in their canoes, pursued the retiring troops with the utmost boldness and energy. Sometimes they attacked the flotilla in front, sometimes from the bank. Their arrows could be impelled with such force, that they had been known to pierce a horse, after passing through the skirts of a saddle. The retreating forces were often obliged to deploy and defend themselves, and in these skirmishes the Spaniards suffered the most severely. The armor of the soldiers was proof against the arrows of the foe, but the flanks of the poor horses being exposed, these noble animals were thinned off, day by day, until, on arriving at the mouth of the river, there was not a single horse left alive.

As soon as Moscoso entered the gulf, he steered for the coast of Panuca, where he finally arrived, after encountering great perils, both from the warring elements and the disagreement of the pilots. Thus terminated an expedition, which had been organized with extraordinary fame and splendor, and the members of which comprised some of the most chivalrous and able officers of the age. Nearly three years had been spent, in traversing the immense plains and forests intervening between the peninsula of Florida and the plains of Arkansas. Everywhere the Indians had been found to be inimical to the Spanish race, and had manifested a spirit and daring, in repelling the invaders, which well merited the appellation of heroic.[1]

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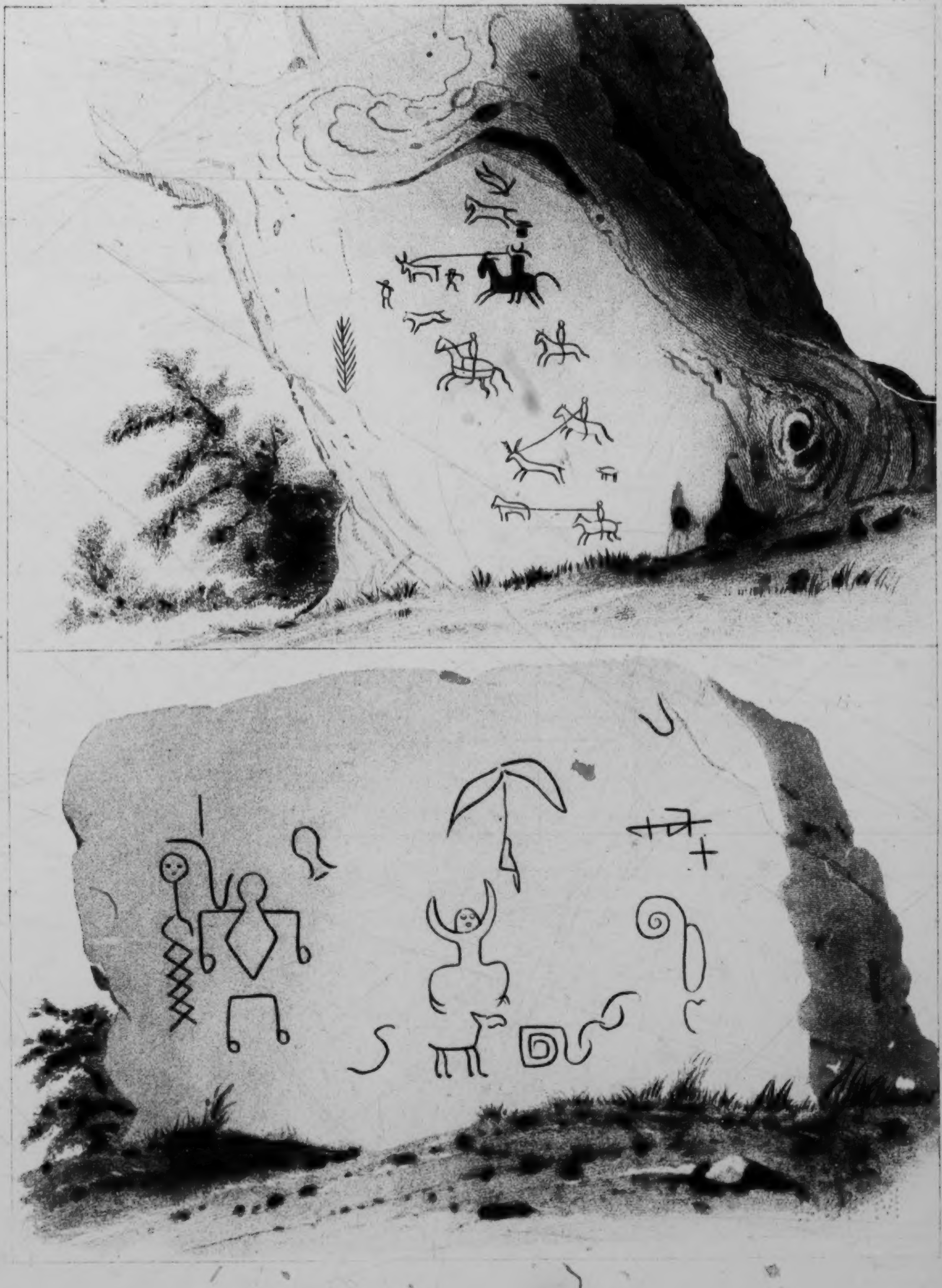
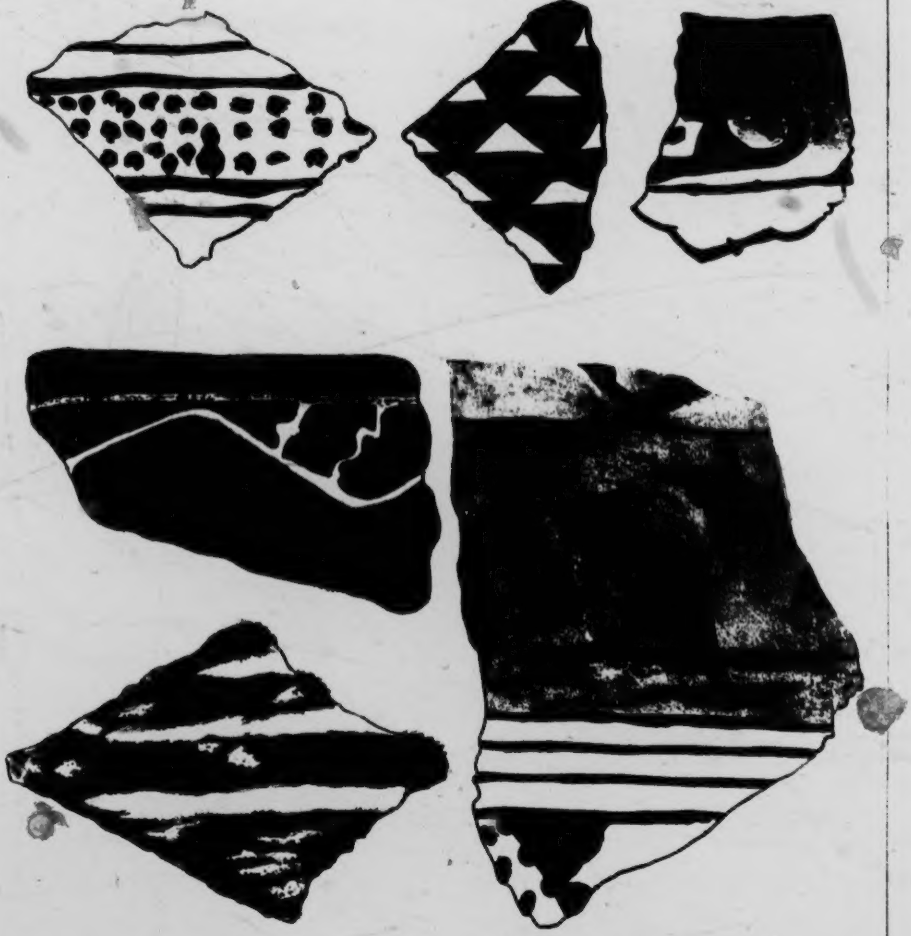
[1] In 1818–19, the writer traversed the country west of the Mississippi, visited by De Soto. For sketches of this tour, vide Vol. IV., p. 278.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM NEW MEXICO.



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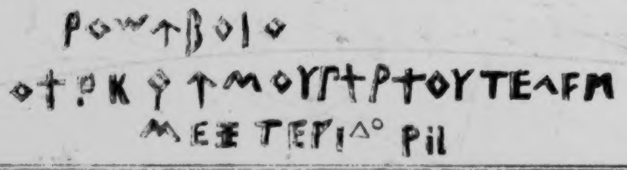

ANCIENT PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION ON A TOMB IN ASIA MINOR

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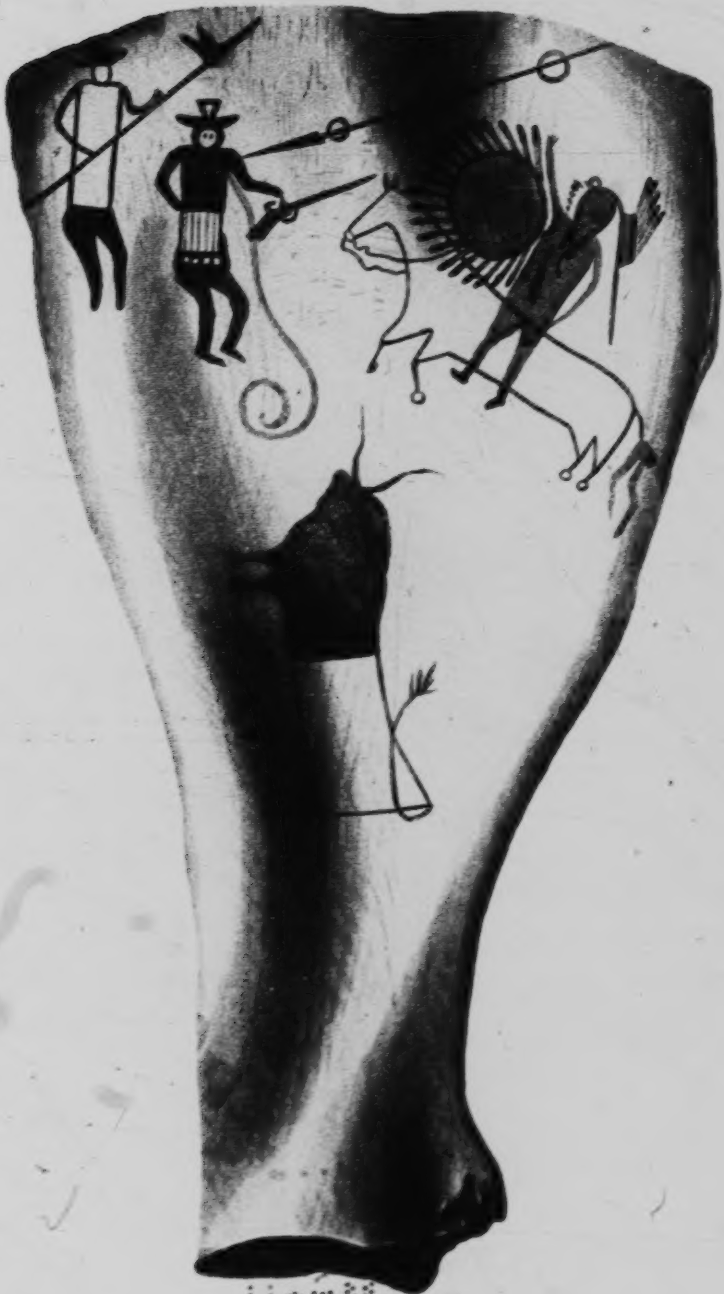

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CHAPTER IX.

CORONADO'S EXPEDITION INTO THE TERRITORY WHICH HAS ACQUIRED THE NAME OF NEW MEXICO. THE ZUNI, MOQUI, NAVAJO, AND COGNATE TRIBES.

The enthusiasm of all who credited the story of Tezon received a new impulse, and large accessions were made to the number of believers, by the 1541 accounts given by Caba de Vaca, of the Indian tribes he had seen during his extraordinary peregrinations, extended through a term of eight or nine years, between the point where he was wrecked, on the Florida coast, and New Gallicia, on the Pacific. Not only did his presence in Spain give origin to the expedition of De Soto, but, at the same time, to the almost equally renowned one organized by Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, and placed under the command of Coronado. This expedition had been preceded by one sent by Guzman, the Governor of New Gallicia, in search of the seven cities of Cibola; but this party penetrated no farther than Culiacan, whence it returned with accounts of the difficulties attending the enterprize. This effort only tended to stimulate the equipment of the more formidable organization of the Viceroy.

As a preliminary step, Mendoza had despatched Marcos de Niza, accompanied by two friars, and Estevan, the African brought to Mexico by De Vaca, to make explorations of the country. On reaching Culiacan, De Niza and his companions rested a few days. Meantime, Estevan pushed forward, crossed the Gila, and entered the valley of Cibola, while De Niza was still sixty leagues behind. The first thing he did at this place, after the caziques assembled, was to demand their gold and their wives. After questioning him as to his authority for making such a demand, having reason to suspect him as a spy of some invading force, they determined to put him to death, which sentence was immediately executed. De Niza, on learning the fate of Estevan, returned to Compostella, and thence to Mexico, where, however, both in his reports, and in an account of his discoveries, which he published, he greatly exaggerated the resources and the value of the country. These statements secured his appointment as the guide for the expedition, to which he devoted all his energies. Mendoza appointed Francisco Vasquez Coronado as commander, who was, at the same time, nominated the successor of Guzman, in the government of New Gallicia. Three hundred men were enlisted, of whom an extraordinary large proportion consisted of cavaliers and gentlemen. Mendoza, himself, went as far as Compostello with the troops, where they were joined by 800 Indians, whose duties were to carry baggage, and act as guides, as well as pioneers. It is somewhat remarkable that this expedition set out at the same time that De Soto was traversing the broad plains of Florida, and actually reached the waters of the Rio Gila, when he crossed the Mississippi. Both armies eventually explored portions of the great buffalo plains of Arkansas. Coronado met De Niza at Chiametta, on his return from making reconnoissances. He reported that they had penetrated 200 leagues, as far as Chichiticala, but gave so vague an account, that, between his representations of its being "barren," and a "good" country, Coronado and his army were completely bewildered. On, however, they marched. Reaching Chichiticala, they discovered the ruins of a large house, built of dry clay, surrounded by the remains of a population, which had evident claims to be regarded as belonging to a higher type of civilization than any of the existing tribes.[1] Crossing the Gila, Coronado led his army onward over a desert, until they reached a small stream, by following the valley of which, they soon arrived before the lofty natural walls of Cibola (Old Zuni). On the top of this stood the town, composed of high, terraced buildings, whose first stories could only be reached by movable ladders, the natural defence of semi-civilization against savage incursions.[2] The Indians cultivated corn in the valleys below, wove coarse stuffs for clothing, manufactured a species of pottery, but possessed neither gold nor mines. The streets of goldsmiths, reported by Tezon, were myths. Without waiting to make any inquiries, the Spaniards immediately assaulted the town. The natives rolled down stones, one of which struck Coronado and knocked him down. The place being taken, after an hour's struggle, the troops found provisions, but no gold; and so great did the excitement become against De Niza, for his falsehoods, that he was obliged to flee.

It is not necessary to enter into a further detail of the incidents attending
1542 Coronado's invasion of New Mexico, to denote that he was resisted at every
point by the native tribes. He passed one winter in the country, and then returned to New Gallicia, leaving the troops under the command of subordinates. The following year was devoted to an exploration of this territory, extending to the Colorado on the west, and to the Rio Grande on the east. The expedition crossed this stream, passing the head waters of the Pecos, and pursued their route to the buffalo plains of the Arkansas. If De Soto was amused by Indian rumors, which led him from place to place, in Florida, Coronado and his officers were equally misled by reports of towns, cities, and mines, said to exist throughout New Mexico, including the extreme western portions of Texas, and the southwestern part of Louisiana and Arkansas. The country was only conquered while the Spaniards remained. They found no large

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[1] For particular accounts of these ruins, see Ethnological Researches, Vol. IV., p. 297 to 603.

[2] Vol. III., p. 302.

or well-built towns; neither roads, nor bridges, nor elaborate temples; and no mines of the precious metals. Discovering it to be but a barren conquest, difficult of maintenance, and destitute of resources, the Spanish army prepared to abandon it to its original owners, and, after passing their second winter in the high and bleak elevations west of the Rio Grande, they returned to Mexico.

Thus terminated the celebrated expedition of Coronado, by which we first acquired a knowledge of the manners, customs, arts, and character of the Moqui, Navajo, and other New Mexican tribes. The route of Coronado's march, carefully prepared by the late Mr. Kearns, a topographical assistant engineer in the United States' service, who visited the region, is given in a prior part of this work.[1]

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[1] Vol. IV., Plate III., p. 39.

SECTION THIRD.

CONTENTION OF FRANCE AND SPAIN FOR THE OCCUPATION OF FLORIDA.

CHAPTER I.

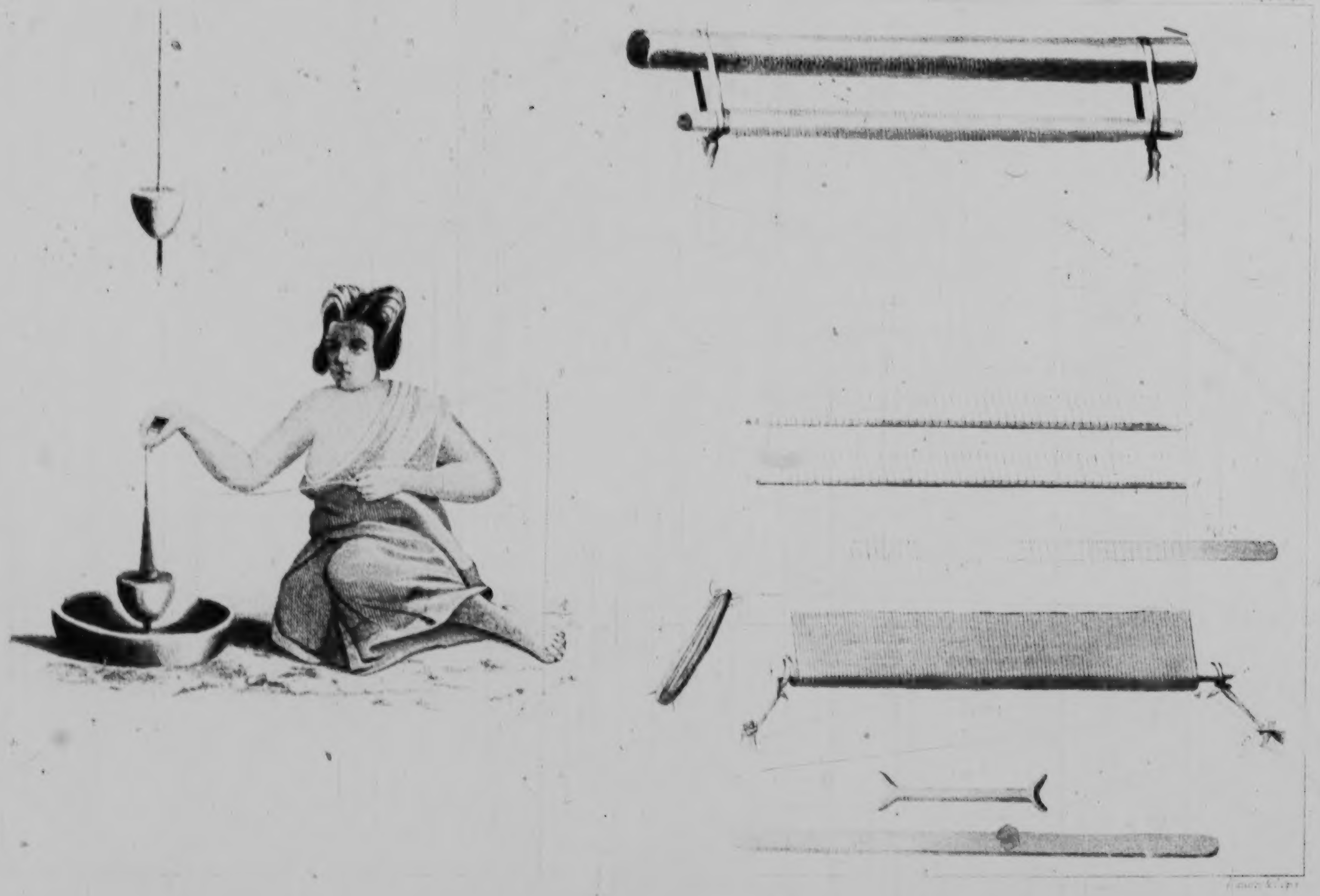
VOYAGES OF RIBAULT AND LAUDONNIERE.

Thus far our information regarding the Indian tribes had been derived, in direct sequence, from incidental notices of the operations of De Leon and Vasquez, in the south; of Cartier and Roberval in the north; of Verrazani in the area of the central littoral tribes; of Narvaez and De Soto among the Appalachian and the Issati, or Great Western family; and of Caba de Vaca and Coronado among the Querchos, or Buffalo Hunters, and the house building tribes of the high plains of New Mexico. The year 1542 witnessed the failure of the last three principal attempts at colonization, those of Cartier, De Soto, and Coronado.

Twenty years, of comparative inaction and quiet, succeeded these energetic efforts to found territorial sovereignties in the extensive country possessed by the Indians. In the meantime, the Reformation had made such progress in Europe, as to engender a new and bitter source of discord between the subjects of the colonizing powers. Loyola had taught the ancient Christian faith to the natives of East India, and Las Casas was selected to perform the same service for the benighted, and, as he thought, ill-used aborigines of America. Religious instruction was considered to be an essential adjunct of every attempt to explore, conquer, and colonize; an ecclesiastical force always accompanying those expeditions, whose duty it was to divert the attention of the native tribes, from their gross dæmonology and idolatry, to God.

Prominent among the converts in France, to the new doctrines promulgated by Luther and Calvin, was Admiral Coligni, a man of much influence, one of the nobility, and holding a high rank. The narrow-minded Charles IX., then a mere boy, and his

Pl. 37



MODE OF SPINNING AND WEAVING BY THE PUEBLO INDIANS

more famed, but bigoted mother, Catherine de Medicis, were then in power in France. Coligni, being desirous of providing an asylum for his persecuted countrymen, professing the Protestant faith, turned his attention to the New World. He first made an experiment in Brazil, which failed, through the treachery of Villegagnon, his agent, who renounced his faith; he next directed his thoughts to Florida, then a geographical term, having an almost continental extent, but which, in 1524, had been named New France, by Verrazani. He received a patent from the king for founding a colony in this quarter, and provided two ships, which were placed under the command of John Ribault, a skilful and resolute Huguenot, who set sail from Havre de Grace on the 18th of February, 1562. Steering a nearly direct course across the Atlantic, without touching at any of the West India islands, he made the coast of Florida on the last day of April, the voyage having occupied a little over two months, owing to the delay caused by tempestuous weather. The following day he cast anchor off the mouth of the St. John's river, naming it the river of May; then, entering it with his boats, he ascertained that there was a good depth of water in the channel.

Ribault took possession of the country in the name of the king, and erected a stone monument, which he had brought with him from France for that purpose. Having established a friendly, as well as pleasant intercourse with the natives, and spent a few days with them, he re-embarked, and, during "four weeks" continued his voyage along the coast, until he arrived at Port Royal, within the present limits of South Carolina. Finding, on exploring it by means of his boats, that the harbor was spacious, the water deep, and the anchorage excellent, he entered it with his largest ships, and dropped his anchors in a good position. The territory in which he then was, had been named Chicora by the natives, as also by the early Spanish adventurers. Magnificent scenery, both land and water, was spread before him in every direction. Delighted with the prospect, he took formal possession of the surrounding territory by erecting an engraved monumental stone, bearing the king's arms. Having determined to found a settlement at this place, a suitable spot was selected, which is supposed to have been near to, or on the site of the present town of Beaufort, where he erected a fortification called Fort Charles.[1] Leaving thirty men, well provided with arms, tools, and supplies, to begin operations, he placed them under the command of Albert de Peirria, and then returned to France. Being a strictly conscientious man, Ribault did not follow the example of the Spanish mariners, and abduct the natives of the country, that he might exhibit them in Europe as specimens of the Indian race.

The Chicora Indians, having naturally very gentle manners, were kind in supplying the colonists with the zea maize, and rendering them other services. In these offices of kindness, the local chief, Andasta, took a prominent part, and was seconded by others at more southerly points, who were respectively entitled Ouade, Couexes, Maccoa, Outina, Satouriona, Wosta, Oleteraca, Timagoon, and Potanon, the orthographical elements of which names do not coincide with the Muscogee, Cherokee, or any known number of the Floridian stock.

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[1] This name is derived from allusion to Charles IX., of France, and not Charles II., of England — a mistake in a recent Life of Ribault. Vide Sparks' American Biography, Vol. III., new series, p. 28.

The colonists themselves, however, being idle and factious, planted nothing, and had no idea of directing their attention to the real business before them. Peirria having no proper conception of the authority delegated to him, became an inflated tyrant, hanged one of the men as a measure of discipline, and performed other arbitrary acts. Eventually the colonists rebelled against his authority, and put him to death; after which, having appointed another leader in his stead, they determined to build a vessel and return in it to France. This plan was carried out, and the entire party embarked, abandoning the fort. The voyage having been long, as well as tempestuous, and the vessel, weak and miserable, they suffered horribly. Most of them died of starvation and exposure. At length, when near the coast of France, an English vessel hove in sight, by which the few survivors were saved.

At this period, events were equally as transitory in the Old World as in the New. When Ribault returned to France, after establishing his little colony at Fort Charles, and giving it promises of assistance, he found the contest between the Catholics and the Reformers raging with greater violence than ever, and Coligni to be so much involved in this struggle, that he applied to the king in vain for succor for the colony. As soon, however, as the warfare against the Huguenots had subsided, three ships were fitted out to convey assistance to the colony in Chicora, and placed under the orders of René de Laudonniere, who, in addition to the ordinary outfit of men and supplies, was provided with an artist, who had orders to sketch the features, as also the costumes of the natives, and other curiosities.[1]

1564 Laudonniere sailed from Havre de Grace on the 22d of April, 1564, being one year and nine months subsequent to the first departure of Ribault from the same port. Intelligence of the sad fate of those left at Fort Charles, had, evidently, been received in France prior to this time, although the fact is not distinctly stated. However, be that as it may, Laudonniere did not proceed to Fort Charles, but, on the 25th of June, cast anchor off the mouth of the river of May, the St. John's, in Florida. On entering the river, he was received by Satouriona, and his tribe, who shouted in French, *ami, ami.* By them he was guided to the monument of possession erected by Ribault, which he found crowned with garlands, and surrounded by little baskets of zea maize. There was, indeed, a warmth and cordiality in the reception of the French by these aborigines, which, whatever may have occasioned it, has marked the intercourse of the French with the Indians, from that day to the present;

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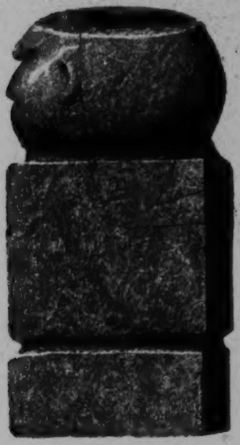
[1] The artist was Le Moyne, to whom we are indebted for the first attempts to delineate the ancient Indians of this part of America.

From Camden, S.C.



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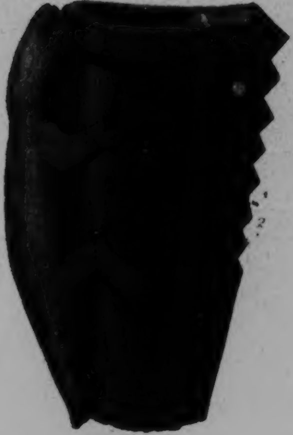

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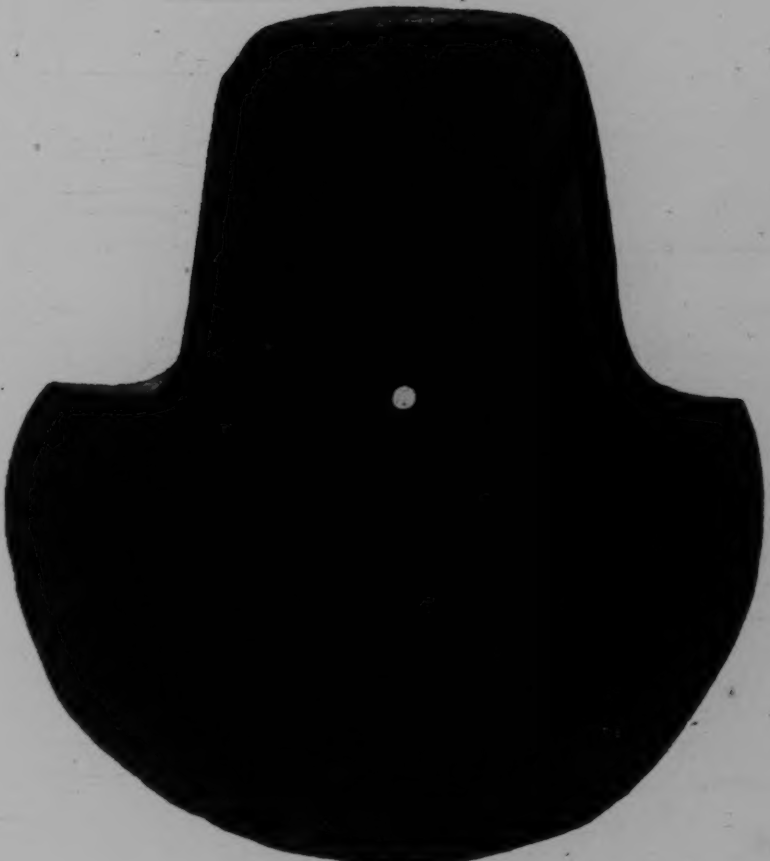

From Camden S.C. Full size

Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army

ANTIQUITIES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

which friendly feelings have not been manifested by them toward any other nation whatever.

Laudonniere was entranced, not only with the picturesque beauty of the country, but also with its fertility, and its fragrant, as well as luxuriant vegetation. Quitting the St. John's, he sailed northwardly along the coast until he entered a river, which he named the Somme, where he was also received in a friendly manner by the Indians. A few days subsequently he returned again to the St. John's, and built a fort on its southern banks, about three leagues from its mouth, which he named Caroline,[1] in honor of Charles IX. The events connected with the history of this fort—the meeting, the improvements, the buccaneering and the executions, the visit to the friendly chief, Andasta, at Port Royal, Indian negotiations, fights, and other occurrences — impart a deep interest to this portion of the narrative; but they can only be thus incidentally noticed. Their result was the transmission of false reports to France, in consequence of which, Laudonniere was recalled.

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[1] Drawings of this fort, by Le Moyne, are engraved in De Bry.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND VISIT OF RIBAULT TO FLORIDA. TREACHEROUS MASSACRE OF HIMSELF AND HIS MEN.

THE intestine dissensions in France having been in a measure allayed, 1565 Admiral Coligni renewed his representations to the king, in favor of his plan of colonization in Florida. Early in January, 1565, authority was granted him to equip seven vessels for another voyage thither, with all possible despatch. This squadron was placed under the command of Ribault, who found no difficulty in procuring as many volunteers as he deemed necessary for the service, some of whom carried with them their wives and children. Whatever reports may have reached France concerning the untoward events at Fort Charles, they do not appear to have dampened the energy with which this expedition was equipped. Ribault sailed from Dieppe on the 27th of May, and arrived at the river St. John's, Florida, on the 28th of August. Ascending the river to Fort Caroline, he was welcomed by Laudonniere, whose conduct he approved. A few days subsequently, September 4th, a Spanish squadron, under the command of Menendez, a narrow-minded, and cruel bigot, arrived at the same place, with a comparatively large force of men, and more substantial and larger vessels. He held a commission from Philip II., to make discoveries and found a colony, and had explicit instructions to expel the Huguenots and Lutherans, who had fled from France under the patronage of Coligni.

A struggle for sovereignty ensued, which was rendered more rancorous by the admixture of religious elements in the strife. The crowned heads of Spain and France were still involved in the struggles of a contest between Catholicity and Protestantism—between the ancient form of worship, and the more modern one, originated by Luther and his co-laborers in the field of religion.

On the 8th of September, Menendez landed a few leagues south of the St. John's, at a point where laborers had been set to work, a day or two previous, to erect a fortification, which he named St. Augustine. Ribault, having determined to put to sea and attack the squadron, assembled his officers to deliberate on the measure. Objections were made to it by Laudonniere, but the voices of the majority concurred in the plan. At this time an Indian chief arrived, with the news that the Spaniards were digging trenches, and erecting breastworks, at the place where they had landed. By attacking their shipping, Ribault thought he would most effectually frustrate their design. Flushed with this idea, he took nearly all the available force of the fort, and set sail to encounter the enemy. At first calms, and, subsequently, a storm, prevented the contest, and drove the French out to sea. Menendez, learning the defenceless condition of Fort Caroline, determined to march against it with 500 men. Heavy rains, and the intervention of marshes, protracted his movements; but, after three days' march across the country, under the direction of Indian guides, his army reached the environs of the fort. The Spaniards advanced cautiously, and were not seen until they were close to the fort, which, taking advantage of some breaches, they at once assaulted. The contest was short; the works were soon stormed, and the survivors were nearly all immediately put to the sword; bigoted zeal adding its incitement to the perpetration of these horrors. It is stated that, on the 20th of September, when it was attacked, Fort Caroline had but eighty-six persons within its walls, a part of whom were women and children. Only nine or ten had ever borne arms, and but seventeen soldiers were fit for service, including some who were still confined, from the effects of wounds received in a battle with the Indians. The fort itself was found to be in a dilapidated state, Laudonniere having used the timber of one angle to build a vessel, when he had determined to abandon it. Laudonniere escaped into the woods, together with some others. Several of the prisoners were reserved to be hanged, and, having been taken to a tree standing near the fort, were all suspended on its limbs. The following inscription was then affixed to the trunk, "Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans."

Meantime the squadron of Ribault was wrecked on the Florida coast, without, however, the loss of any lives. The commander, after organizing his force, began his march back to Fort Caroline, following the coast line. Starvation soon reduced the men to mere skeletons. At length, on the banks of a stream, they were confronted by Menendez, with superior forces. A parley, negotiations, and a surrender ensued, the French delivering up their arms. They were then conveyed across the river in squads, and, as soon as each squad reached the other side, their hands were tied behind their backs, after which they were marched off to a distance and shot. When Ribault at last discovered the treachery, he was almost immediately deprived of life by a Spanish soldier, who stabbed him with a poniard; and Ortez, his junior in command, shared the same fate.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHEVALIER GOURGUES RETALIATES UPON THE SPANISH SETTLEMENT IN FLORIDA.

Intelligence of the horrid treachery of the Spaniards was received in France with one universal burst of indignation. The relatives of the persons massacred in Florida petitioned the king for redress, alleging that they had gone thither by his authority, and that, consequently, it was his crown that had been insulted. The nation demanded that the king of Spain should be required to make atonement for the atrocities of his subjects. But Charles IX. cared no more for these events than did Philip II. Protestantism being a heresy loathed by both monarchs, nothing was done. The blood of Ribault, and of his 900 followers,[1] vainly appealed to the French government for vengeance.

1567 At length the matter was taken in hand by the Chevalier Dominico Gourgues, a Gascon gentleman, descended from an ancient family. He possessed an enviable reputation for courage, influence, and moral character, and stood high in public estimation for his military services, both in France and in foreign countries. His success and skill in naval affairs were also of a high order.

At his own cost, Gourgues equipped three vessels, of moderate tonnage, adapted to the navigation of small rivers and shallow bays. In calling for volunteers, both soldiers and sailors, he told no one his precise object, the prestige of his name being sufficient. He mustered 100 soldiers having fire arms, among whom were gentlemen, and eighty mariners armed with cross-bows, who designed also to act with the military force. He carried with him provisions for one year.[2] It was the 22d of August before he left the coast of France. He appeared to meditate a descent on the shores of Africa, which he really visited, but, finally, steering across the Atlantic, he made the shores of Brazil, whence he directed his course to Cape St. Antonio, or the west cape of Cuba. At this place he called his men together, and revealed to them the object of the expedition. He stated the injuries inflicted upon their country, the insult to their king, the gross violation of all recognised laws of war, and, above all, the outrages upon humanity. Having aroused their enthusiasm, and excited their feelings and sense of justice, he sailed into the river Somme, now St. Mary's, the coast boundary between Florida and Georgia.

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[1] Sparks, Vol. VII., p. 42.

[2] Ibid., p. 119.

Nearly a year had elapsed in the performance of the long and circuitous voyage, and in the delays incident to the landings which had been made. Spring had again clothed the Florida coasts in verdure. It was early in the month of April, when Gourgues entered the river St. Mary's. The Indians were assembled in considerable numbers, and evinced signs of hostility, until they ascertained that the new comers were French. The chief, Satouriona, was there to welcome him, and restored to him a young Frenchman (Pierre Delre), who had escaped to the Indians after the massacre of the garrison of Fort Caroline, and who, subsequently, became very serviceable to the French as an interpreter. Satouriona soon gave Gourgues to understand that the Indians hated the Spaniards, whose domination was irksome, and at once agreed to aid Gourgues in an attack on the three Spanish forts, then located on the St. John's. The movements of Gourgues were very rapid. Finding the Indians ready to second him, he determined to attack the enemy immediately. In three days the Indians, to the number of 300, armed with bows, and led on by experienced warriors, set out by land for a rendezvous on the St. John's. Gourgues, intending to proceed by water, embarked his men in boats; but the winds being adverse, when half way thither, he landed and marched across the country. When he arrived at the rendezvous, all the Indians were there, ready and eager for the fray.

A conference having been held with the Indian chiefs, they marched forward, and just at night-fall reached the river. It was decided to attack the fort on the south bank at daybreak, the Indians being skilful guides; but it happened that the tide in a creek near the fort was up, making it then too deep to ford. This caused a delay, during the continuance of which they lay in ambush, in the forest, to avoid discovery. When the tide flowed out, the allies crossed the creek unobserved, stormed and carried the fort, sword in hand, retaining but few prisoners.

The feelings of Gourgues and his men were much excited by the capture of a culverine, having the arms of Henry IV. engraved on it, which had been mounted in Fort Caroline. Ordering his boats around, he determined immediately to assault the north fort. He embarked his men in military order; but the Indians, too impatient to wait for the return of the boats, plunged into the river and swam across. Seeing so great an array, the garrison, sixty in number, made no show of defence, but fled, with the intention of seeking shelter in another fort, situated three miles above. But they were met by another strong party of French, and, being hemmed in by the Indians in the rear, were completely cut to pieces, with the exception of fifteen men, who were detained, that they might be hanged.

Fort Matheo, the strongest of the three, which the Spaniards had erected after the capture of Fort Caroline, was still unharmed. While meditating on the best mode of attack, they were informed by one of the Spanish prisoners, a soldier from Fort Matheo, of the exact height of its walls, to scale which, ladders were at once prepared. At this time the Indians discovered a Spaniard in camp, in the disguise of an Indian, who proved to be a spy. From him Gourgues learned that the garrison consisted of 260 men, that the fort was large, and that it was believed that Gourgues had a force of 2000 men. He instantly determined on his plan of attack, and, after two days spent in preparation, he directed the Indians to conceal themselves in the forest, on both sides of the river, near the fort. He then crossed in boats with his whole force, merely leaving behind him fifteen men as a guard. As soon as his army was seen from the fort, the Spaniards opened their culverines on him, to avoid the effects of which, he landed and took possession of an eminence, overlooking the fort and the movements of its garrison, while his own troops were concealed and protected. He designed taking the work by escalade the following morning, but the Spaniards precipitated matters by ordering a sally of sixty men. Gourgues ordered an officer and twenty men to get between the fort and the sallying party, by a circuitous route, which being accomplished, he marched rapidly forward, directing his forces to reserve their fire for a close contest, and, after the first discharge, to rush on sword in hand. Many of the foe fell, and, though the rest fought bravely, they were at length obliged to retreat; but, encountering the force in their rear, every man was slain, no quarter being given.

Seeing the flower of their force thus cut down, the garrison, crediting the exaggerated reports of the French strength, fled across the river, where the Indians, lying in ambush, rose upon them with overwhelming fury. Such was their skill in the use of the arrow, that one of them passed through the buckler of a Spanish officer, and entered his body, killing him dead on the spot. The French, having again crossed the river, assaulted the Spaniards in the rear, killing all who escaped the Indians; and thus the entire garrison perished, with the exception of a few, reserved for the gallows, as a retaliation for the cruelty of the Spaniards, after the surrender of Ribault.

Fort Matheo was entered triumphantly, and was found to contain a large quantity of arms, nine culverines, of all sizes, and eighteen casks of powder. The following day the boats were freighted with the artillery; but the magazine was blown up by a secret train, left by the enemy, which was unwittingly fired by an Indian, while cooking fish.

The work of retribution was not, however, as yet, fully completed. Drawing up his men, and the auxiliary Indians who had taken so active a part in the short campaign, and placing all the Spanish prisoners whom he had taken, in the centre, Gourgues addressed the latter, recounting to them the atrocities committed by Menendez, and finished by condemning them to immediate execution, in the same manner as that adopted by the Spaniards. They were then taken to the same tree which had served as the Tyburn of Menendez, and upon which he had placed the inscription—"Not as

Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The thirty prisoners having been suspended upon its limbs, Gourgues, with a red-hot pointed iron, inscribed upon a strip of pine board—"Not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers;" which was fastened to the natural gallows.

Immediately returning with his cavaliers, Satouriona, and his native allies, to St. Mary's river, where he had left his ships, and, having distributed presents to the Indians, who were in ecstacies with his martial exploits, Gourgues exchanged the most friendly salutations and civilities with them, and then, on the 3d of May, set sail for France, arriving at the port of Rochelle on the 6th of June, after a very prosperous voyage.

SECTION FOURTH.

THE ENGLISH ELEMENT OF CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF VIRGINIA, AND ITS ABORIGINES.

No man, living during the reign of Elizabeth, acquired greater celebrity for military exploits, naval skill, enthusiastic pursuit of trans-Atlantic discoveries, and the furtherance of colonization, than did Sir Walter Raleigh. He was equally renowned for his wit, learning, eloquence, and accomplishments. Descended from a noble family in Devonshire, he was educated at Oxford, and, after serving with distinguished credit in France, under Coligni and Condé; in the Netherlands, under the Prince of Orange; and in Ireland, against the rebels; he was received at Elizabeth's court with marked favor. The world is indebted to Raleigh for the discovery of Virginia. His plans for promoting colonization on the Atlantic coast were early developed, and he was, beyond all others, the zealous, as well as steadfast, advocate of the policy of extending the power and civilization of England to the wild, but beauteous shores of America. He commanded an expedition which explored Guiana, in South America, and ascended the Orinoco to the distance of 400 miles from its mouth. Subsequently, he wrote an account of the countries visited by him, which is celebrated for its truthful, glowing, and graphic descriptions. Having been one of the originators of the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (his half-brother), to Newfoundland, when that attempt to found a colony failed, he obtained letters patent from Elizabeth, authorizing him to renew the effort in a more southerly latitude, on the Atlantic. These letters were dated on the 25th of March, 1584, nearly six years after the failure of Gilbert's attempt. The authority to make discoveries, and found a colony, was plenary, but the government did not undertake to defray any part of the cost. It was, strictly speaking, a private, or associate adventure, the crown conferring upon the projectors the proprietorship of the country discovered, merely stipulating for the usual acknowledgment of sovereignty, by the surrender of one-fifth of the proceeds of all mines. Some grants of licenses on wines, and other emoluments, were at the same period bestowed upon Raleigh, to enable him to liquidate the charges of his equipment; in addition to which he associated with him other persons possessing means and influence, among whom were included blood relations. Two vessels were provided, and placed under the respective commands of Philip Amidas, and Arthur Barlow, the latter of whom had served under Raleigh in Ireland, as an officer of the land forces. On the 2d of April the ships sailed out of the Thames, and, following the usual circuitous route, via the Canaries and the West Indies, arrived off the coast of Florida on the 2d of July. The Virginia coasts were occupied by clans of Algonquins, of the Powhatanic type. Each clan obeyed the authority of its own chief, but all were associated in a general confederacy, which was ruled by Powhatan, whose council fire and residence were located on the James river. Those who lived on the coasts relied on fish as one of the means of their subsistence. The hunting-grounds extended west to the general line of the falls of the Virginia rivers, where a diverse stock, as well as language, supervened, extending to the Alleghanies. Whatever occurrence of moment happened on the borders, as the appearance of enemies, or strangers, was immediately communicated to the central administration. In this way a sort of inchoate republic was governed.

Amidas and Barlow approached a low shore, covered with trees, fringed with an outer line of islands and islets.[1] Having cast anchor, Barlow landed in his yawl at the island of Wococon,[2] where he admired the handsome trees, indigenous fruits, and vigorous vegetation.[3] But no Indians appeared until the third day, when, three of the natives approaching in a canoe, a friendly intercourse ensued. The following day, the ships were visited by several canoes, in one of which was Granganameo, Powhatan's brother. At this interview, friendly salutations and presents were exchanged. The Indians are described as "a proper well-proportioned people, very civil in their manners and behaviour." After this interview, reciprocal confidence being established, a traffic was commenced.

Amidas then proceeded to enter Pamlico Sound, and the following day, at evening, anchored near the island of Roanoke,[4] which he estimated to be seven leagues distant from Occoquon, the first place of landing.

At Roanoke the English found a small village comprising nine houses, one of which was occupied by the family of Granganameo, the chief being absent. His wife received Amidas with courtesy and hospitality. She was an energetic woman, and ordered their boats to be drawn ashore, and the oars to be carried up to the village, to guard them from thieves. The feet of the English having been washed in warm water, she then invited them to partake of hominy, boiled venison, and roasted fish, with a dessert of "melons and other vegetables."[1]

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[1] Plate I., Vol. II., p. 22.

[2] Stith considers this another name for Ocracsok.—*History of Virginia*, p. 9.

[3] For the etymology of this word, vide Historical Magazine, Vol. I., No. 6, p. 188

[4] This word appears, from a short vocabulary, to be the name of a valued sea-shell.

Fearing treachery, Amidas embarked in his boat at evening, and, pushing it out into the sound, anchored off the village, intending thus to pass the night. The wife of Granganameo, divining the reason for this precaution, and evidently regretting his mistrust, sent down the evening's meal, in pots, to the shore. She also ordered mats to be carried to the boat, to shelter the English from the night dews, and directed several men, and thirty women, to remain there all night, as a guard.

This constituted the extreme limit of their discoveries. Returning to their anchorage, the explorers spent two months and a half on the coast, when, having finished their traffic, they set sail for England, about the middle of September, carrying with them two natives, called Manteo and Wasechoe. The safe return of the ships, and the narration of the discoveries made, created a strong sensation, and Elizabeth was so much pleased with the description of the country, and the prospect of extending her sovereignty which it presented, that she named it Virginia, in allusion to her own state of single-blessedness.

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[1] Stith's History of Virginia, p. 11.

CHAPTER II.

THE POWHATANIC TRIBES OF VIRGINIA, AS THEY ARE REPORTED ON THE SECOND VOYAGE.

THE desire to found colonies was effectually aroused in England, by the results of this discovery, which was the germ of the British colonial establishments. 1585 It needed not the prophetic bard to pen the exclamation, "Visions of glory, spare my aching sight!"[1] nor the voice of the Indian sage, Opechan, to bid his countrymen fear, and fly before the footsteps of a people, who brought in their train the subtle genii of labour, letters, and Christianity.

The pioneer ships had scarcely returned from Virginia, when a second voyage was resolved on. Sir Richard Grenville, who had been one of the promoters of the first effort, originated this second adventure, and determined to lead it. For this enterprize, seven ships were equipped in the harbor of Plymouth, and fully provided with all necessary supplies. Raleigh was deeply interested in this new effort, and to render it successful, nothing was omitted, which, at that era, was deemed essential. The presence of Manteo, and his companion, had excited a lively interest in the public mind respecting the aborigines, and, in order to acquire correct ideas of their features, manners, and customs, Raleigh sent out Mr. With, or Wyth, a skilful writer. A gentleman of his household, Thomas Harriot, a noted mathematician and scholar, also accompanied the expedition, for the purpose of describing their character. Manteo returned to Virginia as guide and interpreter.

The ships sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, after crossing the Atlantic, on the 26th of May anchored off the island of Occoquon, having made the passage in forty-seven days. At this time the principal local ruler on the coast was Wingina, who resided on the island of Roanoke. To him a deputation was immediately despatched, under the guidance of Manteo, who is uniformly praised for his fidelity.

Other parties were sent off in different directions, to acquire a knowledge of the geography, and make inquiry concerning the productions, of the country. Sir Richard, himself, crossed to the main land, and explored the villages on the Chowan river, where he involved himself and attendants in hostilities with the natives. The manner in which this difficulty arose was as follows: The Indians had stolen a silver cup from his mess furniture, in revenge for which, after his return to the island of Occcquon, he burned their village and destroyed their corn. After perpetrating this impolitic and cruel outrage, he suddenly determined to return to England. He left a colony of 180 persons on the island of Occoquon, over whom he appointed Mr. Ralph Lane, governor. On his route home he visited the West Indies, with the expectation of encountering Spanish vessels; and, having captured a large ship, returned with his prize to Plymouth, which he reached on the 18th of September, after an absence of a little more than six months.

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[1] Gray.

Lane and his companions immediately located the colony on the island of Roanoke. Under his directions they continued the reconnoissance of the country, exploring the coasts to the southward, as far as an Indian village called Secotan, near the mouth of Neus river, and northward as far as the village of the Chesapeake Indians, who resided on Elizabeth river.[1] To the northwest, they ascended the Chowan river 130 miles, to the territory occupied by a nation called Chowanocks, a branch of the Iroquois stock.[2] At Cape Hatteras, whither they went, by water, under the guidance of the friendly Manteo, they had an interview with Granganameo, which is the last mention we have of this chief, in Virginia history.

Richard Grenville's exploratory trip, and his severity toward the Indians, seconded as it was by the aggressive policy pursued by his successors, had the effect of keeping the settlers in a state of confusion, and continual dread of the aborigines.[3] The colonists soon found that they were regarded by the Indians with suspicion and mistrust. Finesse was retaliated by finesse, deception by deception. In one of their numerous broils with the natives, the colonists killed Wingina. About the same time, Granganameo, their best friend, died, and his death was followed by that of his aged father, Ensenore. A general state of unfriendly feeling at this time existed towards the English. The colonists planted nothing, and, with great reluctance, the Indians partially supplied them with corn, game, and fish, which, at length, they withheld altogether. The result of this non-intercourse policy was, that parties of the colonists were necessitated to forage for supplies on the islands, and some on the main land. Finally, they were compelled to subsist on roots and shell-fish. A party of twenty men, while thus employed at Croatan, on the southern part of Cape Lookout, descried a squadron of twenty-three ships, standing in. This fleet proved to be that of Sir Francis Drake, returning from an expedition against the Spaniards. They had taken, and plundered, Carthagena and Hispaniola, and burned the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helena, on the Florida coast.

Drake had orders from Queen Elizabeth to visit and succor the Virginia colony.[4]

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[1] It is affirmed by Stith, page 23, that the name of this tribe was bestowed on the Chesapeake Bay.

[2] Chowanock is, however, an Algonquin name.

[3] Stith, p. 15.

[4] Ibid., p. 16.

He furnished them with a ship of seventy tons burthen, 100 men, and four months' provisions, but the vessel was driven off the coast by a tempest. He then supplied them with another vessel of 120 tons burthen, manned and provisioned, but it was found to be impossible to get her over the bar at the entrance to the sound. Then the colonists at Roanoke, considering that they had already suffered "much misery and danger,"[1] and had not received the expected supplies, promised by Grenville, solicited permission to return to England in the fleet of Drake. To this request Sir Francis gave his ready assent, and they were all safely landed at Portsmouth, about the close of July, 1586. On this trip, Governor Lane first carried the tobacco plant from Virginia to England.

Of the customs, rites, creed, and opinions of the Indians, Mr. Herriot gives the following account: "They believe in one God, who is self-existent and eternal, and the creator of the world. After this he created an order of inferior gods, to carry out his government. That then the sun, moon, and stars, were created as instruments of the secondary gods. The waters were then made, becoming the vital principle of all creatures. He next created a woman, who, by the congress of one of the gods, brought forth children, and thence mankind had their beginnings. They thought the gods were all of human shape, and worshipped them, by their images, dancing, singing, and praying, with offerings. They believed in the immortality of the soul, which was destined to future happiness, or to inhabit *Popagussa*, a pit, or place of torment, where the sun sets; and this doctrine they based on the assertion of persons who had returned after death." These doctrines are said to have had much weight with the common Indians, but to have made but little impression on their Weroances, or rulers, and priests. How accurately they were reported, and how much they were colored by Christian predilections, may be judged of by the known repugnance of the native sages to give information on such points; by their soon being on ill terms, or at open war, with the English; and by the probability that some of the more striking characteristics of this alleged Indian creed had been derived from traditions, related by Manteo and Granganameo — the first a baptised convert, and the latter a politic friend of the English, and an admirer of their manners.

Wingina, himself, would often be at prayers with the English, it having been their practice to read the service publicly in the presence of the Indians. But it was evident that they deemed the English great necromancers, possessing almost unlimited influence with the gods; firmly believing that they could inflict diseases, ensure death, and impart vigor to the growth of, or destroy, their corn crops. The Bible, which was read by the English, and regarded as the exponent of the purest doctrines, the Indians considered to be a talisman, whose virtues resided in the material of the book, and not in its spiritual teachings. They deemed it a favor to handle, hug, and kiss it, passing it over their faces, and rubbing it over their breasts.

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[1] Stith, p. 17.

Mr. Herriot observed that they had great esteem and veneration for a plant—a spontaneous growth of the country—which they called *Uppowoc*, but which was even then better known by the name of tobacco.[1] The leaves of this, cured and dried, they smoked in earthen tubes, drawing up the smoke by inhalation. The fumes of this plant were offered to their gods with ceremonial rites, and extravagant genefluxions. They threw its dust on nets to consecrate them for use, and into the air as a thanksgiving for dangers past. But its most sacred use was casting it into fires kindled for sacrifice, to produce a kind of incense to heaven. This eminent mathematician, and pious scholar, as he is termed, has been severely criticised for defending those rites; nor has Sir Walter Raleigh escaped the charge of infidelity, for the interest with which he received, and his example in introducing the use of tobacco into gay and fashionable society. The great value which the North American Indians place upon tobacco, is one of the most universal and well known of their traits. There is nothing in more esteem in their social, ceremonial, and religious circles, every solemnity being opened with its use. In their religious rites it is the most highly venerated thing on their altars. In social life it is the first requisite inquired for, and (as I have frequently noticed in travelling through the Indian territories) it is valued above food. Were there nothing else to identify the present race with the inhabitants of the Virginia coasts in 1586, the general use of, and the value attached to tobacco, would supply irrefragable evidence of their propinquity. The lapse of nine generations has not, in the least, diminished their extraordinary attachment to this narcotic production.[2]

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[1] Stith's History of Virginia, p. 21.

[2] We would say to those who, with Adair, are prone to refer Indian customs to an oriental source, that there is not in the Hebrew scriptures the slightest reference to the nicotiana, or to the practice of smoking. The friends of Job (whose history is deemed, by theologians, the oldest part of the record) do not offer him this social consolation.

CHAPTER III.

PERTURBED STATE OF THE VIRGINIA INDIANS DURING THE VOYAGES SUBSEQUENTLY MADE TO THAT COAST, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE early intercourse of the English with the Virginia tribes partook of an entirely friendly character. The interests of both parties were subserved. 1586 The Indians were delighted to exchange their commodities for European fabrics, of which they stood more in need; while this new branch of commerce promised to be very remunerative to the adventurers. The friendship of Powhattan's brother, Granganameo, who resided on the island of Roanoke, was secured by the first voyagers, and, through the means of Manteo and Wasechoe, who accompanied the first ships on their return to England, considerable advance was made in the study of the habits and tribal relations of the Indians, and of the geography of their country. The first event which disturbed these friendly relations, was the extraordinary course taken by Sir Richard Grenville, in retaliation for the theft of a silver cup from his mess furniture. Manteo, having made some progress in English, returned from England with the colonists, and was of great service to them as an interpreter, guide, and adviser. So great was the sense Sir Walter Raleigh entertained of the merits and morals of Manteo, that he directed him, when baptised, to be given the title of "Lord of Roanoke." Granganameo, who had welcomed Amidas, continued to be friendly, but this friendship was incited by a motive which did not at first appear. He expected the English to aid him against Wingina, his elder brother, or half-brother — a powerful and ambitious party sachem, who, unfortunately for the English, appears not to have yielded to the sway of Powhattan, and against whom he was, consequently, at war. This hope, and policy of Granganameo, was gratified. In a short time the colonists began to regard Wingina with great suspicion. They watched his motions, and, in the end accused him of concocting a plot to exterminate them. Amidas had been abundantly supplied by Granganameo, with venison, herring and other fish; and he had been received by his wife at Roanoke, during the absence of the chief, with great attention and hospitality; but it appeared that he did not consider the island to be a safe permanent residence, for, on a subsequent voyage, Sir Richard Grenville found him located at Cape Hatteras. One of the first acts of Sir Richard, on reaching

Occoquon, was to send to the island of Roanoke, and announce his arrival to Wingina, who is styled "the King." Manteo kept up friendly relations with both chieftains. He accompanied an agent to visit the tribes on the main land, and proved himself a very trustworthy person. Sir Richard was so much pleased with this reconnoissance, that, accompanied by a select body of men, he repeated the visit to the main land, and discovered several Indian towns. During this excursion the loss of the silver cup occurred, in revenge for which he burned an Indian town, and destroyed the corn-fields of its inhabitants.

After committing this imprudent action, he, with some precipitancy, returned to England, consigning the government of the colony to Mr. Ralph Lane, and the charge of the ships to Captain Amidas. Mr. Thomas Harriot was directed to continue his observations on the manners and customs of the Indians. Lane immediately removed the colony to Roanoke, at the entrance to Albemarle Sound, and, employing persons to make a thorough survey of the coast, thus made himself acquainted with the geography and resources of the country. These researches extended southwardly eighty leagues, to the Neus river, and northwardly to the territory of the Chesapeakes, an Indian tribe located on a stream, named by the English, Elizabeth river.[1]

These explorations were extended towards the northwest, up the Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, a distance of 130 miles. Lane personally directed the exploring party, and was accompanied by Manteo. The Chowan is formed by the junction of the Meherrin and Nottaway. At this point Lane entered the country of the Chowanocks.[2] The ruling chief, a lame man, named Menatonon, possessing an excellent understanding, told Mr. Lane a notable story of a copper mine, and a pearl fishery, the latter of which he located on the coast. He intermingled his narrative with a strange tale, that the head of the Maratuc, now called Roanoke river, sprang out of a rock which was so close to the sea, that, when high winds prevailed, the "foam from the waves was driven over into the spring." Presuming this sea to be an arm of the Gulf of Mexico, or the South Sea (Pacific), Lane undertook a very chimerical voyage to find it. Every hardship was endured while prosecuting this hazardous undertaking, with the hope of making golden discoveries. At last the explorers were compelled to subsist on a pint of corn per day, and, when this was exhausted, they boiled two mastiff dogs, with sassafras leaves. After some days spent in a fruitless search, the adventurers were glad to return to their quarters at Roanoke.

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[1] The name, Chesapeake Bay, is stated by Stith, to be derived from this tribe. Others have asserted that, in the Indian language, it meant, "*The Mother of Waters.*" The word is Algonquin, and appears to be a combination of the term, *cherg*, ashore, and *abeeg*, waters; which compound is, at this day, familiarly used by these tribes to signify *along shore*; but the evident meaning of which, in its collateral relation to the bay, was manifestly intended to convey the idea of long, or long stretching, or magnificent bay. If so, the tribe of the Chesapeakes received their name from their position at the foot of the bay.

[2] Mr. Jefferson classifies these Indians with the Iroquois. The name is Algonquin, however, and denotes that (contrary to Cusic, Vol. V., p. 682,) the Iroquois had immigrated from the South. The meaning is nearly the same as Chowans (southerners), a well-known Algonquin tribe, natives of the south.

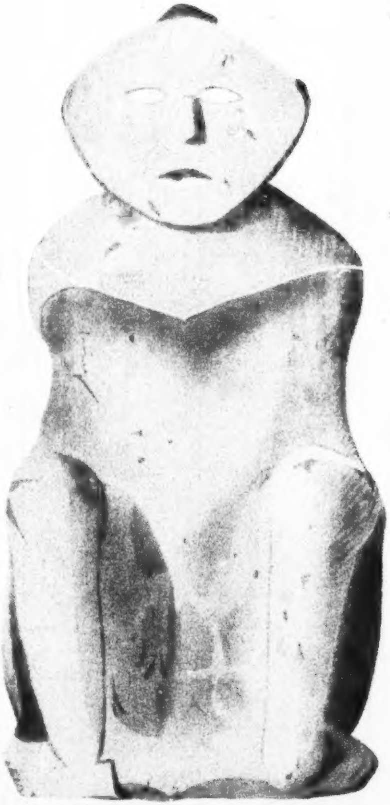
At this time Granganameo died. He had been the tried friend of the English, and was at all times seconded in his good offices by his father, Ensenore. Their joint influence had been sufficient to restrain Wingina's malice and perfidy. But after Granganameo's death, being afforded a free scope for the pursuit of his machinations, he at once changed his name from Wingina to Pemissapan, and became the inveterate enemy of the Virginia colonists. By his representations he had been instrumental in entailing much suffering and hardship upon Mr. Lane, in his explorations of the Chowan river; but when the governor returned, bringing with him the son of Chowanock as a prisoner, and Manteo, and others, related the bravery and power of endurance of Lane's company, his haughty aspect was changed, and the bravado speeches made during their absence, were heard no more. These reports of the capacity of the colonists to sustain themselves, were confirmed by a present of pearl sent to Mr. Lane from Menatonon, the king of the Chowanocks, and another present from Okisco, the chief of Weopemcoka, a powerful coast tribe. These friendly demonstrations had such an effect upon Wingina, that he directed weirs to be constructed, for the supply of the colonists with fish, and caused them to be taught how to plant their fields of corn. But this friendship was speedily interrupted by the death of the venerable and wise chief, Ensenore. The two best political friends of the English being now dead, Wingina, under pretence of celebrating his father's funeral, invited a large number of Indians to assemble, with the intention of annihilating the colony at one blow. The plot was revealed by Skico, the son of Menatonon, who had been taken prisoner by the expedition to the head of the Chowan river.

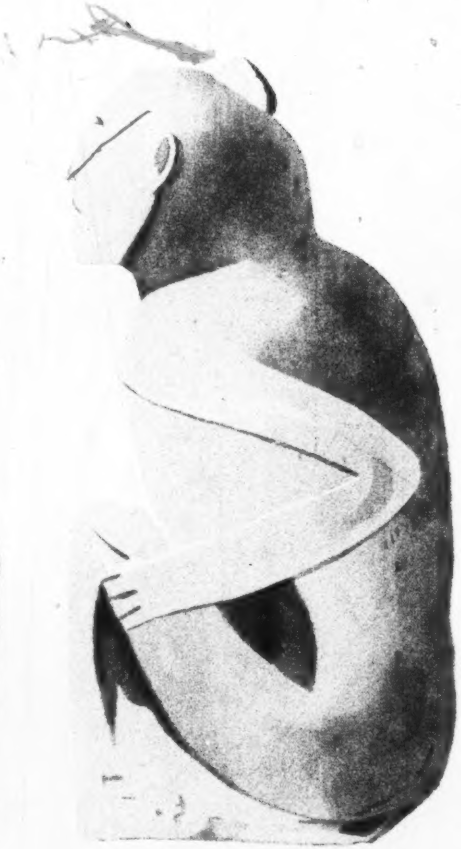
The colonists immediately seized all the Indian canoes on the island, thinking thus to entangle the Indians in their own toils. But the latter took the alarm, and, after a skirmish, in which five or six of their number were slain, the remainder made good their escape to the forest. Both parties now maintained the closest watch over each other's movements; but, after much manœuvring, Wingina was at length entrapped and slain, together with eight of his principal warriors.

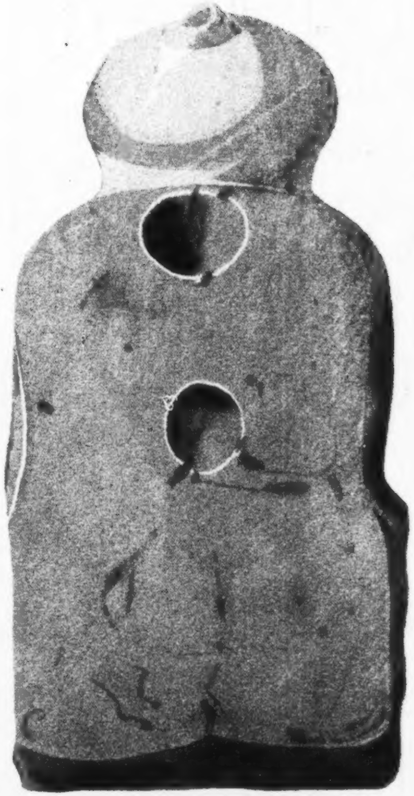
CHAPTER IV.

HOSTILITIES WITH THE DESSAMOPEAK, SICOPAN, AND AQUOSCOJOS TRIBES. SUCCESSIVE ABANDONMENT OF THE ROANOKE AND HATTERAS COLONIES.

Although the death of Wingina seemed to have prepared the way for a 1586 more peaceful occupation of the country, yet, a general scarcity of food, combined with a most singular concurrence of untoward events, finally led to the abandonment of the island. The stringent position of affairs at Roanoke had, despite the efforts of industrious individuals, been increased by the withdrawal and hostility of the Indians, who had been chiefly relied upon for supplies of food. To relieve the colony, Captain Stafford, a prominent and energetic man, was despatched, with nineteen men, to the friendly Indian village of Croatan, on Cape Lookout, with the twofold purpose of enabling them to provide their own subsistence, and of keeping a watch for ships expected with relief from England. They had not been there more than seven days, when twenty-three sail of ships made their appearance. This fleet was commanded by Sir Francis Drake, who was returning from an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and on the Spanish main. He had taken Carthagena, plundered the capitol of Hispaniola, and burnt the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helena, on the Florida coast. Having received orders to succor the Virginia colony, he offered them a ship of seventy tons burthen, 100 men, and four months' provisions, as well as four smaller vessels. But these vessels were all driven to sea in a storm. Drake then tendered them a ship of 120 tons, but, unfortunately, it could not be navigated into the harbor of Roanoke. Under these circumstances, and in view of their having suffered much misery, and their dangerous position, the colonists, after some discussion, determined to solicit Sir Francis to convey them to England in his fleet. This favor was granted, and they arrived at Portsmouth in July, 1586. Drake was not more than a few days' sail from Roanoke on his homeward passage, when a ship of 100 tons burthen arrived from England with the expected supplies. The commander having made search for the colonists in vain, returned home with his vessel. About a fortnight after the departure of the latter ship, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships, and ample supplies. Receiving no intelligence of the colony, he landed fifty men on the island of Roanoke, furnished them with provisions for two years, and then returned. To these successive arrivals and departures, the Indians







remained silent spectators; but they could not fail to be impressed with the idea, that a nation which could furnish such resources, was not only affluent, but also in earnest.

During the month of July, of the following year (1587), three ships arrived, which had been sent out under the command of Governor John White, with the design of reinforcing and permanently establishing the colony. Making Cape Hatteras, Governor White immediately proceeded to the island of Roanoke, to seek for the fifty men, but there he found nothing but the skeleton of one man. The buildings were not destroyed, but the fort was dilapidated, and the ground in its vicinity overgrown with weeds. Governor White refitted the houses, resumed the occupancy of the spot, and established his government. Mr. Howe, one of the newly-appointed council, having wandered into the woods, was shot by one of Wingina's men. Captain Stafford, with twenty men, accompanied by Manteo, who had sailed to England with Drake, and again returned, was sent to Croatan, to make inquiries as to the fate of the fifty colonists. He was told that the colony had been attacked by 300 Secotan, Aquoscojos, and Dessamopeak Indians; and that, after a skirmish, in which but one Englishman was slain, the rest had retreated to their boat, and fled to a small island near Hatteras, where they staid some time, and then departed they knew not whither.

Governor White took immediate steps to renew and maintain a good understanding with the Indians; but he found them sullen and revengeful. Determining to evince the national indignation for the loss of the fifty colonists, by attacking the Dessamopeaks, who occupied the coast opposite Roanoke, he detailed for this purpose twenty-four men, under Captain Stafford, and, with Manteo for his guide, left the island at twelve o'clock at night. At day-break they landed on the main shore, beyond the town, and assaulted four Indians sitting at a fire, killing one of them. On examination, these proved to be friendly Croatans, who had come thither to gather their corn; the Dessamopeak Indians having fled, as they then ascertained, after killing Howe. This act was much regretted by Manteo.

On the 13th of August, 1587, Manteo, who had, it is believed, made three voyages to England, and acquitted himself satisfactorily as the Mentor of the colony, was baptized in the Christian faith, receiving, the title of Lord of Roanoke. Another event signalized this month; the daughter of Governor White, married to a member of the council, was, on the 18th, delivered of a female child, which received the name of Virginia.

It now became necessary to select a person to visit England and solicit supplies. The Indians being generally hostile, the colonists could not cultivate sufficient ground to sustain themselves. England was at this time convulsed with alarm, in expectation of the descent of the Spanish Armada, and it was justly feared that the interests of the distant little colony would be overlooked. White being selected, he, before leaving the coast, established a colony of 100 men on an island off Cape Hatteras. Nothing was subsequently heard of this party. Whether they perished by the Indian tomahawk, or from starvation, has never been ascertained.

On arriving in England, White found the nation in such great turmoil that nothing could be done. The company underwent a change, and an abortive attempt was made to send two barques from Biddeford, in 1588. Renewed efforts were made to succour the colony, but March, 1590, had arrived, before relief could be despatched to them. It was the 2d of August, before the ships under Governor White reached the latitudes of Croatan and Hatteras. At the latter place a smoke was observed; but, after diligent search where the governor had three years previously left a colony of 100 men, no traces of them could be found. Cannon were fired, but produced no other response than their own reverberations, and trumpets were sounded in vain. It appeared that the smoke arose from Indian fires, hastily or carelessly left. While prosecuting their search, they found the word "Croatan" written on a post, and, hence presumed that the Hatteras colony had gone to that place, where friendly Indians lived. No subsequent search developed any further trace of them; their fate had become identified with the mysteries of Indian history and of Indian crime. The attempts made to find this colony were, however, of a very puerile character. In the effort first made, under Governor White, two boats were despatched with a competent commander; but, in passing a bar on the Hatteras coast, one of the boats was half filled with water, and the other having been upset, the captain and six men were drowned. This accident exercised a depressing influence on the spirits of all concerned; but, at length, two other boats were fitted out, and sent off with nineteen men, on the same service. It was by the second expedition that the inscription before mentioned was found, together with the evidences of the hasty abandonment of the place by the colonists. Following the index of this inscription, the commander ordered the ships to weigh anchor and sail for Croatan on Cape Lookout. While proceeding thither, one of the vessels parted its cable, losing, not only the anchor attached, but also another, which had, in some manner, become entangled with it, and before they could drop a third anchor, they were in imminent peril of being driven on the strand. Discouraged by these attempts, and influenced by fallacious hopes of profit to be derived from a trip to the West Indies, whence they proposed to return in the spring and resume the search, they bore away for these western islands, an ever-attractive spot to those who coveted the wealth of the Spaniards. But the commander of the ships, after he had finished his cruise in the West Indies, would not again visit the Virginia coast, announcing his intention to return to England, which he did, despite all remonstrances. Nothing was ever heard of the colony supposed to have gone to Croatan,[1] and the return of Governor White to England was a virtual abandonment of Virginia; after six years fruitless toil, resigning it again to the possession of its aboriginal rulers.

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[1] The lost colony of Virginia may, perhaps, be referred to by Cusic (Vol. V., p. 631); or, perhaps, the tradition reveals, in a symbolic form, traces of the alleged colony of Madoc.

SECTION FIFTH.

THE LITTORAL TRIBES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC, WITHIN WHOSE TERRITORIES THE COLONIES WERE PLANTED.

CHAPTER I.

VIRGINIA IS SUCCESSFULLY COLONIZED. JAMESTOWN IS FOUNDED IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE POWHATANIC CONFEDERACY.

1600 ENGLISH history, at the opening of the seventeenth century, records two great events — the death of Queen Elizabeth, which occurred in 1603, and the immediate and peaceable accession of James I. to the throne. During the same year which witnessed this change, Raleigh, the true friend of Virginia, and of American colonization, was tried for the crime of high treason, and unjustly condemned to death, though his execution did not take place until fifteen years afterwards. In 1590 Virginia had been abandoned; but, although not entirely forgotten, the attempts made to ascertain the fate of the colonists left at Hatteras, were feeble, and proved to be altogether futile. The Indian tribes may be supposed to have achieved a triumph in driving the English from their shores; but the state of discord and anarchy in which they lived, the feeble nature of the ties existing between them as tribes, and their absolute want of any stable government, was not calculated to fit them for successful resistance to the power of civilized nations. More than twelve years elapsed before the project of establishing a colony on these shores, which had been the scene of the former ineffectual struggles for colonial existence, was again broached. The most important efforts, made by the proprietors of the Virginia company, comprised the voyages of Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, in which he discovered Cape Cod, Martha's

Vineyard, and Elizabeth island; and that of Captain Pring and Mr. Saltern, in 1603, who followed nearly the same track as that pursued by Gosnold. Two years subsequently George Weymouth visited a part of the eastern coast, in latitude 41° 20′, and it is conjectured, from his descriptions, that he entered either Narragansett Bay, or the Connecticut river. On every side were found tribes of the Algonquin lineage, speaking their language, and having identical manners and customs. They were mild, affable, and fond of traffic, but opposed to white men, as well as to their maxims, and very treacherous. Nothing, however, more conclusively settles the question of their nationality than their language. They obeyed chiefs who were called sagamores, and they had also a higher class of rulers, denominated Bashabas.

Captain Gosnold made such favorable reports of the beauty and fertility of the countries he had visited, and of its many advantages, that renewed interest was imparted to the subject of colonization. After some years spent in advocating the plan of a colony, Gosnold induced several gentlemen to engage in it, among whom were John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, and the Rev. Robert Hunt. A charter was procured from King James, bearing date the 10th of April, 1606, in which Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Richard Hackluyt, &c., were constituted the recipients of the necessary authority. Two ships were provided, and placed under the command of Christopher Newport, who sailed from England on the 19th of December. After a long and tedious voyage, which was rendered more disagreeable by violent dissensions among those on board, the ships arrived off the coast on the 26th of April, 1607, at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, the right cape of which was named Henry, and the left, Charles.

How the Indian tribes would receive the new colony, then a point of deep interest, was not long involved in doubt, for thirty men having landed on Cape Henry to recreate themselves, were attacked by Indians of the Chesapeake tribe, who wounded two of them. This might have been regarded as an indication that the colony was destined to be founded by the aid of the sword; and such, literally, has been its history. After passing the capes of the Chesapeake, the magnificent beauty of the surrounding country, the great fertility of its soil, and its numerous fruits and productions, were found to surpass every anticipation. A contemporary historian, in speaking of it, says: "Heaven and earth seems never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's accommodation and delightful habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by an industrious people."[1] The vessels entered the waters of the noble Powhatan river, to which the name of James was given, and the voyagers, after making diligent search for a location for the colony, at length selected a small peninsula on the north shore of the river, about forty miles from the ocean. The town which was here founded, was called Jamestown.

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[1] Stith.

The English were now surrounded by an almost innumerable host of wild men, who implicitly obeyed the behest of their forest monarch. They were the proprietors of a country abounding in game, fish, fowl, and every provision of nature for the sustenance of man, and cultivated a fertile soil, from which they gathered abundant crops of corn. No part of America abounds in more magnificent scenery than may be here found along the rivers, or in the beautiful grouping of mountains, forests, and plains. Powhatan had raised himself to this kingly eminence by his bravery, energy, and wisdom in council. In addition to his claim to the dignity by hereditary right, he also derived a title by the conquest of the surrounding tribes; and his position had been greatly strengthened by the practice of polygamy, which surrounded the chief with a numerous kindred, both lineal and collateral. At the time of the settlement of Virginia, Powhatan was about sixty years of age, and though the era of his personal prowess had passed away, he still wielded undiminished sway as the reigning chief, both in his lodge, and at the council fire. His head was then somewhat hoary, which, together with his stature, carriage, and countenance, gave him an air of savage majesty. The confederacy, of which he was the ruler, comprised thirty tribes, numbering about 24,000 souls. It was then estimated that there were 5000 persons residing within sixty miles of Jamestown, of whom 1500 were warriors. The whole of these tribes not only had no relish for, but detested civilization in all its forms, and despised labour, arts, letters, and Christianity. The conduct of Powhatan, as well as that of his stalwart chiefs and followers, presents an instance of that Indian duplicity, which conceals the reality of hatred under the most mild, docile, dignified, and respectful bearing. It soon, however, became evident that the calmness of the Indians too much resembled the lull of the tempest. The policy of the Wingina, on the sandy coast of Albemarle Sound, which developed itself a few years later, was the same as that which governed Powhatan. The milder tone and language of Granganameo, as also the affection evinced by Manteo, were but secondary forms of character, which, subsequently, often appeared in Indians of various tribes. Surrounded by thirty tribes, and 5000 warriors, how long could the colonists have reasonably expected to remain unmolested? When the first ship returned to England, it left but 100 men in Virginia. The dissensions which soon originated among them, were aggravated by sickness, improvidence, and the exhaustion of their supply of provisions. The Indians, who at first appeared to be friendly, now assumed a hostile attitude, and attacked the town. No more corn being delivered, speedy ruin impended; and, had it not been for John Smith, who stepped forward in this emergency, utter destruction to the colony must have resulted.

We do not here propose to enter into a detail of that remarkable instance of heroism, displayed by Pocahontas, when she offered her life as a ransom for that of the intrepid captive, and thus unwittingly placed herself in the position of guardian angel of the colony. The narrative is familiar to all, and history nowhere records a stronger case of spontaneous sympathy, elicited under parallel circumstances. But the redemption of the life of Smith was the salvation of the colony; and from this period we may date the exercise of that influence, which at first induced Powhatan to assume a neutral position, and then a friendly one. But this influence, although it enabled the colony to pass through its incipient trials, was soon withdrawn. Pocahontas lived only eight years (1616) after the foundation of Jamestown, and Powhatan but ten (1618). At the age of seventy, his mortal remains were laid beside those of his fathers, and nothing remained of him, who was once the terror of the coast-tribes and the colonists, but his name. Properly estimated, Powhatan was not a great man. Bravery, energy, and prudence, he evidently possessed; and, among the tribes, he had enjoyed a high name, was treated with much respect, and was obeyed as a prince.

But, there was one of his brothers who possessed a more comprehensive mind, more firmness of character, and greater power of combination, and was equally courageous and active. This was Opechanganough, who captured Smith on the hill sources of the Chickihominy. Opechanganough was six feet high, had a large frame, and possessed great physical power and activity. He was a most unflinching enemy of the colony, and, if we may rely upon descriptions, after his capture, he had a head whose anatomy would have honored Solon, with a countenance as grave, severe, and inflexible as that of Hiokato.[1] Pometakom or Osagwatha were not more inflexibly bent on preventing the progress of the Saxon race. While Powhatan lived, Opechanganough was under his influence, but the former was no sooner dead than he plotted the destruction of the colony. Secresy, however, being his policy, his plans were carefully concealed for several years after the decease of his distinguished brother; nor were they ever revealed until the night preceding the very day on which the massacre took place, on the 22d of March, 1622. Four years had elapsed after the death of Powhatan, before Opechanganough could consummate the plot. It was preceded by a striking incident. Among the warriors who had attracted the notice of their brethren, was Nemattanow, who deemed himself invulnerable. He had been engaged in many battles, but, having escaped without a wound, his vanity was inflated by the knowledge, that the Indians regarded him as a person who could not be killed. Owing to some peculiarity of his head-dress, he was known as Jack of the Feather. This man called on a trader, named Morgan, and, coveting some of the goods belonging to the latter, Nemattanow desired his company to a place where, he stated, a good traffic could be conducted. While journeying together through the woods, the Indian murdered Morgan, and, within a few days thereafter, re-appeared at Morgan's store, wearing the cap of the deceased. Two stout and fearless lads, who had charge of the store, asking him for tidings of their master, Jack replied that he was dead. Thereupon they seized him, with the intention of conveying him before a magistrate, but the Indian captive struggled and made such resistance, after being placed in the boat, which was used as the means of conveyance, that the boys shot him. He was not immediately killed, but, knowing the close of his career to be near at hand, he begged they would not tell his tribesmen that he was killed by an English bullet, and desired them to conceal his body by interring it in an English burial-ground.

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[1] An Iroquois, the last husband of "*the white woman.*"

Opechanganough affected to be much grieved at the death of this man; but he was really gratified that he was out of the way, and made use of the circumstance as a cloak to cover his own deception. He had previously attempted to convene a large assemblage of Indians, under the pretence of doing honor to the remains of Powhatan; but his design had been frustrated. In order the more effectually to accomplish his object, he resolved to observe and enforce strict secresy among his followers, and to make no manifestation of hostility until the time chosen for a general attack. He counselled the Indians, in every part of the country, to fly to arms on an appointed day, and at the same hour, when they were to spare no one with an English face, neither man, woman, nor child. At the time designated the Indians suddenly rose, and perpetrated the most cruel and sanguinary massacre. Three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, fell during one morning, and six of the colonial council were numbered with the slain. One of the first victims was Mr. George Thorp, the benefactor, teacher, counsellor, and friend of the natives. He had left England with the hope of effecting their conversion to Christianity, and he had, on all occasions, been their most kind, undeviating friend. He had built a house for the chief, and was about to found a college for the instruction of Indian youth. The slaughter would have been still greater, had not an Indian convert, named Chanco, chanced to sleep the previous night with a friend, and revealed to him the plot, by which incident the people of Jamestown and its environs, being immediately apprized of it, were able to take the necessary precautions for their own security.

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CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON RIVER. MANHATTANS, MOHICANS, AND MOHAWKS.

THE colonization of New York followed soon after the discovery of the Cohahatea, or Hudson river. While Virginia, with manly efforts, was strengthening the foundations of her colony, among the powerful and hostile Powhatanic tribes of the Algonquin stock, another settlement of whites sprang into existence among the more northerly sea-coast families. Only two years subsequent to the founding of Jamestown, Hendrick Hudson entered the bay of New York, which was first discovered by Verrazani, in 1524, although the large river, of which it is the recipient, still continued unexplored. Hudson appears to have crossed the bar, now called Sandy Hook, on the third day of September, 1609. He remained in the bay several days, making surveys, and trafficking with the Indians. From the notes of his surveys, he appears to have kept close along the southern parts of the bay, the natives of which appeared to be friendly. These shores were occupied by the Navisinks, Sanhikins, and other bands of the Mississa totem, of the Lenno Lenapi Algonquin family. The northern shores of the bay, and Manhattan Island, were occupied by the Mohicans, or Wolf totem, of the same subgenus, to use a phrase of natural history, of the original stock. The Metoacs of Long Island were of the same type. Between these two totemic types, there existed either smothered hostility or open war. They kept Hudson in a state of perpetual perplexity and suspicion; for, regarding all red men with equal mistrust, he was ever on his guard against treachery. Of all the bands, however, he found that of Hell Gate, or the Manhattans, to be the fiercest. On the third day after sailing up the bay, he sent out a boat in charge of his mate, Colman, to examine the East river. An open sea was found beyond. While returning to the vessel, the Manhattans attacked the exploring party, and killed the mate, who received an arrow in his throat. These Indians possessed implements of copper, and earthen cooking utensils, the art of making which was, at this period, common to all the coast tribes; but the use of the brass kettle having been introduced among them by Europeans, they very soon ceased to manufacture earthenware. They offered Hudson green tobacco, as the most valuable present, and had an abundance of the zea maize, which he called Indian wheat. They also brought him oysters, beans, and

Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army [illegible]

INTERVIEW OF HENDRICK HUDSON WITH THE INDIANS

some dried fruits. These Indians dressed in deer skin robes, and possessed mantles made of feathers, and also of furs. There is no evidence to prove that they did not live in a state of anarchy — no government existing but petty independent chieftainships, the curse of all savage and barbarous tribes. On the afternoon of the 7th of September, Hudson began to ascend the river, but progressed only two leagues the first day, sailing with extreme caution during the day, sounding frequently, and casting anchor at night. Twelve days elapsed before he reached a point opposite to, or above, the existing city of Hudson.[1] The general features of the country in that part of the valley are mentioned by him.[2] Having arrived, on the 22d, at a place where the soundings denoted shoal water, Hudson dispatched his boat to make further explorations. It returned the following night at 10 o'clock, having only progressed eight or nine leagues, and the crew reported finding but seven feet seven inches soundings,[3] which would seem to indicate that they had reached the present site of Albany. The Indians, as high as they had proceeded, were, by the names, apparently, of the Algonquin family. If the explorers really ascended in their boat as far as the present position of Albany, they entered the country of the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois nation, whose summer residence was on the island. The tribes maintained a hostile attitude until Hudson had passed the Highlands; but those he subsequently encountered evinced great friendliness, as well as mildness of manners; hence they are called by him "a loveing people." The Indians visited the strangers on board their ship, and several excursions were made by the crew on the shore; on one occasion, two venerable chiefs, accompanied by their sons and daughters, were entertained by Hudson in his cabin. These interchanges of civility characterize this part of the voyage, and furnish striking evidence of the beneficial effects of civility and comity of manners. On the 20th of the month, while the ship lay at anchor at one of the highest points attained, Hudson tried the experiment of giving his aboriginal guests a taste of alcoholic drinks.[4] The description of this event may be entertaining for its quaintness: "Our master and his mate determined to try some of the chiefest men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them, so they took them into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and aqua vita, that they were all merrie, and one of them had his wife with him, which sat as modestly as any of our country women could do in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunk,[5] which had been on board of our ship all the time that we had been there, and that was strange to them, for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folks all went on shore, but some of them came again, and brought strings of beads, (wampum), some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten, which they gave the inebriate. The drunken man slept all night quietly."[1]

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[1] Vol. II., Plate II., facing this page.
[2] Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I., p. 141.
[3] Ibid, p. 146.
[4] Plate II., Vol. II., p. 26.
[5] This scene of intoxication is erroneously placed, by the late Mr. Heckewelder, on Manhattan Island, and the island itself is stated to have been named, from the circumstance, "the place where we all got drunk." Doubtless, some old Indian had imposed on his credulity in this, as in other cases named in his historical account of the Delaware tribes. Stone has been misled by this.

If the Hudson Indians, below the highlands, were found to be hostile on the ascent, they proved doubly so during the descent. The narrowness of the channel in some places, gave them the opportunity of using their arrows with effect, and they assembled on several of the most prominent headlands in great force. But the intrepidity of Hudson foiled every effort. By his musketry, and by the discharges from a culverine, he killed several of them, and dispersed the rest. He got through the mountains on the 1st of October. Below this, one of their canoes, containing one man, pertinaciously followed the ship. This individual having climbed up the rudder, crept into the cabin-window, and stole two bandaliers, a pillow, and two shirts, for which theft the mate shot him dead. The Indians followed the vessel, and a running skirmish ensued, in which several of the pursuers were killed. On the 4th he reached the bay, where, being favored by the wind, he made no attempt to land, but put out to sea, arriving at Dartmouth, England, on the 7th of November.

The only name bestowed on the stream appears to have been The Great river.[2]

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[1] Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I., p. 540.

[2] Van der Donck and De Vries.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

THE idea of migrating to America, to escape the intolerance of the House of Stuart, had been, for a long time, entertained by the English exiles in Holland. 1620 Intelligence of the discoveries in Virginia, and in the region of New York, probably had the effect of reviving the agitation of the project, as well as of demonstrating its practicability, and, in effect, they were, in a short time thereafter, on their way to the New World. The first colony which landed in Massachusetts Bay, late in the autumn of 1620, was surrounded by small tribes and bands of the Algonquins. During the years immediately preceding this period, fatal epidemics had much thinned, and, in some instances, nearly annihilated, the coast tribes. Whole villages appeared to have been depopulated, and deserted fields everywhere met the view. This decadence of the race was a favorable circumstance for the colonists, whose utmost efforts were required to combat the difficulties of their position.

The principal personage amongst the aboriginal chieftains was Massasoit, the ruler of the Pocanokets, or Wampanoags, living at Montauk, on the waters of the Narragansett Bay. He had been a noted warrior, but was at that time a man far advanced in life. He was of good stature, full and fleshy; and, possessing a manly mien, mild manners, a moderate temper, and a noble spirit, amicable relations with him were soon established. The jurisdiction of the Massachusetts coast appears to have belonged to him, in quality of his office of Bashaba, or presiding chief-holder, as is more certainly evinced by the authority assumed, after his death, by his sons, Alexander and Pometacom.[1] The first interview with this potentate was conducted with equal ceremony by the colonists and by the semi-imperial chief.[2] A pacific course of policy was established, and from this era the aboriginal words, Manito, wigwam, powwow, samp, moose, and others from their vocabulary, began to be incorporated into the English language.[3]

The country had been first explored by the English, in 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert visited the coast. In 1602 Gosnold bestowed names on Cape Cod, Elizabeth's

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[1] Drake, p. 13.

[2] Plate III., Vol. II., p. 26, to face this page.

[3] List of such words, Vol. V., p. 535.

Island, and Martha's Vineyard; and, in 1614, Captain Smith, of Virginia notoriety, gave the name of New England to this part of the continent. The coast had been explored by Dutch navigators, subsequent to the discoveries made by Hudson, and is designated, in an ancient map, by the name of Almochico. The Indians being deficient in generalization, had no generic name for it, unless it be that of Abinakee, which they subsequently made use of. The first colony landed on the banks of a river, which, we are informed, the natives called Accomac, but which the English named Plymouth.[1] One hundred and one persons debarked, on the confines of twenty tribes, whose exact numbers were unknown, but whose hostility to the colony was undoubted. Prince says, these "hundred and one" were the persons "who, for an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity, first left their native and pleasant land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of the tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region in North Virginia, where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity, in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them."

Within a few years thereafter, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were successfully colonized. To endure and to hope, amidst every ill, were primary principles with the colonists, and, as soon as they came into contact with the Indians, they aimed, both by precept and example, to teach them the advantages of thrift, over the precarious pursuit of the chase. Among a people characteristically idle, listless, and prone to regard with favor the rites of dæmonology, and the practice of magic, nothing could be more unpalatable, or more certainly productive of hostilities; for the priests and sages, powwows and necromancers, clung to their ceremonies and orgies with a desperate tenacity. To live on the products of the bow and arrow, and not by the use of the plow, had been the practice of the people for untold centuries; and they regarded the new comers with a feeling of distrust and hatred, which grew stronger and more intense with every succeeding decade of colonial existence.

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[1] Smith, Vol. II., p. 177. Accomac was the name of a location in Northampton County, Virginia, probably meaning precisely the same thing; namely, the line where the wilderness meets an eligible and cultivated country.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTHERN INDIANS ARE OFFENDED AT THE INTRODUCTION OF CIVILIZATION AND THE GOSPEL, BECAUSE OF THEIR TENDENCY TO SUBVERT INDIAN SOCIETY

The introduction of the principles of civilization among the New England tribes, who were half hunters and half icthyophagi, is a standpoint from which we may contemplate the Indian character in a new and instructive phasis. When, in 1586, the scholar Harriot showed the Virginia Indians the Bible, and explained to them its contents, they imagined it to be some great talisman, and handled, hugged, and kissed it with great reverence, rubbing it against their heads and breasts. They were strongly impressed with the belief that it was the material of the book, and not its doctrines, which was the embodiment of its virtues.[1] In 1608, when the shores of the Chesapeake were explored by Smith, the English were accustomed to have prayers recited daily, and a psalm sung, at which the Susquehannocks, who were spectators, greatly wondered, regarding the rites and ceremonies with deep interest—feeling animated by the vocal sounds, but profoundly ignorant of the language, and of its true import.[2] Being themselves ceremonialists to an almost unlimited extent, in the worship they offered to the gods of the air, hills, and valleys, and also ready interpreters of symbols, the ritual was to them an object of wonder. Similar ideas of mysticism prevailed among the northern tribes; and, though the Reformation may be thought to have exercised but little influence upon the history, fate, and condition of the American Indians, yet very different was the result. Its ultimate effects upon them, through the teaching of those colonists practising its strictest principles, were very momentous. To hunt deer and bears, to idle away time, and to worship dryads and wood demons, were acts equally subversive of the principles of civilization and of Christianity. Prior to the settlement of the English colonies, the mode by which the Romish church had attempted to engraft Christianity upon the Indians, was almost entirely symbolical and ceremonial. This agreed generally with the character of their ancient system. It made physical signs, rites, and genuflexions, the object of their religion; and the Romish church, substituting true for false symbols of religion, and, at the same time, prescribing ceremonial observances which were not onerous, placed before them an acceptable system, and taught them the first principles of morality and industry. Those who renounced the old, and accepted the new, system of symbols were denominated converts. Hence, the Romish missionaries were represented as having been very successful among the natives who, it is apprehended, had but imperfect notions on the subject, and were allowed to dance around the Christian altar, beating their drums and clanging their rattles, at the same time chanting their ancient mystical choruses. But the Protestant colonists, who had embraced the Reformed doctrines, expected something more, and desired that, when the worship of the true Deity superseded that of the false, it should be accompanied by those tests of faith and holiness enjoined by God's law. In verity, Jehovah was required to take the place of Manito, Owayneo, and Wacondah. This brought the English missionaries into direct conflict with the entire body of the Indian priests, powwows, seers, and jossakeeds; a struggle which yet exists with the tribes.

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[1] Stith.

[2] Ibid.

Harriot informs us that the Virginia Indians believed in the existence of one God; yet, in the same sentence, he also says that the sun, moon, and stars were subordinate gods; that the gods were all of human shape; and that offerings were presented to their images.

Very similar to this were the declarations of the northern Indians; but yet, while they acknowledged God as riding on the clouds, the images they worshipped in secret and in their assemblies were, in fact, demons and devils. To disseminate the doctrines of the gospel, amid such an embodiment of dark superstition, was not an easy task, yet it was zealously and firmly pursued. Cotton Mather informs us that, within thirty years from the time when the first formal efforts were made to preach the gospel to the Indians, there were six churches and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, or converted natives, within the boundaries of Massachusetts, and, in 1682, the entire Bible was made accessible to them by means of the translations of Eliot.[1]

Within the space of a few years, the English population spread themselves over the entire country, enterprise having been a marked characteristic of all the early settlements. The Indians, divided into innumerable small tribes and bands, occupied the interior territory, and a great part of the immediate coast line. Wherever the colonists located themselves, the natives watched their movements with an evident, though jealous interest. Industrious, thrifty, cautious, courageous, and temperate, the more reflecting sagamores could hardly fail to be impressed with the idea, that the colonists were the mere heralds of a people destined to increase rapidly, both in number and in power, and to occupy the whole country, to the detriment of the Red man, whose dominion must decline as the influence of the white man increased.

It would be erroneous to suppose that such a striking moral effect could have been produced, without exciting the strong antipathy of the Indian priesthood. On the contrary, a virulent, secret, deep-seated, and, so far as their influence extended, universal opposition was developed among the native powwows, from the waters of the Connecticut to those of the Penobscot. Bitter indeed was this revelation to the Indians, and truly bitter to them was every phase in their experience of civilization. They detested a life of labor, and had no relish for the standard of its stern virtues and personal responsibility, or its maxims of exact justice, as announced by the decalogue. The idea that such members of the wandering tribes as were guilty of theft, murder, prevarication, and covetousness, would be brought to judgment therefor, was indeed fearful to them; but when, to this doctrine, was enjoined the requirement that they should relinquish their system of worship, their necromancy, their magic ceremonies, and all their forest rites, their deepest ire was aroused.

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[1] Life of Eliot: London, 1690: p. 80.

In this missionary labor, Eliot, commonly called the Apostle to the Indians, first distinguished himself. He emigrated from England in 1631, and was chosen minister at Dorchester, where, in the exercise of his pastoral duties, his attention was directed to the Indian tribes, of whom numerous clans and villages then overspread the territory, and were thus interspersed among the settlements of the whites. Being a graduate of Cambridge, and a person of considerable learning, Eliot began the study of the Indian languages under the no small stimulus, it is inferred, of finding therein some elements of the Hebrew. In this important inquiry into the affinities of nations, a research far in advance of the age in which he lived, Eliot's principal aid and pundit was Nasutan, a descendant of the Massachusetts stock, who had learned to speak the English language, and who was pronounced, by a divine[1] of that period, "a pregnant-witted young man."

In 1646, the subject of the conversion of the Indians was discussed by the Association of Colonial Ministers, who adopted a resolution, strongly urging 1646 the expediency and necessity of immediate action. In accordance with this view, Mr. Eliot appointed a time and place for an assemblage of the Indians, which was convened on the 28th of October of the same year. His text was, "Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind: Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."[2] The place was called Nonantum (God's word displayed), and a strong impression was made upon the Indian mind by this appeal.

Another convocation of the Indians took place a fortnight subsequently, at the same place, where Eliot addressed them in their own language. Other meetings followed thereafter. The Indians who attended agreed to settle at that place, as also to adopt the rules, observe the practices of civilization, and faithfully adhere to the precepts of Christianity. Thus was established the first settlement of praying Indians. They received instruction gladly, labored diligently at husbandry, and became very expert in the use of farming tools. Being regularly catechised and instructed, a congregation of converts was, in the end, established. The Indians being carefully watched over, with the aid of native helps, the new principles spread rapidly among them. A second meeting was held at Nepoaset, in Mr. Eliot's parish, and others at Pawtucket, at Concord, and on the peninsula of Cape Cod, which were all equally successful. These proceedings elicited strong opposition among the native priests, and powwows, who, seeing their ancient power over the Indians about to depart, struck their necromantic drums, at their secret meetings, with greater energy.

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[1] Cotton Mather

[2] Ezekiel, xxxvii. 9.

Accounts of the successful propagation of the gospel in America, were published and circulated throughout England, where they excited so much interest during the two following years (1647 and 1648), that, when an appeal was made to Parliament to second their efforts, that body passed an act to incorporate a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. In 1661, Eliot published a translation of the Old Testament, in the Indian dialect of Massachusetts, which was called by him the Natic, manifestly because he deemed that to be the generic language. This volume was a work of great labor, and had received the most careful attention. After a long interval it was followed by a translation of the Gospels, and, in 1684, the two parts were reproduced together, in one volume, at Cambridge. This was, in every way, a gigantic work, and could not have been accomplished without the aid of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel, under whose auspices it was executed. Eliot and Nasutan had spent many long years upon it; as it progressed, the several parts of each book being practically employed in the dissemination of the truths they contained. It still retains its position, as the most considerable and important monument of our Indian philology.

CHAPTER V.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MOHICANIC GROUP OF THE NEW ENGLAND ALGONQUINS.

When the Pilgrims established themselves on the coast of New England, they determined that one platform of religious freedom should serve for both the Red and the White men. Having themselves suffered much, under a weak and intolerant prince, through the importance attached to ritual observances, they made no attempts to impose a ritual on the aborigines. It was noticed that these tribes were under the religious rule of self-constituted priests, powwows, and ecclesiastical sagamores, who directed them in the appalling worship of evil spirits, and of elementary gods, whose names were emphatically "legion." In the words of a quaint historian of that period, "the whole body of the multiplied tribes and septs who cover the land are the veriest ruins of mankind."[1]

This writer observes: "Their wigwams consist of poles, lined with mats, where a good fire supplies the warmth of bed-clothes in cold seasons. The skins of animals furnish exclusively their clothing. Sharp stones are used for knives and tools. Wampum, a kind of bead, made from sea-shells, is a substitute for money. Indian corn constitutes their staple of vegetable food; the forest supplies them precariously with meat. Fish are taken in their streams. The hot-house is their catholicon for a large class of their diseases. Their religion is a confused and contradictory theism, under the rule of a class of priests called powwows, who offer incense by the fumes of tobacco."[2] There was absolutely nothing, in their plan of dwelling, that deserved the name of architecture; but they had considerable skill in manufacturing arrows, bows, war-clubs, bowls, pipes, fishing-rods, and nets. The women made clay pots, tempered with siliceous stones, which, when used for the purposes of cooking, were suspended from a tripod, formed of three poles, tied together at top, and spread over the fire. They wove mats of flags, baskets of the split cortical layers of wood, and nets from a species of native hemp. The clam-shell was frequently used as a spoon, but these were also carved out of wood, as also were onagons, or bowls. Darts were chipped from hornstone, as well as from other species of siliceous rock; and frontlets, ornamented with birds' feathers, were employed for head dresses. The cawheek, and succatash, or pounded corn, were their favorite dishes; when the hunter was successful, he had deer, or other meat. Fish was abundant, even in the interior streams, as were also oysters and other shell-fish, on the sea coasts. Canoes were made from solid trees, hollowed by the aid of fire, and a peculiar axe, which is frequently found among Indian relics. The aborigine was ingenious in setting snares for birds and beasts, and sometimes large animals were entrapped, by bending down saplings, which would rebound when any beast trod on the string which held them in place. The Indian buried his dead in outer wrappings of bark, placing, at the head of the corpse, a wooden post, on which was carved the totem of the clan, and some other hieroglyphics. His successes in war and hunting were, also, sometimes rudely sculptured on the face of rocks or boulders; some of these *muzzinabiks* remaining to this day.[1] Regarding the religion practised by the aborigines, the great difficulty with historians has been in tracing out any fixed system. Though the Indian professedly worshipped the Great Spirit, yet he assigned the power of the Deity to the subordinate forms of demons and local manitos, to which he offered sacrifice. Simples were used to heal the sick by professed doctors, and much skill was exhibited in curing external wounds. Another class, called Medas, affected to add to their medicines the charm of magic, and trusted as much to the monotonous thump of the drum, used in incantations, and to the Indian song, as to the effect of any of the articles enumerated in their materia medica.

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[1] Cotton Mather.

[2] The nicotiana was smoked, and offered as incense to the Great Spirit, by all the northern tribes.

With manners and customs thus entirely opposed to everything like civilization, it needed but slight incitement to arouse the deadliest feelings of hostility. Very little difference existing, either in dress or manners, between individual Indians, or between the various tribes, all looking and acting very much alike, the innocent were frequently mistaken for the guilty.

The spirit of opposition to the entire constitution and system of civil society, and of Christianity, originated early, and led to repeated combinations of the Indians to exterminate the white race. The first general and alarming effort of this kind, against the peace and welfare of the New England colonists, developed itself in the area of Connecticut, among the Pequots. The primary settlements in the Connecticut valley were made in 1633. Within four years from that time, the Pequots evinced their hostility, for which there was an additional and highly irritating cause.

Prior to the settlement of New England, feuds had existed in the Pequot tribe. This was a numerous organization, extending from the western boundary of the Narragansetts, on the Pawcatuck river, to the banks of the Pequot, or Thames river. It is evident that their extreme western boundary originally extended to the Connecticut. They were under the rule of the powerful, brave, and ambitious Sassacus, there being no evidence that Uncas occupied the valley by right of conquest. But, at the era of the founding of the Connecticut colony, this valley was occupied by the Mohicans, who were ruled by the sachem Uncas. The Pequots and the Mohicans spoke the same language, which was a secondary and more modern form of the generic Algonquin; Uncas had married a daughter of Tatobam, a Pequot, of the blood line, and was, according to the general principles of descent, regarded as one of the hereditary line. Uncas was himself a wise, brave, and politic chieftain. Whatever the causes of tribal discord were, his separation from the parent tribe, and removal westwardly, had occurred prior to the settlement of either Windsor or Hartford, the oldest towns, for the enmity between these two rival native chiefs, became at once apparent to the English. Uncas, with the view of strengthening his position against Sassacus, and the larger body of the tribe, hailed the arrival of the colonists with joy, became their protector against the inroads of the Pequots, and remained their firm and consistent friend. This line of policy served rather to irritate, than to allay the Pequot enmity to the English. At length, after the lapse of a few years, marked by bitter hostilities, murders, and cruelties, from which outrages the English, and their Mohican allies, were alike sufferers, a formidable expedition was organized against Sassacus and his two forts. It is not necessary here to speak of the cruel murders, the breaches of treaty stipulations, or of the depredations and other outrages committed; suffice it to say, that excitement being at its height, forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, and all were compelled either to fight or die. Four years of agonizing strife thus passed away, during which, at least thirty English had been put to death; some with the addition of cruel tortures. The existence of the colonies was at stake; it was a contest between civilization and barbarism. If Connecticut succumbed, Massachusetts and Rhode Island must necessarily follow. Sassacus, at that period, being on the best terms with the Narragansetts, who then acknowledged the dominion of the aged Canonicus, and of his more efficient son, Miontonimo, he aimed in vain, by negotiations, to obtain their aid against the Mohicans and the English. As a ruler, Sassacus was greatly feared and respected by his people, as well as by the Narragansetts. He was a brave warrior and an eloquent speaker. Mason tells us an Indian saying, that "Sassacus is all one god; no man can kill him."[1] The views he expressed with respect to the English settlements in New England, prove the expansion and forecast of his mind. He regarded the white man as destined to supersede the Indian race, and said that when they had exterminated the Pequots, they would then turn their attention to the Narragansetts. He urged an alliance for general purposes, and argued that it would not be necessary to fight great battles, as the whites could be destroyed one by one. The Indians could lie in ambush for the colonists, could burn their dwellings, could kill their cattle.[2] Every view we can take of the character of Sassacus, only serves to confirm the impression that he was a man of uncommon energy, as well as forecast, and he occupies a prominent position among the bold aboriginal chiefs who so resolutely resisted the occupancy of their country by Europeans. He clearly foresaw, and pointed out to his countrymen, that, with arts and energies such as their invaders had already demonstrated the possession of, they must extinguish the light of their council and altar fires; one after another the tribes must succumb; and he warned the Narragansetts that, if they did not aid him in his contest with the English, they would be the next to feel the weight of their power. The history of the great internal conflicts of ante-historical periods, by which the Pequot nation had been divided, and Uncas expelled, being involved in obscurity, we are unable to furnish any accurate details. We know, however, that the feud was yet existing in all its original intensity, when the colonists first entered the country, and, unfortunately for the perpetuation of his power, Sassacus, like many others of the aboriginal chiefs and leaders, lacked the spirit of conciliation, aiming to achieve by force, what he might have attained by delay and negotiation; placing too low an estimate on the value of union and co-operation with the surrounding tribes. He was feared and suspected by the numerous tribe of the Narragansetts, on the east; while the unfriendly Mohicans lined the boundary of his dominion on the west. The small bands of the Ninantics, and Ninegret's men, he evidently controlled, and the interior country to the north was open to him. Two of his strongest positions were stockaded villages, which assumed the character of forts; and had the English been less prompt or bold in their movements, and given him more time to consummate his arrangements, the result might have been protracted, although it certainly could not have been averted.

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[1] Vol. I., Plate XXXVI., XXXVII.; Vol. II., Plates XL., XLI., XLII.; Vol. III., Plates XVIII., XLI., XLII.; Vol. IV., Plates XVII., XVIII., p. 173; Vol. V., Plate XV., p. 513, &c.

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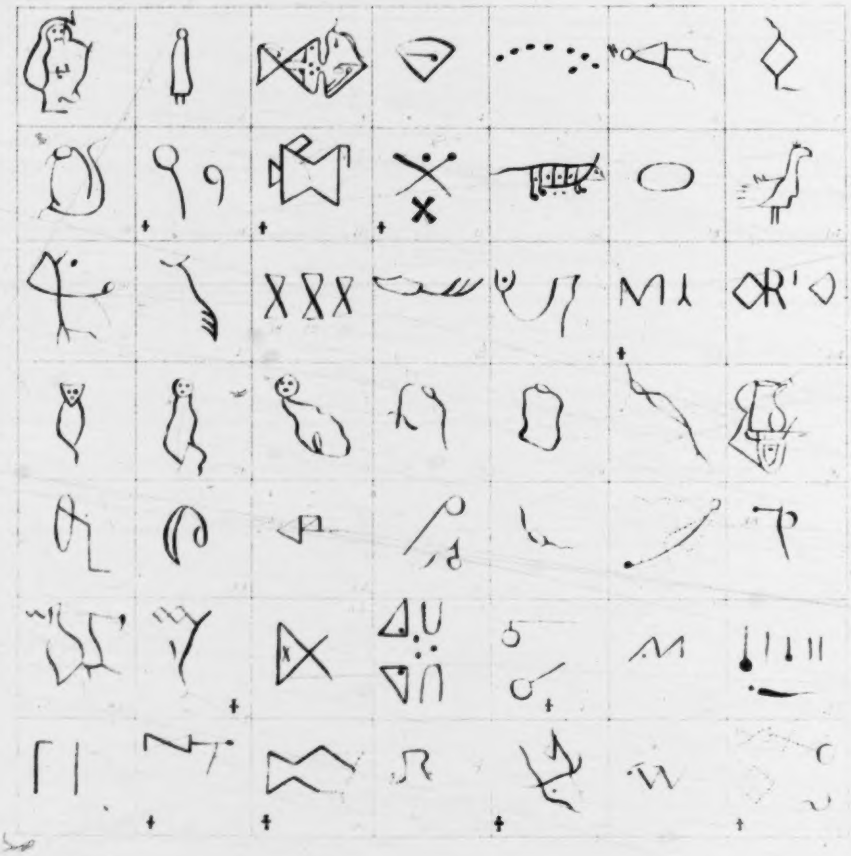
[1] Sparks' American Biography, Vol. III., new series, p. 343.

[2] Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches.



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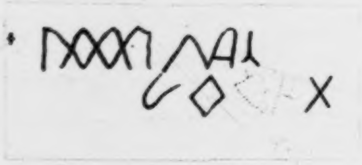

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SECTION SIXTH.

SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE POKANOKET TRIBE AND BASHABARY.

WHEN the New England colonies were established, the Pokanoket tribe was in the ascendency. The coast tribes, indeed, if not almost annihilated, had been 1630 decimated by a pestilential disease; but there is every reason to believe that the chiefs who sat in the council lodges, surrounding the great and noble waters of Massachusetts Bay, acknowledged fealty to the reigning sachem of Mount Hope. Such was the complexion of political affairs, when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, in 1620.

The Pokanokets were descended from an ancient stock, and, it is believed, they established themselves on the peninsula, with the aid of their friends and allies, the Narragansetts and Pequots, after conquering the tribes which then held possession. Evidences of their ancient triumphs have, it is believed, been found, in the rude and simple pictographs of the country—a few heads and cross-bones, or clubs, sculptured on a boulder, or on a cliff, as mementoes of battle. These simple historical memorials were more common among the hills and valleys of the country, when it was first occupied, than they are at the present day. It is to be regretted that a wanton spirit should have led the yeomanry, and their playful children, to mutilate, alter, or destroy, many of the primitive monuments of the Indian nations. The most noted, as also the largest of these pictographs, yet legible, is on the Massachusetts borders of the Taunton, or Assonet river. Foreign archæologists have attempted to give this inscription an unmerited historical value, as a Scandinavian monument. Having visited the locality, and made it a study, with the aid of an Indian interpreter, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it an Algonquin pictographic record of an Indian battle. This was also the interpretation given by an intelligent Indian jossakeed, and Indian pictographist, to whom I exhibited a copy of it on the island of Michilimacinack.[1] Agreeably to the Indian creed and practices, he identified it with priestly skill in necromancy, thus attributing the success here pictured, partly to the expertness of the priest in that art. The amazement of the vanquished at the sudden assault of the victors, is symbolically depicted by their being deprived of both hands and arms, or the power of making any resistance. The name of the reigning chief of the tribe, is likewise described by a symbol to have been Mong, or the Loon, and his totem the sun. (See Plate.)

The Pokanokets, who may be considered to have been allied with the Narragansetts in the victory, represented in the above pictograph, had preserved friendly relations with that powerful coast tribe from the earliest dates. It is evident that they were also allied with the Pennacooks of the Merrimac in the north, and with the Pequots,[2] who, under Sassacus, were so unfortunate as to wage war against Uncas and his Mohicans, protected, as the latter were, by the ægis of the infant Connecticut colony.

The name of Wampanoag, by which the Pokanokets were also designated, appears to denote the fact that they were, from early times, the custodians of the imperial shell, or medal. They were so brave and warlike, that the surrounding tribes regarded them as the most powerful organization on the coast, from the Narragansett to the Massachusetts Bay.

When the Plymouth colony was founded, the Pokanoket tribe was governed by Massasoit, then a venerable man, numbering, probably, seventy years. Though the fire of youth had departed from his eye, yet his step was firm and dignified, and he bore himself with an air that betokened he not only had a vivid remembrance of the achievements of his tribe, but also deemed himself the true monarch of the land. The colonists found the vicinity of their location unoccupied; old cornfields, deserted lodges, and graves hastily covered, denoting the ravages of the pestilence which had depopulated this region. They made it their early endeavor to seek an interview with Massasoit, and establish friendly relations with him, the conference being managed carefully, with a view to effect; musicians and soldiers, armed with muskets, accompanied the English governor, and the negotiations afforded a fair specimen of both Indian and colonistic diplomacy. It was characterized, also, by the introduction to the Indians of that element, which has since proved a source of so much injury to the race. Here the Indians first learned to drink alcoholic liquors. (Plate VI.)

Political power among the Indians of New England was, at this time, wielded principally by two influential bashabaries; namely, by the Pokanoket and by the Pennacook tribal leagues. Both confederations comprised a union of the religious and political elements. A simple sagamore appears only to have wielded a local geographical power, while the bashaba also filled the priestly office of chief jossakeed, powwow, or prophet. The Pennacook bashabary was confined almost exclusively to the country north of the Merrimack, extending through New Hampshire into Maine, and gave the early colonists but little trouble. But the Mount Hope government included the territory immediately around the new homes of the colonists. Every foot of land they added to their possessions was by permission of, agreement with, or purchase from, the chiefs and sagamores of this confederacy. Neither the Narragansetts nor the Pequots in the west, nor the Pennacooks in the north, having made grants in the territory of Massachusetts, is conclusive proof that the authority of Massasoit was supreme. One of the first objects of the colonists was to secure peace on their frontiers, by concluding treaties of amity with the Indians. Considering the influence of this central organization, it is not at all as surprising as it has been frequently represented, that, for so long a period, they kept the storm of open Indian warfare from their continually progressing settlements; Massasoit being in allegiance with the three great powers around him, namely, the Narragansetts, the Pequots, and the Pennacooks. These barbarians and their component septs and bands, all originally spoke one language, practised one religion, were conversant with precisely the same arts, and under the influence of identical customs and manners. According to Prince (p. 202), the news of the massacre in Virginia, in March, 1622, perpetrated by Opechanganough, reached Plymouth in May, and made the colonists more fearful of Indian treachery. By great vigilance, and caution in circumventing the little schemes, and diverting the animosities of the petty chiefs, the colonists succeeded in securing some twenty years of undisturbed peace. It was not until about the year 1640, when John Eliot began to preach the gospel to the Indians, and held his religious conference with them under the old oaks at Natic, that the Indian jossakeeds began to be seriously alarmed.

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[1] Vide Ethnological Researches, Vol. I., p. 108.

[2] Pequot. This name is nearly the same as the modern Algonquin Pequd, a wooden arrow.

Massasoit died previous to this period. He was an old man when the first colony was founded, and the administration of that powerful bashabary had been conducted by his son, Pometakom, a chief of great subtlety, profound dissimulation, and entertaining a strong secret hostility to the English race, to their manners, and particularly to their (to him) hateful gospel. On account of some fancied resemblance to the Macedonian heroes, the colonists named him Philip, and his brother, Alexander. Philip was observed to keep up a clandestine confidential communication with the Indian priesthood, and, by his energy, he soon obtained the popular title of king. A short time thereafter, he became the most dreaded secret enemy of New England.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE PEQUOT TRIBE, AND OF THE PEQUOT WAR.

THE name of this tribe, which appears to mean an arrow—a wooden arrow,
1633 reveals its Algonquin origin. In a map, published at Amsterdam, in 1659, these Indians are called Pequatoas, on what account, or when the title was conferred upon them, is unknown. Most of the subdivisions of our aboriginal tribes have trivial names assigned them, on account of some event, important or otherwise, the history of which has not been transmitted to us by tradition. It is certain, both from their language and traditions, that the Lenapee-Algonquins, after crossing the Hudson towards the north-east, divided into a multiplicity of clans and tribes. In this ancient migration, the Wolf totem, or Mohicans, was the first to cross the Hudson, and they appear to have regarded its valley, from the sea to the present site of Albany, as their rightful domain. The Iroquois penetrated into it from the north, and, subsequently, continued their conquests down the river.

The Mohican language and blood still constituted a tie of affiliation, but each class and sept either adopted some distinctive appellation themselves, or received one from their neighbors. Thus, the tribe whose totem included the whirlpool of Hellgate, called themselves Manhattans; the Long Island Indians, whose shores abounded in the prized sea-shells of which wampum is made, denoted themselves, or were named by others, Metoacs; those living near the stone cliffs of Westchester, were called Sing-sings; and those residing on the wide expanse of the Hudson, below the Highlands, Tapanses. The early colonists, finding the tribes of this valley to be of one species and lineage, called them Mohikander, a compound, formed from the Mohican and Belgic languages. The clans located nearest to Albany retained the name of Mohicans; and when they were, eventually, driven over the Hoosic and Taconic ranges into the valley of the Housatonic, they carried with them their primitive appellation. That the Pequots, who once held possession of the territory along the East River, and on the Connecticut shores, also bore this name, is very probable, from the recurrence of Uncas to the parent term, when he became involved in a political feud with Sassacus. At what time this dissension commenced, is unknown; the first intimation of it dates from the era of the primary settlement of Connecticut, in 1633. The colonists were necessarily dispersed over a wide surface, unprotected, and exposed to the caprices, as well as to the incursions, of the Indians. The oldest settlement had been located but a few years, when the inhabitants found a contest was being waged for the Indian sovereignty, between Uncas and Sassacus.

Uncas held possession of a beautiful point of land, now called Norwich, at the source of the river Pequot (now the Thames), and, it is evident, had but recently segregated from the Pequots. His comprehensive mind immediately discerned the advantages that would result to his cause from an alliance with the Connecticut settlers, and it was as clearly the policy of the latter to form such an alliance. Their very safety depended on it, and wisdom was evinced in their choice. Uncas became the protector of the colonists; his scouts watched over the infant settlement, and not only reported the advance of hostile parties, but hastened to repel them. This alliance was never broken by either White or Red man, and affords one of the most complete and satisfactory evidences to be found in history, of the beneficial effects produced on Indian character by unwavering justice, and uniform kindness and good will. Half a century later, it was not in the power of Penn, with equally benevolent views, to maintain the Delawares in their position; yet, through every change in their affairs, the tribe of Uncas was protected and cherished, by the people, and by the authority of the state of Connecticut. Even after the venerated chief had passed from the stage of life, his successor and family were regarded with kind interest, and a monument has been erected to mark the resting place of the great aboriginal sage of Norwich.

At the time we have indicated, 1637, the Pequots had the prestige of being a powerful and warlike people. They had escaped the great pestilence which had desolated the Massachusetts coast, about the year 1617, could bring 600 fighting-men into the field, and might then have numbered a population of about 3000 souls. They were expert bowmen, and possessed sixteen guns,[1] purchased from the traders. The military strength of Connecticut was then estimated at 200 men. If the Pequots had obtained the ascendency, the question of the very existence of the colony would have been settled forever.

John Mason, the man selected to conduct this war, was a veteran soldier, who, with Miles Standish, and Underhill, had learned the art of war in the Lowlands, under that renowned military tactician, William, Prince of Orange. The infant colonies required men possessing his decision of character, and unflinching nerve, to baffle the wiles of their savage enemies. It was evident that the Pequots meant to annihilate the colonists. Recent and most shocking murders having been perpetrated in the settlements, energetic and prompt action was necessary to enable the colony to maintain its ground. To begin the war, Mason could muster but ninety men, which force is stated to have been half the militia of the colony. Uncas joined him with seventy Mohicans, who were chiefly useful as guides and scouts. The auxiliaries promised by the Plymouth colony, and from other quarters, were slow in making their appearance.

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[1] Sparks, Vol. III., p. 359.

Mason, however, pushed forward with energy, as, in his opinion, their operations must be conducted with vigor; delay only furnishing Sassacus an opportunity to mature his plans. With the hope that the expected reinforcements would arrive in season to be of service, on the 10th of May he embarked his force at Hartford, in three small vessels, and, dropping down the Connecticut river to Fort Saybrook, was there joined by Underhill, his second in command. After coasting along the shore to the entrance of the Narragansett Bay, he landed in the vicinity of the village ruled by Conanicut, whose permission he obtained to march across his territory, and attack the Pequots. The old chief thought his force too small for such a purpose, but, though he evidently did not expect much from the auxiliary Mohicans, he yet allowed 200 of his men, under his son, Miontonimo, to accompany them, without, however, engaging to take an active part. The Pequots had two forts, the principal of which, located on the Mystic river, was occupied by Sassacus in person. A march of eighteen or twenty miles, through the forest, brought Mason to a fort of the Nehantics, on the borders of the Pequot territory. These people were tributaries and covert allies of the Pequots. The chief treated Mason haughtily, and would not allow him to enter the fort. Fearing that intelligence of his arrival might be transmitted by runners, during the night, Mason encamped his men around the fort, giving them strict orders to intercept every person who attempted to leave it.

The following morning, several of Miontonimo's men tendered their services as auxiliaries, making many professions of their anxiety to aid in carrying on the war. The number of Indians who now accompanied Mason, being 500, made a great display; but not much dependence could be placed in their courage on the battle-field, notwithstanding their lavish professions. Although Mason placed but little, or no reliance on them, he was yet willing to avail himself of the effect their appearance would produce on the enemy. Uncas, when questioned as to how many of his Indian allies would run away when the battle commenced, answered, "Every one but myself;" and such proved to be the result.

After a tedious march of twelve miles from the Nehantic borders, the army arrived at Pawcatuk Ford (now Stonington), weary, hungry, and foot-sore. Resting themselves there for some time, they continued their march with Uncas and Wequa, a recreant Pequot, for their guides, sometimes passing through corn-fields. Warm weather having set in unusually early, these marches, conjoined with the scarcity of food, were very irksome to men unaccustomed to the toil. Yet they pressed onward energetically, and, one hour after midnight, encamped on the head waters of the Mystic river. They had now been two days on the march. Their guides informed them that the Pequots held two strong forts in the vicinity, but four or five miles asunder. Although Mason had resolved to make simultaneous attacks on both forts, yet the fatigues and sufferings endured by the men, while threading the mazes of the forest, without provisions or tents, and exposed to every inconvenience, induced him to concentrate his efforts on the nearest position, within the present bounds of Groton. They reposed but a short time, and then, taking up their line of march, arrived before the fort, which was distant two miles, about two hours before daybreak. The moon was shining brightly when they reached the foot of the eminence on which the fort was situated; and, by this time, their boastful red allies had fallen in the rear, quaking at the very name of Pequot.

The walls of the fortification enclosed one or two acres of ground, and consisted of trunks of trees, cut in lengths of twelve feet, sunk three feet deep in the ground, and embanked with earth. These palisades were placed so far apart that missiles could be discharged through the interstices, yet not so much so as to admit a man. Twelve small gates, or sally-ports, placed at opposite ends, were closed with trees and brush. The tops of the palisades were bound together with withes, and within, on a level esplanade, were about seventy lodges, constructed of thick matting, covering a light frame-work. These lodges, arranged in parallel rows, were surrounded by a ronda, or circular line of lodges next to the palisades. Mason had approached within a rod of the north-east sally-port, without arousing suspicion, when he heard a dog bark within the fort. Instantly an Indian cried out, Owanux! Owanux! Englishmen! Englishmen! which brought the Pequots to their feet, some of whom were thought to be laboring under the effects of previous revels. Mason, removing the obstacles, entered the fort, with sixteen followers, at one end, while Underhill did the same at the opposite sally-port, before the Pequots had time to oppose them. Surprised and confused, they ran about, foaming with rage. The fight became desperate, the superiority of fire arms and swords over arrows and clubs, being signally demonstrated. Many of the Indians took shelter in the wigwams, covering themselves with the thick mats, from which it was impossible to dislodge them. Wearied with pursuing them, Mason, at length, exclaimed, "We must burn them." Suiting the action to the word, he applied a brand to the windward side of the lodges, and Underhill immediately followed his example. The fire spread with great rapidity through the combustible materials, soon filling the whole area with roaring flames. The living and the dead together were roasted in heaps. The English, being themselves expelled by the furious flames, formed a circle outside the palisades, to prevent any of the enemy from effecting their escape. Their Indian auxiliaries, having recovered their courage, now came up, and completed the work. Forty of the Pequots, who attempted to scale the palisades, were shot as they emerged from their flaming prison. How many hundred men, women, and children were roasted on this gigantic funeral pyre, has never been estimated.

Though the Pequots had, with dreadful cruelty, massacred the unsuspecting Oldham, and Sleeping Stone and his companions, though they had invaded the sanctity of dearly-loved homes with the fury of ~~the~~ tiger and the hyena, yet this was a dreadful retribution, the severity of which could not have been premeditated, and for which we have not a word to offer in palliation. Having inflicted this terrible blow upon the Pequots, Mason deemed his position to be a perilous one. He anticipated the speedy vengeance of Sassacus, who was but a few miles distant, at the upper fort; and many of his men were wounded, although but two had been killed in the conflict. It was necessary to carry the wounded on biers, and the soldiers were unprovided with either food or ammunition. In this emergency, not a moment was lost in returning to the vessels, which had sailed round to the neighboring port of Pequot harbor; and all speed was made toward the Connecticut.

CHAPTER III.

DEATH OF SASSACUS, AND EXTINCTION OF THE PEQUOTS.

The capture and burning of the Pequot fort on the Mystic, exercised a controlling influence on the future prosecution of the war. It was a blow more 1637 terrible, even, than at first appeared. The night previous to the attack, the post had been reinforced by a hundred and fifty warriors from the upper fort,[1] as Sassacus was conscious of the perils of this position. More than half of his available force had certainly been destroyed; and the warriors he had despatched from his own fortification to reinforce the other, had so diminished his strength, that he did not deem himself able to sustain another attack. The war had now assumed the acme of bitterness on both sides. Spring, the season of planting, was passing away, and, though food was equally as scarce with the Indians as with the English, not a grain of corn could be planted in the Connecticut valley, without incurring the danger of being pierced by a Pequot arrow. With the English, it was a struggle for existence; and the name of Pequot was to them identified with that of fiend. Delay would only enhance the danger of the whites, while, on the other hand, the situation of the Pequots was equally as perilous.

Sassacus, realizing his hazardous position, determined to abandon his country, and fly westward. Although the Mohawks had been his most dreaded enemies for untold years,[2] he hoped to find some friendly shelter in the small unoccupied valleys of the tributaries to the Hudson, or among the western affluents of the Mohawk. With the energy of a man whose necessities are pressing, he resolved to throw himself on the mercy of his Indian foes, and fly immediately. Collecting his people, he crossed the Connecticut, on his passage killing three Englishmen, who were found descending the river, on their way to Fort Saybrook.

The capture of Fort Mystic occurred on the 26th of May, and the 15th of the following June was observed, by the colonists, as a day of thanksgiving for the victory. About a fortnight after the return of the victors to their homes, one hundred and twenty men, under Captain Staughton, landed at Pequot harbor, to prosecute the war, and, on the 26th of June, Mason descended the river, with forty men, to join him. The allies having resolved to pursue Sassacus, Uncas accompanied them, with an effective force of Mohicans, this species of warfare requiring the exercise of that peculiar skill in following a trail, for which the minute observation and knowledge of Indian habits has so admirably adapted the aborigines.

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[1] Sparks, vol. III., p. 379

[2] Colden's Hist. Five Nations.

Sassacus, being encumbered with a large body of women, children, and invalids, marched slowly, and kept near the open coast, in order to avail himself of the abundant supply of shell-fish to be found on these shores. The allies, while pursuing the fugitives, sometimes came to localities where clams had been dug up. The duty of scouting along these shores being committed to Uncas and his men, they captured a Pequot sachem, who was beheaded at a place now called Guilford harbor, and his head placed in the forks of an oak tree. From this circumstance, a promontory in the vicinity received the name of Sachem's Head.

After passing the Quinnipiak river, now the site of New Haven, they espied a large body of Pequots, and pursued them. From an eminence they beheld, in the distance, a cluster of wigwams, situated between the foot of a hill and a swamp, within the present boundaries of the township of Fairfield. A straggling Pequot, who had been captured, guided them to this retreat. But Sassacus, and Mononotto, his principal war captain, suspecting the design of the English, fled towards the Mohawk country, taking with them most of their active warriors. About eighty of the Pequots, with a few Indian residents of the place, who were vassals of the latter, and nearly 200 old men, women, and children, took refuge in this swamp, which occupied the area of a mile. Portions of it were impassable quagmires, and tangled bushes, but running into it, and nearly subdividing it, was a dry passage

Being doubtful how to approach it, some of the men waded in, stuck fast in the mud, were wounded severely, and were with difficulty extricated. The assailants then formed a circle around the margin of the swamp. Not wishing to punish the feeble and innocent, alike with the guilty, a negotiation was opened, which resulted in the surrender of 180 old men, women, and children, to the English. The warriors, however, refusing to capitulate, were still closely besieged.

A night thus passed away, and was followed by a foggy morning. As the besiegers stood nearly a rod apart, about three o'clock in the morning the Pequots made a sally to pass the circle, which proved unsuccessful. Another attempt at a different point resulted in the same manner. Shifting their ground, a third and desperate dash was attended with such success, that about seventy of the enemy escaped. The number of Pequots killed on this occasion, and in the other struggles immediately preceding, was twenty.

But the stern foe of the English, he who had been dignified by the title of the tyrant of Connecticut, was yet at liberty. Sassacus approached the upper Hudson by a point in possession of Indians, linked, in the ancient ties of affinity, with the Mohicans, dwelling beyond the mountain range of the Taconic. Sassacus having been at variance with the race residing in New England, it is not improbable that the sympathies of the Mohicans of the Hudson leaned towards Uncas. However this may be, the Mohicans of the Hudson, from its head waters to its mouth, were the vassals of the Mohawks.[1] In throwing himself upon the mercy of his enemies, the Mohawks, as a defeated and ruined sachem, who was obliged to forsake his country, Sassacus adopted a course sanctioned by the previous example of wiser and greater men. But he did not reflect that the Mohawks were a merciless race, at least, they so appeared in this instance, for the fugitive chief was no sooner recognised by them, than an arrow was driven through his heart. With him fell the Pequots; the power, once the terror of the New England colonies, was destroyed, and from this time forth, they ceased to be known as a tribe.

With Sassacus fell his brother, and Mononotto, his second in command, who, at first, only wounded, was finally killed, together with five other sachems, all of whom were scalped, and the reeking trophies sent to the English, with the hope of receiving a reward. From the statement of the Indians, it being apparent that there were nearly 200 Pequots dispersed among the various tribes, a price was set upon their heads. They were hunted throughout the country in all directions, any one being not only permitted, but encouraged, to shoot them down at sight. This remnant of the tribe, at last having offered to surrender themselves as vassals to the English, the proposition was considered and accepted. A council convened for this purpose at Hartford, September 21, 1638, at which Uncas and Miontonimo were present. It was decided that eighty of the captives should be assigned to Uncas, eighty to Miontonimo, and twenty to Ninegret, chief of the Nihantics. 1638

Some members of the non-combatant families, who surrendered at the swamp, were dispersed, as domestics, over the country which had been the scene of the conflicts. Forty-eight women and children came to Boston. A portion of those distributed as domestics, fled from servitude, but, being retaken by the Indians, they were branded on the shoulder. The best authorities state that they were very restive under the yoke of slavery, and were valueless to their masters. One of the males was given to a gentleman to take to England; fifteen boys, and two girls, were sold as slaves to a resident of the Bermudas. The superannuated old men, mournful witnesses of the terrible retribution visited on their country, were allowed to descend into the grave unmolested.

Those of the tribe who accompanied Sassacus to the Hudson, or followed the seventy warriors who broke through the cordon militaire at the swamp, after reaching the valley of the Hudson, sent a messenger to the Mohawks, requesting their permission to settle on this unclaimed territory. They were assigned the position of Scaghticoke, whence they eventually fled to Missisqui Bay, near the foot of Lake Champlain, in Lower Canada.[1]

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[1] Colden.

For a long time the name of Pequot was a hated epithet, and twenty years after the occurrence of these events, viz.: in March, 1658, the Connecticut court passed an act changing the name of the Pequot river to the Thames, and that of Pequot Point, or harbor, to New London.

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[1] Vide Appendix Papers, and Illustrative Documents.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NARRAGANSETTS. WAR BETWEEN UNCAS AND MIONTONIMO.

During the greater part of the seventeenth century, the three most potent tribes of southern and western New England, were the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, the Pequots, and the Narragansetts. The bands who claimed the name of Massachusetts Indians, may be deemed to have been represented at that period by the Natics. These were the bands to whom the gospel was especially preached, and over whom all the elements of civilization had obtained more or less influence, and the natural result of their progress in civilization was, non-interference in the Indian wars. The Pennacooks and Abenakies, powerful tribes on its northern borders, did not come into collision with the colony, and their history more properly belongs to that of New Hampshire and Maine. 1644

By the displacement of the Pequots, the Mohicans, a minor branch of that tribe, under the government of Uncas, were placed in antagonism to the Narragansetts. After the death of their first chief, Canonicus, the power devolved on his son, Miontonimo, a more talented, energetic, intrepid, and wily individual. Uncas, having sustained the English with all his power in their contest with the Pequots, under Sassacus, against whose domination he had rebelled, was henceforth regarded as the guardian spirit of Connecticut. His bravery in war, his decision of character, his wisdom, and his amenity of manners, won praises from every lip. But in the field, as well as in the council, he found a rival in Miontonimo, who ruled the more numerous and powerful nation of the Narragansetts. At that period, this tribe possessed, probably, a greater numerical strength than any other of the New England tribes. They were located on the large islands in and along the fertile shores of Narragansett Bay, having, a few years earlier, sold Aquidneck, now Rhode Island, to Roger Williams. Their principal position was on the large island of Canonicus, which afforded all the requisites for a people, who, being most expert in the use of the canoe, levied contribution alike upon the game of the neighboring forests, and the fish in the surrounding waters.

The Narragansetts had never been hearty friends of the English, and, although they seemed to be amicably inclined, they pursued a devious line of policy, holding an apparently neutral position between the colonists, the Pequots, the Mohicans, and the Pokanokets. The pacific influence exercised by Williams, who had located himself at an Indian village on the head waters of the west fork of the bay, called by him Providence, kept them in check. But no sooner were the Pequots defeated, and the power of Sassacus destroyed, than a secret enmity against the Mohicans, under Uncas, developed itself. The details of this feud are too unimportant to be stated at length. A few years passed over, characterized only by a surly and suspicious intercourse between the two rival chiefs. The sympathies of the English inhabiting the three central positions of Hartford, Boston, and Plymouth, were undoubtedly with Uncas and the Mohicans. They negotiated treaties with the Narragansetts, with the expectation that this powerful Indian tribe would execute their agreements, with the precision, and under the operation of the same moral principles which govern civilized nations. The compact entered into with the English, bound the Narragansetts not to engage in hostilities against Uncas, without apprizing the then united colonies.

In 1644, after some six or seven years of mutual distrust had elapsed, the Narragansetts, eluding even the sleepless vigilance of Roger Williams, suddenly marched a body of nine hundred warriors into the Mohican territories, with the design of attacking Uncas at a disadvantage; but it happened that some of the Mohican hunters discovered them, and, with all speed, conveyed the intelligence to their chief. The tribal seat of Uncas was then located, as it had been from time immemorial, at the head of the Pequot River, now the Thames, on the site of the present city of Norwich.

Collecting a force of five or six hundred warriors, Uncas determined not to await the onset of his adversary, but to advance and attack him. After marching five or six miles, he encountered Miontonimo and his army on a plain, stretching along the banks of the Shetucket, whereupon he halted his force. There appeared to be no choice of position on either side, the plain being level and spacious. Uncas, who had become somewhat versed in English strategy, and understood the advantage to be gained by prompt movements, perceived, at once, that, if he could, by a sudden attack, produce confusion, and drive Miontonimo down the banks of the Shetucket, he would be able to overcome his foe's superior numbers. This is the only explanation that can be given of the course he adopted. No sooner had he halted within speaking distance, than he stepped forward, and tendered his adversary the choice of deciding the fate of the day by personal combat. Miontonimo replied, that his men had come to fight, and fight they should. On the instant, Uncas, who was a very tall man, threw himself on the ground, that being a concerted signal for his troops to advance, which they did with such ardor and fury, that they drove the enemy down the escarpment of the river, and pursued them so vigorously that some of the swift Mohican runners, knowing Uncas to be near at hand, caught Miontonomi by some portion of his dress, temporarily impeding his flight, which enabled the former to make the capture himself. Uncas then sounded the whoop of victory, to recall his men, and to signify that Miontonimo was a prisoner, as if his capture had been alone the object of the Mohicans.

Not a look of the Narragansett sachem, far less a word, evinced any dread of his enemies. He bore himself before his captor with unflinching dignity and pride. "Had you taken me," said Uncas, with some of that suavity of manner derived from his English associations, "I should have asked you to spare me." Not a word, however, was deigned in reply. Notwithstanding, Uncas spared his life, the usual privilege of an Indian victor; but he carried him with him to Norwich, as a trophy of his victory, whence he conducted him to Hartford. The question of his fate was submitted to the English for their advice, as being one requiring grave deliberation. It had been felt, ever since the close of the Pequot war, that the Narragansetts exercised an influence adverse to the growth and prosperity of the settlements. The very war in which they had just been engaged, was in violation of a solemn agreement made with commissioners formally appointed, and was waged against the worthiest and most trusty sachem who had befriended the colonies. Yet, they considered the case to be beyond their jurisdiction; the territory being Indian, they decided that aboriginal customs and laws must be allowed to take their course.

Miontonimo was, therefore, conducted back to the battle-field, on the banks of the Shetucket, escorted by two Englishmen, to shield him from any attempt at cruelty. The retinue traversed the plain of the late conflict with all the impressive dignity of an official cortege. Uncas, who knew the chief personally, determined to have no hand in the execution, and, therefore, deputed the duty to one of his war captains, enjoining him to leave the Narragansett in entire ignorance of his fate. He only knew that he was remanded to the spot of his capture. Ere reaching this point, the warrior entrusted with the task, and who walked immediately behind him, suddenly drew a tomahawk, and, with one blow, laid him dead at his feet. The scene of this tragedy has since been called SACHEM'S PLAIN.[1]

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[1] Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Mass. Hist. Collections, Vol. III., 3d series.

SECTION SEVENTH.

INDIAN TRIBES OF MARYLAND.

CHAPTER I.

ABORIGINAL POPULATION ON THE SHORES OF THE CHESAPEAKE.

During the year immediately following the establishment of the settlements 1634 in the Connecticut valley, the tribes of Maryland, proper, as distinguished from those of Virginia, were particularly introduced to historical notice. On the 27th of March, 1634, Leonard Calvert landed on the banks of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Mary, situated on the western shores of the Chesapeake Bay. Captain John Smith, who visited, and circumnavigated the bay, in 1608, furnishes the first account of the Susquehannocks—a bold, stalwart, and athletic tribe, who spoke in a hollow tone, with a full enunciation, and acquired his respect. The Indians located on the St. Mary's river, within whose precincts Calvert landed, were called Yaocomicos. Friendly relations were cultivated with the natives, who sold him a tract of land thirty miles in extent, for which they received axes, and other necessary articles.

In their manners, customs, and general character, these Indians closely resembled the Virginia tribes. They built their lodges in the same manner, as well as of the same materials, and in all respects practised the same arts, general rites and religious ceremonies. Like them, they acknowledged a great God, but also offered sacrifices to local *Okees*. They smoked tobacco, holding it in the highest estimation, cultivated the zea maize, hunted the deer, and snared water-fowl. Ethnologically they were descendants of the same race with the Powhatanic tribes, and spoke dialects of the great Algonquin language. Indeed, Powhatan claimed jurisdiction over the Patuxent, but it is doubtful whether his claims were much respected, or very efficiently enforced.

This colony was founded under a charter granted by Charles I., through the influence of his consort, Mary, and appears to have been intended as a refuge for persons professing the same religion with the queen. Without entering into a dissertation on the subject, we need only say that, under the protectorate of Cromwell, who soon after gained the ascendency in England, Maryland became the resort of men holding various creeds, and the country obtained a wide-spread notoriety, as the land of tolerance. However men differed in their religious faith, they agreed, generally, in their mode of treatment of the Indians. Barbarism and Christianity could not exist in close proximity. Catholic and Protestant, alike, had united labor, virtue, temperance, arts, and letters together, as the corner-stone upon which they erected the superstructure of their colonies; and all the different sects taught their own doctrines with various degrees of success. It was impossible for people who worshipped God, and had been educated to revere his revealed word, to witness unmoved, the idolatry of savages, who made offerings to demons, regarded heaven as a place of sensual enjoyments, and deemed Christianity a myth, of equal credibility with that of Micabou, or of Hiawatha.

A good understanding, however, was maintained with this people, who, apparently, possessed mild and gentle manners, in the hope that their eyes might be so far morally and intellectually opened, that they might be brought under the influence of the gospel. The accounts of the Maryland Indians, generally, state that "they were a simple race; open, affectionate, and confiding; filled with wonder and admiration of their new visitants, and disposed to live with them as neighbors and friends, on terms of intimacy and cordiality. To the Europeans they seem to have been quite as much objects of curiosity, as the Europeans were to them. To Englishmen coming from the midst of a civilization, which had been steadily progressive for a thousand years, the persons, manners, habits and sentiments of the savages of North America must have been objects of lasting astonishment."[1]

The following testimony respecting the Chesapeake Bay Indians is from the pen of Father White, who accompanied Calvert. "This race is endowed with an ingenious and liberal disposition, and what may surprise you when stated — an acuteness of taste, smell and sight, that even surpasses Europeans. They live mostly on a pap, which they call *Pone*, or Omini (hominy). They add, sometimes, a fish, or what they have taken, either beast or bird, in hunting. They keep themselves, as much as possible, from wine and warm drinks, nor are they easily induced to taste them, except in cases where the English have infected them.

"Ignorance of their language makes it, as yet, impossible for me to assert what are their religious opinions, for we have not full confidence in Protestant interpreters. These few things we have learned at different times. They recognise one God of heaven, whom they call our God; they pay to him no external worship, but endeavor to propitiate by every means in their power, a certain evil spirit, which they call *Okee.* They worship corn and fire, as I am informed, as gods wonderfully beneficent to the human race.

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[1] Life of Leonard Calvert, Sparks, Vol. IX., p. 70.

"Some of our people relate that they have seen the ceremony at Barcluxor. On an appointed day, all the men and women, from many villages, assembled around a great fire. Next to the fire stood the younger people; behind them the men advanced in life. A piece of deer's fat being then thrown into the fire, the hands and voices being lifted towards heaven, they cried out, Taho! Taho! They then cleared a small space, and some one produced a large bag; in the bag was a pipe and a kind of powder, which they called Potu. The pipe was such as our countrymen use, but larger. Then the bag was carried around the fire, the boys and girls singing with an agreeable voice, Taho! Taho! The circle being ended, the pipe and powder were taken from the pouch. The potu was distributed to each of those standing round, which he put into the pipe and smoked, breathing the smoke over his limbs, and sanctifying them, as the smoker supposes. I have not been able to learn more than that they appear to have some knowledge of the flood, by which the world perished, because of the sins of men."[1]

There is nothing, either in these ceremonial rites of Taho, and offerings of the fumes of the fat of animals, and of the nicotiana from consecrated pouches, to the god of fire, or in the traditions of a flood, or in the very language employed, to denote that the Maryland tribes differ essentially from others of the great Algonquin stock.

When Calvert landed, he was imbued with the most friendly feelings towards the Indians, for they were regarded with much interest in Europe, as a wild, but unknown race of men. As with the rulers of all the new colonies, a knowledge of the policy which controlled the Indian tribes was, with him, a subject of primary importance. It soon became evident that a great aboriginal nation, in the interior, was alike the terror and the aversion of all the midland and coast tribes. This governing power was the Iroquois, the dreaded Massawonacks of the native Virginia tribes, before the crushing force of whose prowess, the noble Susquehannocks, and their feeble allies, were, eventually, compelled to succumb.

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[1] Life of Leonard Calvert, p. 75, Sparks.

CHAPTER II.

SUSQUEHANNOCKS, NANTICOKES, AND CONOYS.

The Chesapeake Bay appears to have derived its name from a tribe, which occupied Cape Henry and the surrounding country, now included in Princess Anne county, Virginia. From the geographical position of the bay, in a part of the Powhatanic territory, as well as the etymology of the word, its termination in *peak* being of the same import as *beag*, waters, the name is unquestionably of Algonquin derivation.

When, in 1608, Captain Smith made a voyage to the head of this bay, and entered the magnificent river which debouches into it, he found that the Susquehannocks, who were located on its western shores, comprised 600 warriors, which would denote a population of 3000 souls; and he was struck with admiration of their fine physical proportions and manly voices. At that time, twenty-three years had elapsed from the date of the first voyage to Virginia. Whether a change had taken place in their location, or the Virginia band had been but an outlying branch, cannot now be determined; but it is more than probable, that the Susquehanna river was their original residence.

Along the Eastern shores of the bay, from Cape Charles up, Smith mentions the location of the Accomacs and the Accohanocs, tribes who retained this general position during the greater part of colonial history; and who, certainly, down to the period of the Northampton massacre, when they became mingled with the negroes, were still, in part, represented.[1] Next in position, north, he places the Nanticokes, under the name of Tockwaghs, which may readily be inferred to apply to that tribe, when we learn that they were called Tawackguáno by the Delawares.[2] Thence, in succession, the Ozimies, the Hüokarawaocks, and the Wighcomocos, the latter of whom are called Wicomocos by Calvert.

The entire eastern shore, above Virginia, has, in later days, been regarded as the Nanticos or Conoy country, synonymous names for the same people. An adverse fate befell that scattered tribe. From the earliest dates, they were at variance with the Iroquois, whose war canoes swept down the Susquehanna, from their inaccessible fastnesses in Western New York. We learn, from a competent authority,[3] that the

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[1] Vide Vol. V., p. 36, Note.

[2] Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 52.

[3] Charles Thompson.

Nanticos were forced into a league with the Iroquois, who finally adopted them, holding out the flattering idea, and, perhaps, promise, of admitting the tribe into their confederacy; but if so, and there is evidence of it in a declaration, made in 1758, by Tokais, a Cayuga chief,[1] their fate was not unlike the stag who falls into the power of the anaconda. They helped to minister to the pride of the Iroquois, as did also the Tutelos from Virginia.

The Nanticokes and Conoys,[2] wearied with strife, abandoned their residences in lower Maryland, and moved up the Susquehanna, pursuing its western branches into the territories of their conquerors, the Iroquois. Eventually, they settled down beside fragmentary bands of Shawnees and Mohickanders, at Otsiningo, the present site of Binghampton, with whom they formed a league, in the hope of recovering their former position by this policy. This league was called the "Three Nations."[3] During the month of April, 1757, Owiligascho, or Peter Spelman, a German, who had resided seven years among the Shawnees, on one of the western branches of the Susquehanna, and married a Shawnee wife, arrived at Fort Johnson, where resided the Indian superintendent for the northern colonies, and reported that this new confederacy would visit him, in a short time, with a body of nearly two hundred men, and that they were now on the road, Their object was to smoke a friendly pipe with Sir William Johnson, after the manner of their fathers, and to offer him assistance in the war against the French. He presented two strings of wampum from the chiefs, as the credentials of his authority.[4]

On the 19th of April following, these Indians arrived on the opposite bank of the river, which was then swelled by the spring flood. The chiefs, having crossed in canoes, were admitted to a council. The Shawnees were represented by Paxinosa, and fifty-two of his warriors; the Mohickanders by Mammatsican, their king, with one hundred and forty-seven of his nation; and the Nanticokes by Hamightaghlawatawa, with eight of his people.

Having been addressed in favorable and congratulatory terms by Sir William, who explained to them the true position of the English, as contrasted with that of the French, respecting the Indians, two days subsequently the chiefs replied, accepting the offer of the chain of friendship, and promising to keep "fast hold of it, and not quit it, so long as the world endured." In this address, allusion is incidentally made to a belt sent the previous year, to the unfriendly Delaware and Ohio Indians, in the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne; and also, to a similar belt, sent to the Delaware chief Tediscund, residing at Tioga.[5] They formally apprize him of the league formed between the Nanticokes, Mohickanders, and Shawnees, of which he had been previously informed by Owiligascho, and, also, that they had concentrated at Otsiningo, on the Susquehanna, where messages are directed to be sent to them in future.[1]

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[1] Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 52.

[2] These were different names for bands of the same people.

[3] Colonial History of New York, Vol. VII., p. 253.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 244.

[5] Spelt "Tiaogo." Col. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 249.

There is a trait of Indian shrewdness observable, at the conclusion of their reply to Sir William Johnson, in a curious allusion to an event which occurred while the Mohickanders still resided on the Hudson. "'Tis now nine years ago,"[2] said the speaker, "that a misfortune happened near Reinbeck, in this province; a white man there, shot a young man, an Indian. There was a meeting held thereon, and Martinus Hoffman said, 'Brothers, there are two methods of settling this accident; one according to the white people's customs, the other according to the Indians. Which of them will you choose? If you will go according to the Indian manner, the man who shot the Indian may yet live. If this man's life is spared, and, at any time hereafter, an Indian should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall also be spared.' You told us, he added, two days ago, that when a man is dead, there is no bringing him to life again. We understand there are two Indians in jail, at Albany, accused of killing a white man. They are alive, and may live to be of service, and we beg you, as the chief of the Great King, our Father, that they may be released."[3]

The alliance thus formed with the British government, in 1757, was unquestionably fostered, and remained unbroken, during the progress of the Revolution. The larger part of these Indians probably returned to Canada, with the Munsees and Delawares, where, it is known, numbers of the latter tribe were located. A few of them, however, who lingered within the precincts of New York, probably became absorbed in the Brothertons, comprising fragments of Algonquin tribes, who dropped their own dialects, and adopted the English language.

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[1] New York Hist. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 250.

[2] This settles the final withdrawal of the Mohickanders from the Hudson *after* 1748.

[3] New York Col. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 250.

CHAPTER III.

SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF THE SUSQUEHANNOCKS.

1634 At the era of the settlement of Jamestown, the Susquehannocks claimed the country lying between the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers — an area comprising the entire western margin of Maryland. This was their hunting-ground, and marked the boundary line between their jurisdiction and that of the Powhatanic forest kingdom. Whatever were the local names of the bands occupying the banks of the several intermediate rivers, they were merely subordinate to the reigning tribe, primarily located on the shores of the Susquehanna. Subsequently they transferred their council fire, down the western shore to the Patuxent, in a position less open to the incessant inroads of the Iroquois.

The lower class of adventurers and settlers who emigrated to Virginia and Maryland at this early period, was composed of persons who were liable to become embroiled with the Indians, whose character they invariably misjudged, and whose lives they held to be valueless. By these persons the natives were regarded only as the medium, through whom they could pursue a profitable traffic in skins and furs, which was unrestrained and free to every one who chose to engage in it, or possessed the requisite capital. Unfortunately for the Indians, they could not restrain their appetite for ardent spirits; and, consequently, it should excite no surprise that a tribe, thus pressed on one hand, by a powerful and infuriated enemy, and on the other enticed by temptation to indulgence, should rapidly decline.

The effects of commerce with the whites on the condition of the aboriginal tribes of Maryland, located on the shores skirting the open waters of the Chesapeake, alternately stimulating and relaxing their energies, were of such a baneful character, as necessarily to destroy their power and importance within fifty years after the landing of Calvert. Without any strong political organization, or any permanent union among themselves, ever anxious to obtain the benefits of commerce and trade, and wanting the firm moral purpose to resist the resulting evil effects, they were placed in precisely the same position as the coast tribes of Virginia, who wasted away with a degree of rapidity which surprised her statesmen.[1] They exchanged their furs and fish, the only available product of their forests and streams, for the means of indulgence; and when this resource failed, they sold their lands to obtain the same destructive stimulants. Whether gunpowder, which annihilated the animals, performed its work more effectually than alcohol, which thinned the ranks of the Indians, may well be doubted. Jealous of their tribal sovereignty, the Susquehannocks added, by intestine wars, to the natural deaths produced by decay and intemperance, and when, like the other tribes, they began to assert their rights and sovereignty, and resist the encroachments of Europeans, they had already diminished so much in population, that they lacked the ability to maintain their ground. They were outwitted in diplomacy by a civilized nation, and if they did not disappear before the steady progress of arts, industry, and genius, among the colonists, they were enervated during peace, and conquered in war.

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[1] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

One cause operated powerfully to hasten the downfall of the Susquehannocks; the neglect, or mismanagement of their relations with the settlers of Virginia. The Virginians, on the southern banks of the Potomac, for some reason, believed the Susquehannocks to have been guilty of committing depredations and foul murders on their frontiers. In 1675, some of the inhabitants of the most northerly county of Virginia, while on their way to attend church, on a Sabbath-day, found the nearly lifeless body of a settler lying across the threshold of his own door, and an Indian, lying dead on the ground near him. The white was mortally wounded, but lived long enough to inform them that the Indians came from the Maryland shore.

The sensation produced by this outrage was extreme. Two spirited officers of the militia, Mason and Brent, accompanied by thirty men, promptly pursued the murderers. Ascending the valley of the Potomac some twenty miles, they crossed its channel to the Maryland shore, where they found two Indian paths. Dividing their force, Mason took one trail, and Brent the other. A short pursuit, by each party, terminated in the discovery of two Indian wigwams. Brant having accused one of the occupants of the lodge which he found, as the murderer, he tremblingly denied the fact, and attempted to escape, but was shot down by a pistol-ball, which lodged in his back. The other inmates then fired, and made a spring for the door of the wigwam; but the unerring rifle laid ten of the number dead on the spot. Meantime Mason had arrived at the other lodge, the Indians in which, hearing the firing at the first lodge, hastened to effect their escape. Fourteen of them were shot, when one of the survivors, having rushed up to Mason, and declared that they were Susquehannocks, and friends, the firing was instantly stopped.

The Susquehannocks subsequently accused the Senecas of having committed the murders in Virginia. Whoever the perpetrators really were is unknown; but other massacres immediately followed on those borders, which so excited the people of Maryland as well as of Virginia, that they united in mustering 1000 men to march against the Susquehannocks. This force was placed under the command of Colonel John

Washington.[1] Meanwhile the Susquehannocks had taken possession of an old abandoned fort, which, having been used by the whites in previous wars, was singularly well calculated for defence. It was encompassed by ample earthen walls, containing a gate and surrounded by a ditch, the counterscarp of the latter being planted with trees, closely wattled, which presented an impenetrable curtain.

The Maryland and Virginia forces appeared before this fort on the 23d of September. Conferences were held, in which the Indians, although boldly accused of the murders, as confidently denied their complicity, notwithstanding three of the bloody deeds had been identified as their acts. They agreed to deliver Harignera, and five others of their principal chiefs, to the English, as hostages for the security of their frontiers. The morning after the consummation of this treaty, one Captain John Allen, a leader of the Maryland rangers, having reported the circumstance of the murder of Randolph Hanson, among the recent outrages, was sent with a guard, to ascertain whether it had been the work of Indians. It so occurred that, during the final conference for the conclusion of the treaty, by the terms of which the six chiefs had been delivered over to the custody of the military, Allen returned from this examination, bringing with him the mangled remains of the victims, the appearance of which left no doubt that they had been foully murdered by the Indians. The whole camp was instantly a scene of excitement; every one imagining he saw his nearest friend, or some loved one in the cruel gripe of savages. Five of the hostages, comprising the leading sachems and wise men of the Susquehannocks, were immediately condemned to death, and were accordingly executed. During the night the Indians secretly, dexterously, and silently evacuated the fort, and fled, taking with them all their women and children. The warriors of this party attacked, with savage fury, the white residents on the frontiers of Virginia, killing many, and committing numerous depredations; in which forays they themselves were finally exterminated, or became scattered among other bands.

This was not, however, the severest blow that the Susquehannocks received. It appears, from the relation of Evans,[2] that a body of troops, led by a Marylander, attacked them at a position east of the Susquehanna, about three miles below Wright's Ferry, now known as Columbia, killing several hundred men. It is proved by Colden, from data produced at the treaty of Lancaster, negotiated in 1744, that they formed a part of the Canostogas, an original Oneida tribe, and that they were finally conveyed to the territory of that nation in western New York. Oneida tradition ascribes the birth and origin of the celebrated chief Shenandoa, to Canostoga, whence, in early life, he came to Oneida castle.

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[1] Great-grandfather of General George Washington.

[2] Analysis.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANDASTES.[1]

The synonyms of the Indian tribes in the United States, have operated greatly to complicate or retard the development of their true history. This subject has been a stumbling-block to writers, as well at home as abroad, where some of the ablest historians have been misled by it, mistaking the several names of the same tribe for those of different tribes. The Indian history of Maryland, and of its leading tribe, the Susquehannocks, has been obscured in this manner. The early French writers in Canada, and those who, on their authority, have since written of that country, constantly mention a tribe, whose name, in the softest form, is given as Andastes. Although residing in well-known limits of the United States, the name is not to be found in the works of any of our historians. Fortunately, however, there existed, between them and the Indian allies of the French, sufficient intercourse to give us data, whereby to determine their location, language, numbers, and power.

Friends of the Swedish colony on the Delaware, friends of the Hurons in Upper Canada, friends, at a later date, of Maryland and Pennsylvania, they were repeatedly at war with the powerful Iroquois. Like the latter, and the Neuters, they were a branch of the great Huron-Iroquois family.[2] According to Bressani,[3] they were located 500 miles, or, as the Relation of 1647–8 has it, 150 leagues southwest by south of the Hurons, inclining a little eastward. This measurement was in a direct line, the road usually taken being somewhat longer, and at least 200 leagues. A large river rising near Lake Ontario led to the town.[4] They resided quite near the Swedish settlement, and were on friendly terms with the Scandinavian colonists.[5]

Quite naturally, we turn to Swedish accounts to find some traces of this people. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania,[6] and the Historical Collections also, actually locate a tribe called Andastakas on Christiana creek, but I have not found on what authority. The name does not appear in Swedish accounts; and this is natural, as the surrounding tribes were Algonquin, and the Swedish name would of course be Algic. A band of the Akwinoshioni existed near the Swedes, whom they called Mengwe, a term that Mr. Heckewelder tells us is the same as Mingo. Campanius has preserved a vocabulary of their language, which is a dialect of the Huron Iroquois,[1] as Duponceau long since observed.[2] This word is not to be confounded with Minqua. Minqua was the Dutch and Swedish name for the Susquehannocks. A creek running into the Delaware bore the name of Minqua kill,[3] not that the Minqua lived on it, but because it led to their country.[4] This would place them on the Susquehanna, where the French locate the Andastes. Their town is thus described by Campanius: "The Minques, or Minckus, lived at the distance of twelve (fifty-four English) miles from New Sweden, where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land was very bad, being rocky, full of sharp, gray stones, with hills and morasses; so that the Swedes, when they went to them, which happened once or twice a year, had to walk in the water up to their armpits. . . . They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort or square building, in which they reside. They have guns and small iron cannon, with which they shoot, and defend themselves, and take with them when they go to war. They are strong and vigorous, both old and young; they are a tall people, and not frightful in their appearance."[5]

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[1] Andastoe, *Rel.*, 1672; Andastogué, *Rel.*, 1659–60; Gandastogué, *Rel.*, 1671–2; Conestogoe, *Colden*, &c.; Natio perticarum, *Du Creux;* Andastaka (?), *Proud;* Atrakwer (?), *Jour. Jes.;* Minqua, *Campanius;* Susquehannocks (?), *Captain Smith.*

[2] Rel. Huron, 1635, 1639, 1647, 1672.

[3] Breve Rel., French edition.

[4] Rel., 1662–3.

[5] Rel., 1647–8.

[6] Vol. II., p. 294.

There can be little doubt as to the identity of these Swedish Minqua and the Andastoe, or Gandastogué, of the French. Let us now see what we can elicit from European annals, regarding their history. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, they had, in a ten years' war, almost exterminated the Mohawks.[6] The Minquas were a warlike people, and, as usual with the Huron-Iroquois, were a superior race to their Algic neighbors. "They made the other Indians," says Campanius, "subject to them, so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them."[7] In 1633, De Vries found them at war with the Timber Creek Indians.[8] A short time thereafter, the Swedes purchased a portion of their territory,[9] and, in 1645, under the name of Susquehanna, or Conestogue, Indians, they ceded to Maryland a tract, beginning at the Patuxent river on the west, and terminating at the Choptank river on the east.[10] The Andastes, or Gandastogués, who are evidently these Conestogues, were, from time immemorial, friends and allies of the Hurons, and not over friendly to the Iroquois. In 1647, when the former were on the brink of ruin, the Andastes, then able to send from their single town 1300 warriors, "who, when fighting, never fled, but stood like a wall, as long as there was one remaining," despatched an embassy to Lake Huron, with an offer to espouse their quarrel, and a request that the Hurons would call on them when they needed aid.

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[1] Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem., Vol. III., p. 158. It may be seen, with other dialects, in Shea's History of the Iroquois.

[2] Ibid., Vol. III., Part II., p. 167.

[3] Campanius, Acrelius, &c.

[4] Authority cited by Hazard.—Annals, p. 77.

[5] Tradition cited in Rel., 1659–60, p. 28.

[6] Mem. Penn. Hist. Soc., Vol. III. p. 157.

[7] Camp. 158.

[8] De Vries.

[9] Hazard's Annals, p. 48.

[10] Cold., II., 99.

An embassy, headed by the Christian, Charles Ondaaiondiont, soon after set out from the villages of the Wyandots. In ten days they reached the Andaste town, and, on their appeal, the Andastes resolved to interfere. An embassy, loaded with rich presents, was sent to Onondaga to demand why the Iroquois struck the Wyandots, and to ask them to be wise and bury the hatchet. Charles, meanwhile, leaving a person to await the return of the deputies, set out for Huronia, which he reached only after a long and tedious march of forty days, made necessary by the war parties which the Senecas sent out to intercept him. His journey to Andaste had occupied but ten days. While at Andaste, he visited the churchless settlement of the Swedes, where was lying a Dutch ship from Manhattan, by which he received tidings of the murder of his old friend, Ondessonk, the Jesuit Father Joques, whom the Mohawks had mercilessly butchered near Albany.

The Iroquois accepted the presents of the Andastes, but, nevertheless, continued the war. The Hurons, however, never required the Andastes to enter the field, and they seem to have taken no further part in the war.[1]

Yet, in 1652, the Journal of the Superior of the Jesuits at Montreal, which gives as synonymous the names Andastoe and Atrakwer, mentions a report that 600 of the Andastes had been taken by the Iroquois.[2] This report was probably unfounded; they were at peace in 1656, although, in that year, we learn that some Andastoe hunters were robbed by the Onondagas on Lake Ontario, and war expected in consequence.[3]

In 1660, the successors of the Swedes still continued their friendly intercourse with the Andastes, or Minquas. In the following year, we find their town ravaged by the small-pox; and, as Campanius tells us, their loss by that scourge of the Indians was such as to weaken them greatly as a nation. Yet, under this affliction, their spirit remained unbroken. In 1661, some of their tribe were cut off by the Senecas,[4] and they, in return, killed three Cayugas in the same year.[5] In the following year, they defeated the western cantons, who then supplicated the French for aid.[6] The Senecas soon after renewed their request;[7] and we find that, in May, 1663, an army of 1600 Senecas marched against the Minquas, and laid seige to a little fort, defended by 100 warriors of that tribe, who, confident in their own bravery, and of receiving assistance from their countrymen, as well as from their white friends in Maryland, held out manfully. At last, sallying out, they routed the Senecas, killing ten, and recovering as many of their own countrymen.[8] For a time, this victory gave them a preponderance; and, such was the terror of their arms, that a portion of the Cayugas, being hard pressed, and harassed by their inroads, removed to Quinté, north of Lake Ontario.[9]

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[1] Rel., 1647–8, p. 50.

[2] See MS. ad Ann. 1652, July.

[3] Rel., 1657–8, ch. IV., V.

[4] Hazard, 1660–1.

[5] Rel., 1660–1, last chap.

[6] Rel., 1662–3, ch IV.

[7] Rel., 1663–4, ch. VIII; Charlev., II., 134.

[8] Haz. Annals, 346.

[9] Rel., 1667–8, ch. V., mentions the removal as having occurred two years previous.

The war was continued in a desultory manner. In 1668, the missionary resident at Onondaga, beheld a Gandastogué girl tied to the stake; and, in 1669, the Oneidas sent out parties against them. In 1670, prisoners were again brought to Seneca and Oneida, where they were tortured.[1] During the previous autumn, the Gandastogués had again attacked the Cayugas; but at last they sent an ambassador to the latter, who, contrary to usage, was imprisoned, and, in the spring, put to death, together with his nephew.[2]

About this time, an Iroquois medicine-man, when dying, ordered his body to be interred on the road to the country of the Andastes, promising to prevent, even in death, the inroads of that waning, yet terrible tribe. He also promised that Hochitagete, the great chief of the Andastes, should fall into their hands. Notwithstanding his prophesy, despite the potency of his bones, the Andastes carried off three Cayuga women; and, when a party of Senecas took the field, with promises of support from a reserve of Cayugas, they were met, attacked, and defeated by a party of sixty Andastes youth, or, rather boys, who, having killed several, and routed the rest, then started in pursuit of the Cayugas, whom, however, they failed to overtake.

This victory was needed: the Andastes had suffered greatly in point of numbers. "God help them," says the missionary who relates the preceding victory, "they have only three hundred warriors!"[3]

The war continued,[4] but the Marylanders became the enemies of the Andastes or Conestogoes, and, by the year 1675, they had at length yielded to the Iroquois,[5] who removed a portion of them, at least, from their old position,[6] to one higher up, perhaps to Onoghquage.

Some of the Conestogoes, however, remained at the place which still bears their name. They made a treaty with Penn in 1683; but, when that proprietor became aware of their dependent state, he applied to the Iroquois through Dongan.[7] When a subsequent treaty was concluded with them, in 1701, a deputy from Onondaga was present, and ratified the acts of Conoodagtoh, "the king of the Susquehanna[8] Menquays, or Conestogo Indians." At this period, other Indians had joined the survivors, and Shawnese, as well as Ganawese, also appear among them.[9] Subsequently, when a treaty was negotiated with Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Gordon, four chiefs of the Conestogoes, one the somewhat celebrated interpreter, Civility, were present,[10] and, also, the same number of Algonquin chiefs, headed by Tiorhaasery. Colden represents them as speaking Oneida, and, in fact, their dialect approximates it greatly.[1] Besides the Algonquins, there were some kindred Nanticokes at Conestogoe; yet they still formed but a small village, destined soon to perish, as all know who have read the classic page of Parkman.

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[1] Rel., 1668–70.
[2] Rel., 1669–70.
[3] Rel., 1671–2, p. 81.
[4] Rel., 1672–3, MS.
[5] Etat present des Missions, MS.
[6] Colden, 126.
[7] Keith so stated in 1720. See O'Callahan, Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I.
[8] It will be seen that the term Susquehannas is used as if it were a synonyme of Conestogue. Smith, (p. 182), speaks of the Susquehannocks as using a different language from the Virginian, that is, from the Algonquin, tribes. Unfortunately, no trace of their language remains, as Gallatin assures us, unless, indeed, the grammar, dictionary, and catechism of the Jesuit Father White, one of the first settlers of Maryland, prove to be in that language. They are preserved at Rome, and the writer hopes soon to possess copies of them.
[9] Treaty, Penn. Hist. Mem., Vol. III., p. 169.
[10] Penn. Hist. Mem., Vol. III., p. 200.

In 1763, they numbered only twenty souls, living in a cluster of squalid cabins, and all dependent on the industry of the female portion. The men were wild, gipsy-like beings, and, in the troubled state of the country, while Pontiac was encircling the colony with an ever narrowing hedge of burning dwellings, excited suspicion by their careless, if not threatening language. In their vicinity was the town of Paxton, settled by Irish Presbyterians, who had imbibed, in their native country, a fanatical spirit, and hatred of Pagan institutions. These men, having suddenly resolved to destroy the last distinct remnant of the Andastes, Minquas, or Conestogoes, armed themselves, and, in mid-winter, attacked the little village, in which they found only six persons, whom they butchered, and then fired their log huts. The sheriff of Lancaster, when cognizant of the outrage, hurried the survivors to the jail of that town, as a place of security; but even here, they could not escape the fury of the Paxton boys. On the 27th of December, while the townsfolk were in church, they entered the town, broke open the jail, and massacred the survivors, who fought desperately with billets of wood, thus maintaining to the last their ancient renown.[2]

Such was the close of the history of the Andastes. The remnant of a nation which had, during fourteen years, engaged the victorious Iroquois hand to hand, were massacred by a band of lawless whites.[3]

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[1] Colden, II., 58. The name Tiorhaasery is that borne by the celebrated missionary Lamberville, and means "Dawning of the day."

[2] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac.

[3] MSS. of John G. Shea, Esq., *nobis.*

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY OF THE COTEMPORARY EVIDENCES OF THE SUSQUEHANNOCK HISTORY.

It will not be deemed improper, before closing the history of one of the most prominent and characteristic tribes existing during the early days of the central colonies of the United States, a brave, proud, and high-spirited race, to collate, in a brief form, the principal evidences of the times which constitute the basis of their history.

According to a tradition, narrated in the Jesuit Relation for 1659–60, the Andastes had, prior to 1600, during a ten years' war, almost exterminated the Mohawks, and so completely humbled that bold and warlike tribe, that, after the period mentioned, they seldom dared to provoke them.[1]

However, in 1608, Smith found them still contending with each other, equally resolute and warlike; the Susquehannas, or Andastes, being impregnable in their palisaded town, and ruling over all the Algonquin tribes.[2]

Soon after the Dutch settled New York, they visited the Delaware river, and became acquainted with the dominant tribe, the Minquas, who came from the Susquehanna, by Minquaskill, to trade with them.[3] In 1633, De Vries found them at war with the Timber Creek Indians, and ruling with an iron hand[4] the tribes located on the banks of the Delaware. Five years subsequently, Minuit, at the head of a colony of Swedes, founded New Sweden, purchasing the land from the Minquas.[5] A strong friendship grew up between the settlers and this tribe, and a lucrative trade was carried on, which excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who made repeated endeavors to obtain a share of it.[6] "The Minquas, or Minckus," says Campanius, "lived at the distance of twelve (fifty-four English) miles from New Sweden, where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land was very bad, being stony, full of sharp, gray stones, with hills and morasses; so that the Swedes, when they went to them, which happened generally once or twice a year, had to walk in the water up to their arm-pits. . . . . They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort, or square building, in which they live, in the manner that has been described. They made the other Indians subject to them, so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them; but their numbers are, at present, greatly diminished by wars and sickness."[1] Of this trade of the Swedes with the Susquehannas, and, especially, of their supplying the latter with firearms, we have another proof in Plowden's New Albion. "The Swedes hired out three of their soldiers to the Susquehannocks, and have taught them the use of our arms and fights."[2]

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[1] Relation de ce qui s'est passées années, 1659–60, p. 28.

[2] Bozman.

[3] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II., i., p. 428.

[4] Voyages of De Vries (Lennox edition).

[5] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II., i., p. 412.

[6] Ibid. 424.

In 1647, the Hurons were on the brink of ruin. The Iroquois had pursued them, after their alliance with the French, with the utmost fury. By stratagem, the whole district of country, from the Oswego, Genesee, and Niagara rivers, to the very skirts of Montreal, was covered by war parties, who waylaid every path. Themselves of the Iroquois lineage, they were pursued with the desperation of a family quarrel. There was no pity and no mercy in the Iroquois mode of warfare. They have been known to travel a thousand miles, and then conceal themselves near the cabin of some unsuspecting foe, that they might deprive him of his scalp. During their war with the Iroquois, the Andastes or Susquehannas, then able to send 1300 warriors from their single town, despatched an embassy to the shores of Lake Huron, to offer their aid to their ancient allies, promising to take up arms whenever called upon. The infatuated Hurons relied on their own strength, and seem to have slighted the proferred assistance till it was too late. Still, an embassy was sent from Huronia, headed by the Christian warrior, Charles Ondaaiondiont. In ten days, they reached the Andaste town, and solicited merely the intervention of the Susquehannas. He left the Huron towns on the 13th of August, and reached them again on the 5th of October.

The Dutch still continued to struggle for the Minqua or Susquehanna trade, from which the Swedes, no less zealously, endeavored to exclude them; but, in 1651, the Dutch purchased of the Minquas all the land between the Minquaskill and Bomties Hook, in the name of the States-General and the West India Company.[3]

At the epoch of Calvert's colonization, the Susquehannas had been at war with the Piscataways, as well as with other Maryland tribes, and seem to have cut off a missionary settlement. In 1642 they were declared enemies of the colony, and as they still continued their ravages with the Wycomeses, and, apparently, the Senecas, Captain Cornwallis was sent against them, and a fort erected on Palmer's Island, to check their inroads.[4] The war continued, however, and an effort made to bring about a conference in May, 1644, with a view to establishing peace, failed. The new settlements of the Puritans on the Severn, in the very territories of the Susquehannas, having given fresh umbrage, the frontier was ravaged by predatory bands.[1] In 1652 peace was firmly established by a treaty signed at the river Severn, on the 5th of July, by Richard Bennett, Edward Lloyd, William Fuller, Leonard Strong, and Thomas Marsh, on behalf of the colony; and Sawahegeh, Auroghtaregh, Scarhuhadigh, Rutchogah, and Natheldianeh, Susquehanna "war captains and councillors" of Susquehanagh, in the presence of "Jafer Peter for the Swedes Governor."

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[1] Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. III., p. 157.

[2] Plowden's New Albion. See, also, Bozman's Maryland, Vol. II., p. 273.

[3] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II., i., p. 412.

[4] M‘Sherry's History of Maryland, pp. 53–9. Bozman's History of Maryland, Vol. II., pp. 214–260.

By this treaty all past grievances were forgiven on both sides, peace was established, and provision made to prevent future hostilities. The Susquehannas thereby ceded to the colony all the territory between Patuxent river and Palmer's island, on the west, and from Choptank river to the branch above Elk river, excepting Palmer's island, on which both parties were at liberty to have trading houses.[2]

In 1652, a war broke out between the Andastes and the Senecas, which continued as late as 1673, for, in the still unpublished manuscript, Relation for 1672–3, we find the following remark of Father Lamberville: "Two Andastogues, taken by the Iroquois, were more fortunate; they received baptism immediately before the hot irons were applied. One of them having been burnt in a cabin during the night from the feet up to the knees, prayed with me the next day, when bound to a stake in the square of the castle. I need not repeat here, what is already known, that the tortures inflicted on these prisoners of war are horrible. The patience of these poor victims is admirable; but it is impossible to behold, without horror, their flesh roasted and devoured by men, who act like famished dogs.

"Passing one day by a place where they were cutting up the body of one of these victims, I could not refrain from going up to inveigh against this brutality. One of these cannibals was calling for a knife, to cut off an arm; I opposed it, and threatened, if he would not desist, that God would sooner or later punish his cruelty. He persisted, however, giving as his reason that he was invited to a dream-feast, where nothing was to be eaten but human flesh, brought by the guests themselves. Two days after, God permitted his wife to fall into the hands of the Andastogues, who avenged on her the cruelty of her husband."[3]

Of the two following years we have no definite account, but, in 1675, the "Etat Present of Monseigneur de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec," speaks of the pride of the Iroquois, since the defeat of the Andastes. When, or where the decisive battle was fought, I have been utterly unable to trace; from what can be gleaned from the annals of Maryland and Virginia, it seems most probable that their stronghold was taken, and that the survivors fled south.

According to the historians of Maryland and Virginia,[4] the Senecas had, in 1674, conquered the Susquehannas, and driven them from their abode, at the head of the Chesapeake, to the vicinity of the Piscataways. The fugitives had taken refuge in an old fort which had belonged to their former antagonists, and there resolutely defended themselves against the Senecas, who still pursued them, ravaging without much concern, the lands of the whites. Some of the colonists were actually cut off, and, as the Susquehannas had, in the olden time, been enemies, and were now apparently invading the colonies, it was agreed to send a joint Maryland and Virginia force against them. On the 25th of September, 1675, the Maryland troops, under Major Trueman, appeared before their fort. He was apparently satisfied with their protestations of innocence; but, being joined on the following day by the Virginians, under Colonels Washington and Mason, under the strong provocations before stated, he caused five of the chiefs, who came out to treat with them, to be seized and bound. To prove their friendship, they showed a silver medal, and papers given them by governors of Maryland; but, in spite of all, they were, under false impulses, put to death. Many fell in the fight, the rest evacuated the fort, commenced a retreat, and a war of revenge, and, being joined by other tribes, the whole border was deluged in blood. Bacon's rebellion, in Virginia, grew out of this act of treachery, and the war was finally ended, it would seem, by the aid of the Iroquois, who, joining the Maryland and Virginia army, forced the surviving Susquehannas to return to their former post, where a number of Iroquois were incorporated with them.[1]

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[1] Bozman, Vol. II, p. 394.

[2] See treaty in Bozman, Vol. II., p. 682. M'Sherry, p 71.

[3] Manuscript Relation, 1672–3, p. 49.

[4] Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. II., 215. M'Sherry's History of Maryland, p. 90. History of Virginia.

The Susquehannas were finally exterminated as a nation; but their name will be perpetuated by their noble river, which is a more enduring memorial than the perishable monuments erected by man.

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[1] See Colden's History of the Five Nations, Vol. II., p. 126. (Edition of 1747.)

SECTION EIGHTH.

OCCUPANCY OF NEW YORK BY THE ENGLISH, AND SEQUEL TO THE INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

NEW NETHERLANDS SURRENDERED TO THE ENGLISH, AND NAMED NEW YORK.

WHILST a foreign power held sway over the entire territory bordering New 1664 England on the west and south, facilities were offered for the escape of Indian marauders into that province; and the impression prevailed, whether well or ill founded, cannot be determined, that such persons received countenance from the Dutch authorities, or, at least, that the Indians under their jurisdiction, received and sheltered the aboriginal fugitives.[1] But this state of affairs ceased, after the province was taken by the English, in 1664, twenty years after the close of the Pequot war. The British flag then waved in triumph from the utmost boundaries of New England to those of Florida. It was an unquestionable fact that, when the Pequot war terminated, in 1644, many of this indomitable tribe, after escaping from the massacre at Fairfield, sought shelter in the territory of the Mohawks. Some individuals of it, also, as well as of the Nanticokes, appear to have been incorporated with the Scoharie band of the Mohawks; but, by far the greater number, were permitted to locate themselves on a branch of the North river, called Scaghticoke,[2] in a valley equally as fertile as it was beautiful, which was granted to them by the authorities of Albany.[3] These fugitives, among whom were some other fragments of the sea-coast Algonquins, never resumed their original tribal appellation, but settled down under the government of the Iroquois cantons, who sheltered the remnants of the despoiled and conquered tribes. Delegates from these Indians attended some of the Mohawk councils, but they retained none of their former independent character, and were not much respected. Some years after the establishment of the English supremacy in New York, the entire Scaghticoke band precipitately fled, and located themselves under the protection of the French, at Missisqui bay, on the northern waters of Lake Champlain. To this course they were impelled by one or other of several reasons; either because less countenance was shown them by the New York authorities, on account of the repeated complaints of the Connecticut colonists; or that the whites infringed too much on the land assigned them; or that the Canadian authorities, who were in communication, and sympathy with them, exercised a persuasive influence; or, it is more probable, that they feared the New Yorkers were about to avenge the wrongs inflicted on the Connecticut settlers.

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[1] Bancroft. O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands.

[2] Brodhead's History of New York. This word appears to mean, the first stream after reaching still water.

[3] Vide Munsell's Annals of Albany.

At the period when the English and Celtic elements of population were introduced into New York, there were, as there had been previously, but two Indian powers contending for the sovereignty in this colony, the Algonquin and the Iroquois.[1] The Algonquins, divided into numerous bands, under local names, had, from an early date, occupied the valley of the Hudson, below the site of Albany; and the right bank of that river, as high up, at least, as the influx of the Wallkill, was occupied by the second totemic class of the Lenno Lenapees,[2] who bore the name of Munsees, the various tribes of which, known as the Raritans, Sanhikans, &c., covered the entire surface of New Jersey. On the right banks of the Hudson were the Mohicans proper, known under the tribal appellations of Wappengers, Tappensees, and Wequa-esgecks, and other bands of the Westchester Algonquins. These latter extended their possessions into the boundaries of Connecticut. The Manhattans were the band residing on the island of the same name, and the Long Island tribes, descriptively called Sewan-akies,[3] or shell-land bands, were known by the generic name of Metöacs. Nearly every prominent bay, island, or channel, of which the great bay of New York is the recipient, possessed its local name, derived often from that of a tribe, and often from geographical features.

In the middle and western parts of the State, between the Tawasentha valley of Albany county, and the Niagara river, resided the Iroquois, consisting of the five tribes of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, who, after the formation of their confederacy, filled by far the most important position in the history of the North American, or, to be more precise, Vesperic[4] Indians. According to some authorities, this league had been formed but a short time anterior to the discovery of the Hudson river.[1] Others, among whom is the Indian annalist, Cusic, whose chronology is not, however, reliable, aver that the date of the confederacy is far more ancient.[2] From all accounts, during the first half century after the settlement of Virginia, the Algonquins were the most numerous in population along the sea coasts, and for more than a century and a half, in the interior. This numerical supremacy continued until the European population, crossing the Alleghenies, passed the great lake basins, and scattered freely over the Mississippi Valley. Agreeably to Colden,[3] the supremacy of the Algonquins had, in more ancient times, been acknowledged, not only as hunters and warriors, but also in manners and arts. This early development, however, had evidently declined before the foot of the white man trod these shores; and it is certain that, so far as it related to policy and warlike achievements, it had passed away before the era of the Dutch, and long before the English became identified with New York history. These assertions are deducible from the fact, that the Algonquins, both of the Hudson and of the Delaware rivers, had been conquered by the Iroquois, and were then in a state of vassalage to that confederacy, either paying tribute, or deprived of the sovereign right of ceding lands.[4] When the latter power was attempted to be exercised, some forty years after the advent of Penn, the unmercifully severe and contemptuous rebuke, and insolence, of Canissatego may be cited, to show that the power of their club and tomahawk was ready to enforce their ancient potency.[5]

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[1] Vide Eth. Res., Vol. III.

[2] Manly men, from *lenno*, a man, *inape*, a male

[3] A compound, from *sewan*, wampum shell, and *aukie*, land.

[4] Vide Eth. Res., Vol. V

About ten years previous to the conquest of New York by the English, say in 1653, the Seneca Iroquois, with the aid of the other tribes of the league, began a war against the Eries, as well as against the neuter nation of the Niagara river, and their allies, the Andastes of the Erie shore. When Le Moyne first visited Onondaga in 1655, this war against the Eries was then in progress. Cusic denominates them the Cat Nation, meaning the wild-cat, as the domestic animal was probably unknown. They were evidently affiliated in language with themselves. No one can peruse the writings of the missionary fathers, and not perceive this. The following account of the origin of this war against the Neuter Nation, is furnished by Cusic: Delegates from a northern nation, with whom the Iroquois were at war, having been received by the Eries, Yagowanea, the female ruler of the tribe, at Kienuka, on the Niagara Ridge, betrayed the Seneca deputation to their concealed enemies from the north, by whom they were killed. As they claimed to hold a neutral position towards the belligerant tribes, the inevitable result of this treachery was, that the Iroquois indignantly flew to arms.

The early French writers call this tribe the Neuter Nation, owing to their apparently pacific character. This name, however, is not derived from the Indian, and has only served to mystify modern inquirers, as no such nation of neuters can be found in any position, except solely in the area occupied by the Eries, on the Niagara. The name

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[1] Notes on the Iroquois, p. 117.

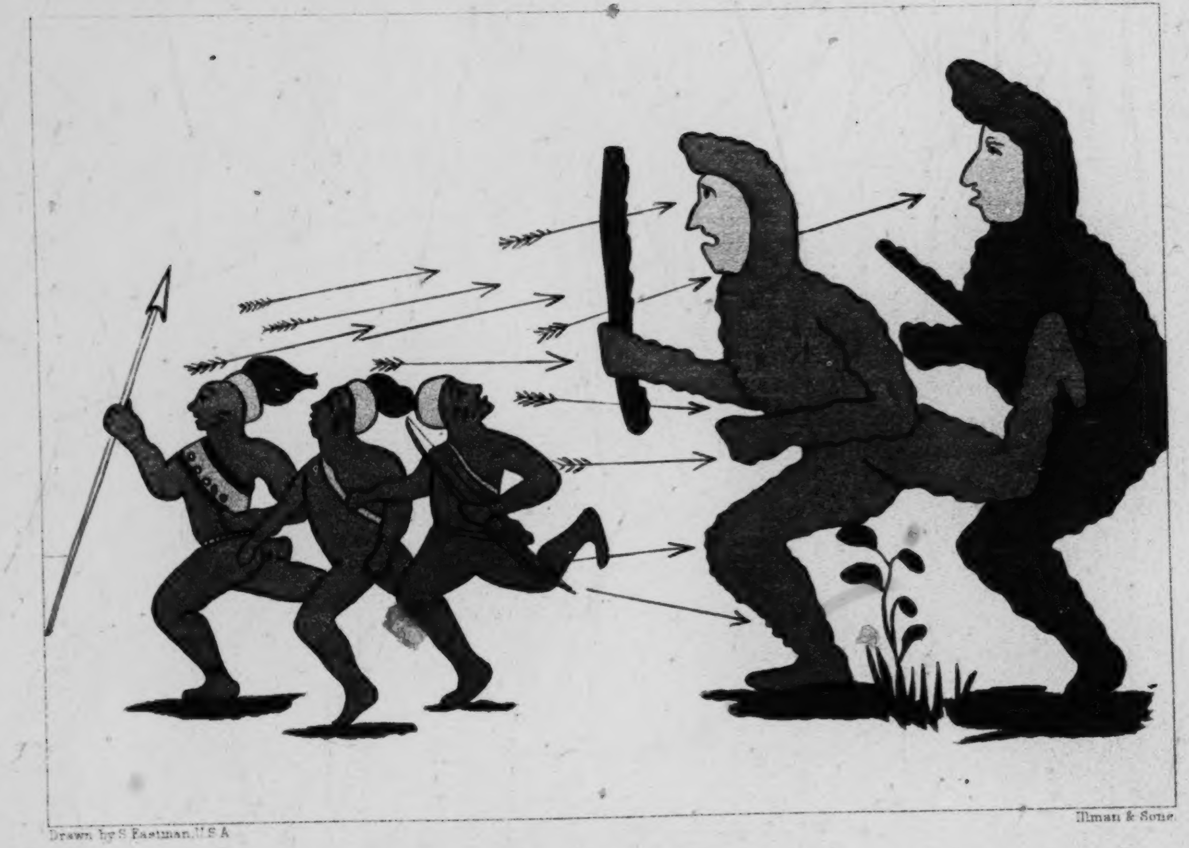
[2] Eth. Res., Vol. V, p. 631.

[3] History of the Five Nations.

[4] Colden's History.

[5] Eth. Res., Vol. III, p. 181

Plate 73



Drawn by S Eastman, U.S.A.

Illman & Sons.

IROQUOIS PICTURE WRITING.

M [illegible]

by which the Senecas designate the Eries, is Kahqua. The Andastes occupied the shores of Lake Erie. As previously denoted, they were Susquehannocks.

The war, fiery, short, and bloody, resulted in the overthrow of the Eries and their allies, and produced their subsequent incorporation into other tribes, or expulsion from the country. From this time, the tribal name of Erie, as, in a prior case, with the Pequots, disappears from history. Mr. Evans, in his map and memoir, published at Philadelphia, in 1755, avers that the refugee Eries took shelter in the Ohio valley, whence they eventually crossed the Onosiota,[1] or Alleghany chain, to rejoin kindred tribes. Mr. Jefferson repeats this fact in his Notes on Virginia, in 1780. The evidence that these fugitive Eries are the brave and indomitable people known to us as Catabas, has been elsewhere produced.[2]

To conciliate the Iroquois, who were thus rapidly raising themselves to a position of power and influence among the Indians of the colonies, became immediately a measure of English policy, and to secure this result, the most wise and prudent steps were taken. The fur trade, which had been established upon a firm and satisfactory basis by the Dutch, was continued; and the bonds of friendship with the Iroquois cemented by an offensive and defensive alliance. Their enemies became the enemies of the English, and the friends of the former the friends of the latter. Thus, the Iroquois were constituted the defenders of the territory of western New York, against the French. If the latter could succeed in driving them from, or acquiring their forests, western New York would be added to New France; if they failed, it was a gem in the British crown. Who can read the details of an hundred years' sanguinary contests, without perceiving that it was the undying vigilance, the unerring accuracy of their geographical knowledge of the wilderness, and the manly bravery of the Iroquois, which, up to the year 1775, preserved western New York to the English crown.

The annexed map, Plate VII., published at Amsterdam, in 1659, denotes the position of the several tribes, who occupied Manhatania, on the transfer of the Dutch authority in New York to the English.

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[1] Evans.

[2] Eth. Res., Vol. III., p. 293.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR WITH PHILIP, OF POKANOKET.

While the English were making themselves acquainted with the character, positions, and wants of the Indians of New York, the causes of discord between the New England tribes and the colonists still continued; but, like a smouldering fire, they were, as much as possible, concealed from public view. The severity with which the Pequots were treated, secured the peace of the country for some thirty years; though at no time during this period could the colonists relax their vigilance for one moment. The war between the Mohicans and Narragansetts, under Uncas and Miontonimo, demonstrated to the tribes that, however fiercely discord and war might rage among themselves, the great and vital objects of the colonists were not retarded, but rather promoted, by the extinction of the petty Indian sovereignties.

At length, in 1675, those smothered discords burst forth into a flame. Massachusetts having been, in truth, the mother of the British colonies in the north, she now became the principal object against which the long pent-up wrath of the aborigines was directed. The majority of her sea-coast and inland tribes, had, indeed, yielded to the influences of civilization and gospel teachings, and had engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, but in her assemblies of neophytes, there were disciples of the native Indian priesthood, who sometimes maintained their view of the questions at issue with great boldness. The larger part of the Indian population of the interior, and towards the south, southwest, and west, hated a life of labour, as also the gospel, and secretly banded together to make another combined effort for the extinction and expulsion of the English. This combination was headed by the Pokanokets, whose council-fires burned on Mount Hope.

It has been previously stated that this tribe had very extensive affiliations with the principal Indian families of the country. They were the leading tribe of the Pokanoket Bashabary, a kind of aboriginal hereditary presidency.[1] The benevolent Massasoit held this office at the period of the landing of the Plymouth colony, and both he and his descendants were, up to the close of the war, deemed the legitimate sovereigns, and possessing power to alienate land. Massasoit, who, by his equanimity and conservative character, had maintained a good understanding with the colonists, died in 1662, and was succeeded, at alternate periods, by his sons Popquit and Metakom; or, according to the researches of Mr. Drake,[1] more correctly, Pometakom. The colonial court, at one of its sittings, gave them the names of Alexander and Philip, in compliment to their martial bearing. Alexander, who possessed a high spirit, ruled but a short time, dying of a fever suddenly contracted while on a visit to the Plymouth colony. Pometakom, who was better known as King Philip, succeeded him. He was a man who, if we can place any reliance on the prints of the time, inclined to the middle size, was not over five feet nine or ten inches; had a large and finely-developed head, and possessed great resolution, activity and powers of endurance. He may be regarded as the true representative of the Indian hunter. He was familiar with every foot of ground between Mount Hope and Massachusetts Bay; had witnessed the foundation and rise of the colonies; was well known to the colonists, and they to him; loved the independence of savage life and rule; took great pride in his ancestry; loved the old Indian rites, and retained in his service a numerous priesthood, or body of prophets, sagamores, and powwows; dæmonology and idolatry, magic and soothsaying, being regarded by him as the religion of his ancestors. He loved hunting and fishing, and despised the life of labor recommended to him. He may be said to have detested civilization in all its forms, and to have abhorred the doctrines of Christianity. At the head of his Bashabary, he ruled both civil and priestly chiefs; by his office he was, in fact, a supreme chief of chiefs. Such appears to be the meaning of the term BASHABA.

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[1] This group appears to have consisted principally of the Pawtuckets, Neponsetts, Nonantums, Wichagashas, Nashoways, Nantuckets, Puncapaugs, Nipmucks, Nocanticks, and Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, the latter being the reigning tribe. The Pokanokets had been very numerous, but their population had been diminished by the general sickness, prior to the year 1620.

During twelve years Philip had been a silent observer of the growth of New England. Twenty years had elapsed since the close of the native war between the Narragansetts and Mohicans, of which the colonists had been passive, though deeply interested, spectators, merely employing their influence with the tribes to keep them at peace with the colonies and with each other. For several years prior to the breaking out of the Pokanoket war, Philip had been regarded with suspicion, and a close eye was kept on his subtle political movements. It appeared evident that, in addition to his authority amongst the eight or ten tribes who acknowledged his supremacy, his influence was also exerted among the Narragansetts, his immediate neighbors on the south, whose possessions extended northwardly to those of the Pennacooks of the river Merrimac, and of other tribes of the Pawtuckets.

Philip's plan for uniting all the border Indians in a general war against the colonies, is supposed to have been revealed by a friendly Christian Indian, called Sausaman. For this act he was made to pay the forfeit of his life, by three emissaries of Philip.

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[1] Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 14.

While fishing on a pond through an orifice in the ice, he was approached without suspicion, by his foes, who knocked him on the head, and then thrust his body through the opening.

The Pequot war was but the struggle of a single tribe, in which, though the sympathies of other tribes were, more or less, enlisted, they took no active part. But the plot of Philip had been maturely deliberated upon, and had received the sanction of all the Indian councils, both political and religious, in which the native feeling of repugnance to the whites prevailed, fully comprehending, as they did, that the leading objects of the colonists were to force the arts of civilization, and the teachings of Christianity, on the Indians. Wherever the Indians were assembled for moral instruction, every argument was adduced to impress them with the importance of the practice of virtue, industry, and temperance; and to inculcate the doctrines of the Christian faith. To the number of willing listeners, who had been gathered into separate but small isolated congregations, under the name of "praying Indians," during these forty years, no truths were more acceptable; on the contrary, to the pagan portion, who were, by far, the largest number among the tribes, these truths were like so many sharp goads to the Indian heart. The Indian powwows gnashed their teeth while listening to the English preachers declaring such truths, which, as it were, with gigantic strength, overthrew the entire system of the Indian meda-theology and wigwam political necromancy.

It is estimated that, in 1673, the entire white population of New England was 120,000 souls, of whom 16,000 were capable of bearing arms.[1] About this time, Massachusetts alone mustered twelve troops of cavalry, comprising sixty men each, who were armed, and stationed at various points, to punish any sudden aggressions. The white population had, within forty years, spread from its original nucleus at Plymouth, more than 100 miles westward, and, in some places, the same distance to the north. But owing to this very expansion, it presented, on every frontier, a broken, unconnected line, continually subject to the depredations of the hostile Indians. At these exposed points in the line of the advancing settlements, every man was the daily guardian of his own life, untiring vigilance being the only guaranty of safety.

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[1] Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches, p. 87.

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP DEVELOPES HIS PLOT: HIS ATTACKS ON THE WEAK FRONTIER LINE OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

It was these settlements, weakened by their geographical position, though strengthened by the energy of character innate in their inhabitants, that Philip plotted to destroy. It was his design that the onslaught should have taken place on the same day, and that the war-cry should have been simultaneously raised, from the shores of the Piscataqua to the steeps of Mount Hope. Had such a combination been effected in the days of Sassacus, the hopes of the New England colonies might have been extinguished in blood. But the revelations of Sausaman had placed the colonists on their guard. Battles and experience had made them familiar with the Indian mode of warfare, and had taught them that sleepless watchfulness and caution are essential to the prosperity of settlements bordering on Indian frontiers. They numbered among them several men, noted for their skill and tact in repelling the Indians in their guerilla warfare. Every settler was, in fact, on the alert; fire-arms were kept in every family. The assumed tranquil air, and calm manner, of the Indian, in his ordinary visits, his studied secresy, and his deep deception, were closely observed, and the horrid cruelty of the Indians was well known to all, both young and old.

The Indian has lost America through discord, procrastination, and deliberation, without decision; action being postponed from time to time, and period to period, until it became, in effect, a dream of something to be done, something that it was pleasing to the natives to deliberate upon, to think about, to powwow over. There have occurred a few striking exceptions in the course of their history, and these are precisely the cases which developed extraordinary men. Two of these exceptions have already been mentioned; the one was Uncas, who determined to divide the ancient Pequot sovereignty, and to range himself under the banner of the English; the other was Sassacus, who, finding his affairs in a desperate condition, after the flower of his forces had been consumed by what was, clearly, the result of a mere accident (Mason never having premeditated that tragical and revolting sacrifice), determined instantly to forsake his country, and flee to the west. A third instance of decision, conjoined with ability to combine the power of united action, and, probably, the most remarkable of the three, in point of intellectual vigor, was that of Pometacom, whose acts we are about to narrate.

To qualify himself for his great effort against the New England colonies, and to relieve his men from domestic cares, he sent his own family, and all the women and children of his nation, into the country of his friends and neighbors, the Narragansetts. Canonchet, the son of Miontonimo, who had been the reigning sachem since the death of his father, by this course involved himself deeply with the colonies, and it ultimately cost him his life; for the colonists could now no longer doubt, that the Narragansetts not only sympathized deeply with Philip, but had acceded to his plans. They, therefore, organized a strong force against this tribe, and, after the capture of Canonchet, in a conflict, which occurred near Sekonk, the tribe succumbed, and formed a new treaty with their conquerors. Canonchet himself was sent to the Mohicans, under Uncas, and by them executed.

Political wisdom is of very slow growth among the Indians. Having no records, tradition performs its duty very defectively; much being forgotten, disbelieved, or imperfectly understood; and, where the ruling passions are so strong, as they are in all the tribes, that they all take one direction only, namely, hatred to the whites, imagination obtains the mastery over facts. These inferences regarding the race are forced upon us by the notorious fact, that past experience exercises but little influence over their future actions, and none whatever on the present of their history. Had Canonchet reflected that the fate of his father Miontonimo had been the result of the supposed or real hostility of the Narragansetts to the colonists, he would have avoided the offence of allowing his territory to become a shelter for the refugee Pokanokets; and the renowned sachem of the latter might have foreseen that the fate of Sassacus, incurred by opposing himself openly to the colonists, was likely to presage his own destiny. They knew nothing, it is true, of English history, except what had occurred before their own eyes; but, had they been cognisant of even more, they could have formed no other conclusion, than that a class of stern men, who had abandoned their homes and country, in support of deeply cherished opinions, would not be easily hurled back, or driven into the Atlantic, by a wild and undisciplined horde of savage hunters.

Philip had endeavored to lull suspicion by keeping up his communications with the central powers of the colonies, particularly by two personal visits to Plymouth, in 1662 and 1671, during which time he renewed the fealty, first pledged by his father Massasoit. After the disclosure made by Sausaman, his intentions could no longer be concealed; and, when it became known that he had abandoned his ancestral seat, at Mount Hope, and sent the women and children to a place of safety, it was supposed, and with truth, that he was ranging up and down among the tribes, like some eastern Mongol chief, in the central plains of Asia, arousing his followers, and exciting in them a desire for war, blood, and plunder. The tragedy soon opened along the entire line of the New England frontiers, and was, indeed, much the severest ordeal the New England colonies passed through.

Philip's energies appeared to be almost superhuman, for it was either his voice which animated, or his hand which directed every attack. The war commenced near Mount Hope, on the 24th of June, 1675. A party of Philip's warriors, being sent to the English settlement at Mattapoisett, Swanzey, they plundered the houses, and killed some of the cattle. In this foray, an Indian being shot, the others rushed forward, and murdered eight or nine of the English. Intelligence of the affray was quickly spread, and the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies immediately sent troops into the field. Within four days thereafter, one company of horse and two of infantry were on the spot. Several skirmishes ensued, and a few Indians, as well as English, were killed. The force of the latter being soon recruited, they proceeded to Mount Hope, which was found to be deserted, and the enemy to have fled. The dragoons, while reconnoitering the vicinity, discovered a small party of Indians, and killed four or five of the number. The troops then received orders to march into the country of the Narragansetts, to bring them to an account, but were met with many professions of a desire for peace. Negotiations having been opened, the Narragansetts signed a treaty, binding themselves "as far as was in their power," to oppose Philip. At this time, a price was placed on Philip's head, delivered "dead or alive."

Meantime, Church had penetrated Pocasset Neck, where he found and engaged some straggling parties; but, not meeting with the success he desired, he soon after returned to the same locality, with fifty men. Dividing these, for the purpose of more effectually pursuing the search, Fuller led one party towards the open bay, while Church, with the other, penetrated the interior, where, encountering the enemy in force, he was driven back. Fuller was also attacked by superior numbers, and, after reaching the shore, both parties were only saved from destruction by the fortunate proximity of a Rhode Island sloop. As soon as the English force could be concentrated, another expedition was sent to Pocasset, and several desultory engagements resulted in the killing of fourteen or fifteen Indians. On the arrival of the entire allied force, Philip, after some slight skirmishing, retired to that favorite natural fortress of the Indians—a swamp. With the approach of night, the English retired; but, being reinforced the following day by 100 men, and observing that Philip occupied a narrow peninsula, seven miles in length, having an impenetrable swamp in the interior, they resolved to cut off his communications, and starve him out. The chief, seeing his critical position, took advantage of a dark night, and, constructing rafts of timber, escaped across the Assonet, or Taunton river, to his allies, the Nipmucks, an erratic tribe, whose segregated bands occupied a large area of territory. When, the following morning, it was discovered that Philip had fled, the allies hotly pursued him, and, tracing his trail, by the aid of the Mohicans, they overtook him at night, and captured thirty of his warriors; the wily chief, with the rest of his force, succeeding in making good their escape. Philip had fled to the quarter where he had the greatest number of allies. His plan, apparently, was, if defeated in New England, to retire toward the territory occupied by the Baron de Castine, an influential trader, or Indian factor, who resided in

Maine, had intermarried with the Penobscots, and sympathized with the effort of Philip, with whom he is said, by all the authorities of that period, to have been in league. There is no doubt of his friendship for, and alliance with, the Pennacooks, and their affiliated bands of the Merrimac, extending northward to the Penobscot, Canada, and Acadia, where an adverse political element existed. France was regarded by the aborigines, in all respects, as the friend of the Indian race; and the destruction of the English colonies was truly as much of an object to the French, as it ever could have been considered by Philip. The Indians acting under Philip had been, without doubt, supplied with fire-arms and ammunition from the commercial depôt of the Baron de Castine; and the powerful effect of this species of aid and sympathy, connected with the fact, that many years had been spent by Philip in maturing his plans, accords very well with the energy of character, secresy of purpose, and power of combination, which all writers have ascribed to him, and goes far towards relieving the war, in which he engaged with the colonies, of the desperate character of some of its general features.

In after years, when the Pennacooks, and the Indians generally, of southern New Hampshire, fled to the north, and allied themselves with the Abinakies, it was this very French influence upon which they relied. After a few years spent in various employments in the west, subsequent to the year 1689, Sebastian Rasle established himself at Norridgwock, on the Kennebec, when this illicit connection with the New England Indians became more fully apparent. The fugitive Indians were encouraged in their hostility to the English, and became expert in the use of fire-arms, which, at that era, had entirely superseded bows and arrows. Returning in detached parties, like hyenas in search of prey, they fell upon the people of the new and isolated settlements, from whose precincts they had previously fled, with the exterminating knife and tomahawk, marking their course with scenes of arson and murder, which are heart-rending, and horrible to contemplate.

But, to return to the Baron de Castine; it is affirmed that he was a French nobleman of distinction, a colonel in the king's body guard, and a man noted for his intrigue, as well as his enterprise, who had formed an alliance with the Abinakies and other Indians of this part of the country, the object of which was to impede the progress of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and other parts of New England. He had married, and had living with him, at one time, six Indian wives. Several Roman Catholic priests also resided with him in his palace, which formed a sort of aboriginal court, and was located on the eastern bank of the Penobscot, near its mouth, where the present town of Castine, in Maine, now stands. By these means, as well as by his genius and enterprize, he had acquired a vast influence over the natives; not only furnishing them with, but also instructing them in the use of, fire-arms. He began his career among the Penobscots in 1661, and followed it up with such success that, at the commencement of Philip's war, the knowledge of the use of gunpowder and fire-arms was universal among the Indians.[1]

It must not, however, be forgotten that Philip, independently of his expectations from the sympathy of the French, was actuated by his own natural antipathies in his attempt to drive the English out of New England, and that, when he abandoned Mount Hope, he threw himself among his Indian friends and allies, with the purpose of inciting them to make incessant attacks on the settlements. To do this effectually, it was necessary to surprise them in detail. Places known to be in the occupancy of the militia were avoided, unless when a small force could be suddenly attacked by a larger one. The Indians have seldom been willing to meet a large regular force in the field; they prefer the guerilla system, which is pursued in the same manner in Oregon, at the present day, as it was in New England 180 years since.

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[1] Hoyt, p. 96.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP CARRIES THE WAR INTO THE PLYMOUTH COLONY. IT ASSUMES A WIDER AND MORE SANGUINARY ASPECT. THE NARRAGANSETTS ARE INVOLVED IN THE CONSPIRACY.

After Philip's flight from Pocasset, the war assumed a fiercer character. 1675 Five or six laborers were waylaid and killed in a field in Mendon; Middleborough and Dartmouth, in the Plymouth plantations, were attacked; no agricultural labor could be pursued; every clump of bushes hid an enemy, and every fence and wall served as an ambuscade. The Nipmucks who had, heretofore, occupied a doubtful position, now commenced open hostilities, spreading the alarm westward. At Lancaster, a man and his wife were killed on the Lord's day; a boy, tending sheep, in Marlborough, was fired at; non-combatant Indians were arrested and committed for trial; and no Indian was safe, or free from the suspicion of treachery, no matter how good his conduct had previously been, except those of the communities of praying Indians, who were also closely watched. A short time subsequent to the alarm at Lancaster, a detachment of soldiers was sent out to make reconnoissances as far as Hadley.

The authorities at Boston, still entertaining the idea that the Nipmucks could be restrained by negotiation, the latter agreed to meet commissioners at Brookfield; but it proved to be a mere ruse on the part of the Indians. The officers sent thither were accompanied by twenty horsemen, and were joined on the route by a considerable number of the citizen soldiery. Finding no Indians at Brookfield, they marched four or five miles further, to a narrow defile, flanked by a swamp, where 300 Indians rose from an ambuscade, and poured upon them a heavy fire. Eight of the men were killed by the first discharge, and the commander, as well as several others, wounded. They then retreated to Brookfield, whither they were pursued by the Indians, who set the town on fire in several places. The inhabitants retired to a log-house, slightly fortified, where they defended themselves. The Indians surrounded it, keeping up an incessant fire, and attempted to burn it by discharging blazing arrows upon it, and by thrusting combustibles against it, placed on the ends of long poles. They then filled a cart with hemp, and, setting it on fire, backed it up to the house. Had this effort succeeded, seventy men, women, and children, who were huddled together within, would have been roasted alive; but, fortunately, a shower of rain, which fell at this moment, extinguished the flames. The Indians were eventually frightened off by the reported arrival of reinforcements, which they supposed to be very large, from their being preceded by a drove of frightened cattle. Only one man was killed, and one wounded, in this tumultuary siege.

The affair was scarcely over, when four separate bodies of troops, under different commanders, reached Brookfield. But the Indians had fled westward, effecting a union with the Poemtucks, at Deerfield and at Northfield. Being pursued in that direction, a battle was fought near Sugar-loaf Hill, in which ten English, and twenty-six Indians fell; the rest of the Indians then joined Philip's forces. Hadley was now occupied by the troops, the natives in the vicinity having begun to show a hostile disposition, and to menace the towns above it in the Connecticut valley. On the 1st of September (1675), they attacked Deerfield, burned several dwellings to ashes, and killed one man. Nine or ten men were killed by them in the woods, at Northfield, two or three days subsequently. The day after the latter occurrence, a reinforcement of thirty-six mounted infantry, with a convoy of provisions for the garrison at Northfield, fell into an Indian ambuscade within two miles of their destination; Beers, the commander, with sixteen men, being killed, and the baggage and wounded captured by the enemy.

On the 18th of September, a force of eighty men, convoying a train of teams, loaded with grain, left Deerfield, to proceed to Hadley; but, while passing through a dense forest, in the vicinity of a place now called Muddy Brook, some seven hundred Indians, who had been screened from view by the bushes of a morass, rushed furiously upon them. The troops, being thrown into complete confusion, broke their ranks, and attempted to fight the enemy, from behind trees, in their own customary manner. But it was to no purpose; they suffered an utter and most appalling defeat; Lathrop and ninety men, including the teamsters, being slain. The firing being heard at Deerfield, four or five miles distant, a reinforcement was hurried forward, but did not reach the scene until after the close of the action, when the victors were engaged in stripping the dead, and mangling their bodies. Rushing on boldly, without breaking their ranks, they drove the enemy from the field, killing many, and compelling the survivors to seek safety in flight. The loss of the Indians, in the several actions fought on this day, is reported to have been quite heavy.

It is to be inferred that, in these systematic attacks, Philip himself was either the leader, or the inciting spirit of the Indians. Throughout a large extent of country, the Indians were actuated by one motive and one policy; for, like his own fabled Hobbamok, Philip appeared to be ubiquitous, shifting his position with inconceivable rapidity from one point to another. From information subsequently obtained, he is believed to have led the attack at Muddy Brook. The following day, he displayed his forces, in numbers, on the west banks of the Connecticut, at Deerfield, which was garrisoned by only twenty-seven men. This circumstance led to the abandonment of that post, as being too distant to secure proper support, and it was soon after destroyed by the enemy.

Emboldened by these successes, the Indians, in the vicinity of Springfield, attacked that town, killed an officer and one man, who were out reconnoitering, and burned twenty-two dwelling-houses, together with a valuable library, as also twenty-five barns, including their contents; a loss which reduced the inhabitants to great straits during the winter.

Flushed with his triumphs, Philip ascended the valley, with the determination of attacking the English headquarters. On the 19th of October, he appeared, with seven or eight hundred warriors, near the town of Hatfield, and, having cut off several scouting parties in the woods, made a rapid attack on the town, from various quarters. It was defended with great resolution, having been reinforced a short time previous, and, after a severe contest, Philip was compelled to withdraw his forces. This he effected during the night, not without some confusion, as he was encumbered with his dead and wounded. He also lost some of his guns in the river. He succeeded, however, in firing several dwellings, which were consumed, and in driving off a number of cattle and sheep belonging to the colonists.

Autumn now drawing to a close, it became necessary for the large mass of the Indians to disperse to places where they could readily obtain their wonted supplies. Philip had determined to pass the winter with the Narragansetts; but, in a short time, his guerilla parties were kept busy on the waters of the Connecticut. Late in October, some unprotected teams, near Northampton, were attacked; three men were killed in a meadow near that town; and the Indians attempted to burn a mill. Three men were also killed between Springfield and Westfield, and four houses burned at the latter place. Other depredations were committed at Longmeadows, and, likewise, at Springfield.

While the knife, club, gun, and incendiary brand were thus actively wielded on the waters of the Connecticut, Philip's warriors were busy in the east and south-east. Two separate companies of militia marched from Boston and Cambridge, to repress Indian hostilities at Mendon, Groton, and other places. In effecting this, several encounters occurred, in one of which, an officer, named Curtiss, and one soldier fell. A considerable quantity of corn was destroyed, and one poor captive was released.

Prior to the last-mentioned action, an affair occurred at Wrentham. One of the colonists, having one evening discovered a party of Indians on their march, silently followed their trail, and saw them encamp near a precipice. Returning, and giving immediate notice of his observations, thirteen men accompanied him to the spot, where they concealed themselves until the Indians arose at daybreak, when they fired upon them, and, driving them over the precipice, killed twenty-four. The rest effected their escape.

CHAPTER V.

THE COLONISTS MARCH TO THE RELIEF OF THE FRONTIERS. THEY WAGE WAR AGAINST THE NARRAGANSETTS, WHO ARE DEFEATED IN A STRONGLY FORTIFIED POSITION.

Without the details being given, it is impossible to conceive the harassing nature of this war. The English were ever on the alert, ever vigilant, active, brave, and enterprising. They were ready, at a moment's warning, to pursue the enemy, and retaliate his attacks; and, whenever they suffered defeat, it was owing to their impulsive bravery, and a disposition to underrate and despise their enemy. This induced them to make rash movements, in which they frequently neglected the ordinary rules of military caution. Bodies of men were suddenly aroused and marched boldly into the forests and defiles, without sending out scouts to ascertain the position of the foe. Besides, it always required a large force to watch a smaller one, when the latter were secreted in the woods, ready to spring upon them when least expected.

Indian history demonstates that, in this guerilla warfare, the advantage is, generally, at first on the side of the natives, who are more intimately acquainted with the local geography, as well as with the natural resources of a wilderness country, and, also, with their own capacity for endurance; which circumstances generally determine their mode of attack and defence. Solid columns of men, encumbered with heavy baggage and a commissariat, when marching through a forest, must, necessarily, progress slowly. They soon become fatigued, and harassed by their encumbrances, while the light-footed Indians dart around them, and before them, like the hawk toying with its prey, until a suitable opportunity occurs for them to strike. If it be merely a war of skirmishes and surprises, these are their favorite and, generally, successful modes of attack. Another error, committed by the whites, in this war, was the employment of a multiplicity of separate commanders, frequently exercising discordant powers, and wanting in unity of action.

The good sense of the commissioners of the New England colonies, now confederated for defence, convinced the country of this. The war had been in progress scarcely three-fourths of a year, during which time many valuable lives had been lost by Indian ambuscades, and a large amount of property had been destroyed. Although the settlers were kept in a state of perpetual alarm, no effective blow had been struck;

nothing, in fact, had been done to subdue the daring spirit of the Indians, and their entire force was still in motion. In a council held at Boston, it was determined, therefore, to adopt more general and effective measures for the prosecution of the ensuing campaign. Agreeably to a scale then established, Massachusetts colony was directed to furnish 527 men; Plymouth colony, 158; and Connecticut, which now included the New Haven colony, 315; making a total force of 1000 men.

It was subsequently determined to fit out a separate expedition against the Narragansetts, whose hostility to the colonies, and complicity with Philip, could no longer be doubted. They were designated as the first object of attack. One thousand men were also mustered for this service, officered by experienced captains, and placed under the command of Josiah Winslow. Advanced as the season was, this force was marched in separate bodies through Seekonk and Providence, and over Patuxent river to Wickford, the place of rendezvous. On the route a system of wanton destruction of person and property was followed up, it being their design to make the Indians feel the effects of the war. The latter, being apprized of the movement, burned Pettiquanscott, killing fifteen of the inhabitants, and concentrated their forces on an elevation, several acres in extent, surrounded on all sides by a swamp — a position located in the existing township of South Kingston, Rhode Island.

At this place they had fortified themselves by a formidable structure of palisades, surrounded by a close hedge curtain, or rude abattis, leaving but one passage to it, which led across a brook, and was formed of a single log, elevated four or five feet above the surface of the water. At another point of the fortification was a low gap, closed by a log four or five feet high, which could be scaled. Close by was a block-house, to defend and enfilade this weak point. The whole work was ingeniously constructed, and well adapted to the Indian mode of defence. The authorities do not mention that Philip was present, but there appears to be no doubt that he had given every aid in his power to his allies. It was a death struggle for the Narragansetts, and their fate would determine his; for they were far superior in numbers.

By the destruction of Pettiquanscott and its little garrison, the troops composing Winslow's army, who had expected to take up their quarters there, were deprived of all shelter. They had no tents, and were, consequently, obliged to pass a very uncomfortable night in the open air. It was late in December, and bitter cold, with snow on the ground. On the next day (19th) Winslow put his army in motion at an early hour, as they had sixteen miles to march, through deep snow. At one o'clock in the afternoon, guided by an Indian, they reached the vicinity of the swamp, where a party of the enemy had been stationed as a corps of observation. They were immediately attacked, but fled to their citadel. A detachment, comprising four companies, immediately rushed through the swamp, at a venture, and accidentally reached the log-gap, which they began to scale; but they were compelled to fall back before the destructive fire from the Indian block-house. They were reinforced by two other companies, when, pressing gallantly forward, in the face of a severe fire, they scaled the log sally-port, and entered the fort, maintaining themselves in their position under a terrible fire.

While victory thus hung in suspense, the remainder of the army succeeded in crossing the swamp, and entered the works at the same gap, after which the contest was maintained with great obstinacy, during three hours. The Indians had constructed coverts in such a manner that the place could only be taken in detail.[1] Driven from one covert after another, the Indians kept up a galling fire, most resolutely contesting every inch of ground. At length they were compelled to abandon the fort, and effect their retreat by the log-gate, across the narrow bridge, which, though well adapted to them, must have proved a difficult feat to the English. During the contest it was observed that a large body of the Indians had assembled behind a certain part of the fort, whence they kept up a most annoying fire. Captain Church, the aid of General Winslow, having the command of a volunteer company, led them out against these Indian flankers, whom he silenced or dispersed, when, charging again with great gallantry, he re-entered the fort through the oft-contested gap, driving the Indians before him. He encountered them on every side, hunted from their coverts, and falling fast before the English musketry. The Narragansetts finally gave up the struggle and fled into the wilderness.

Six hundred lodges were found in this fortified enclosure. Being the winter season, and placing great reliance on the strength of their position, as well as on the long-established custom of suspending operations during the winter months, the Narragansetts had conveyed their women and children to this place for shelter. It has been stated, and there is no reasonable doubt of the fact, that some of the most bold, daring, and reckless of the English officers, had been formerly sea-captains, and, probably, buccaneers, in the West Indies. Nothing short of the diabolical spirit, innate in men of that class, could have suggested the cruel scene that followed the flight of the warriors. The wigwams, containing the aged and superannuated, the wounded, who were unable to escape, and about 300 women and children, were set on fire. The miserable inmates ran shrieking in every direction, as the flames advanced; but there being no chance for flight, they were all consumed in this inhuman holocaust. This was not only an act of most barbarous cruelty, in General Winslow, but was also a mistaken policy.

The Indians who escaped took shelter in a swamp, near by, where they passed the night in the snow, and where many of their number died from exposure, and the want of both fire and food. The Narragansetts afterwards asserted that they lost about 700 warriors at the fort, besides 300, who subsequently died of their wounds. The entire number assembled at the fort has been computed at 4000; and, if we allow but five persons only to a lodge, it would sum up a total of 800 families.

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[1] This reveals the object of pits and ditches *inside* of our antiquarian remains of fortifications in the West.

The conflagration of the lodges, after the Indian warriors had fled, was not merely unnecessary, cruel, and inhuman, but it was also an unwise measure on the part of General Winslow; for the Indian wigwams might have afforded shelter during the night for the wounded and exhausted soldiery. But the English were themselves driven out by the flames, and were compelled to retrace their way through a severe snow storm, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded. The intensity of the cold, added to the pangs of hunger, occasioned the death of many of the latter, whom ordinary care might have saved. They reached the desolate site of Pettiquamscott after midnight, and, the following day, thirty-four of their number were buried at that place, in one grave. Many were severely frost-bitten, and 400 were so much disabled as to be unfit for duty. Had the Indians rallied and attacked them at Pettiquamscott, not over 400 of the army could have handled a gun or a sword. Two hundred of the English were killed in the storming of the fort, including eight captains and several subalterns.

This severe blow crippled the power of the Narragansetts, but did not humble them. On the contrary, the survivors cherished the most intense hatred against the English, from this period becoming the open and fearless allies of Philip; and the majority of them, under Canonchet, a short time subsequently, joined the Nipmucks, and Philip's allies, near Deerfield and Northfield. Driven from their villages and their country, they turned their backs on their once happy homes, with a feeling akin to that which had, at a prior period, animated Sassacus. It might naturally be supposed that many of them must have suffered greatly from want of food; but the forests were still filled with game, and they also frequently seized the cattle which were straying about, on the borders of the settlements. Early in February, they made a descent upon Lancaster, and captured forty-two persons; and a short time thereafter, they killed twenty of the inhabitants of Medford, at the same time burning half the town. Seven or eight buildings shared the same fate in Weymouth. On the 13th of March, four fortified houses were reduced to ashes in Groton; a few days later, Warwick, in Rhode Island, was burned; and, before the close of the month, the largest portion of the town of Marlborough was likewise consumed.

The Indians had been taught the efficacy of fire by their bitter experience at Kingston fort, and they soon became expert in using it against the English. The torch was now their most potent weapon. This novel mode of warfare created such a panic, that a large force was kept on the alert, both day and night. Before the depredations could be checked in one direction, they were duplicated at another, and, frequently, distant point. Captain Pierce, of Scituate, and fifty men, together with twenty Cape Cod Indians, were suddenly attacked on the Patuxent, and almost entirely annihilated. Two days subsequently, forty dwelling houses and thirty barns were burned at Rehoboth, Rhode Island. Eleven persons were killed, and their bodies consumed, in the flames of one house, at Plymouth. Chelmsford, Andover, and Marlborough suffered by the torch early in April, and Sudbury experienced the next visitation. On this occasion a party of colonists, who pursued the Indians, were all waylaid and killed.

The Indian army which committed these depredations numbered some five hundred men. Finding that they were not closely pursued, after their attack upon Sudbury, they encamped in the neighboring forest. Meantime, a force of fifty men, under Captain Wadsworth, who were marching to protect other towns, learning that a body of Indians was concealed in the woods near Sudbury, determined to find them. Seeing a small number of the enemy returning, they instantly started in pursuit of them, and were thus led into an ambush, from which the entire force of the Indians issued, and commenced a fierce attack. Flight being out of the question, the English fought bravely, and finally gained an eminence. But nothing could withstand such numerical odds, and Wadsworth and all his command were killed, not a man escaping. The same day, a provision-train was attacked in Brookfield, and three men killed, or captured. The ire of the Indians was next directed against the old Plymouth colony, which they probably hated on account of its having been the nucleus of the colonists. Nineteen buildings were burned at Scituate, seventeen at Bridgewater, and eleven houses and five barns in Plymouth itself. A short time subsequently, several buildings were consumed at Namansket, in old Middleborough. Very few persons were killed in these depredations; but the Indian fire-brand was constantly in operation against every isolated house, or unguarded village. Their marauding parties stealthily traversed miles of territory every night; and no man could step out into his field to look at his farm or stock, without incurring the danger of being pierced by the swift-winged arrow, or the unerring ball of a savage foe. The hills and valleys of New England resounded anew with the terrible war-whoop.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTURE AND DEATH OF CANONCHET. OVERTHROW OF THE NARRAGANSETTS.

1676 While the eastern townships presented a scene of universal devastation, the English inhabitants on the western borders experienced but little disturbance from the Indians. But, when the latter were driven from the eastern section, they commenced a series of attacks, by night and by day, on the scattered settlements of the west. To repress these outrages, Massachusetts and Plymouth sent a considerable force into that quarter.

After the storming of his principal fort, in the swamp of South Kingston, Canonchet, the reigning chieftain of the Narragansetts, fled to another intricate position; but there is no evidence that defeat had humbled him. His grandfather, Canonicus, had been the ruling chief of his tribe, and had sold Aquidnec, now Rhode Island, to the English. His son, Miontonimo, equally noted for his politic character and personal bravery, had acted a distinguished part in the war which followed the overthrow of the Pequots. Canonicus, himself, could look back to no period of the Narragansett history, which did not afford him cause for pride. Though the Narragansetts may not have defeated the tribes of the Dighton Rock League,[1] who had, at an early period, occupied parts of New England, probably Maine, they had, at least, been confederated with the great magician and warrior, Mong,[2] who drove them from the banks of the Assonet. Whatever course the reflections of Canonchet took, he appears only to have been hardened in feeling, and more than ever incited to hatred of the English, by the contest with Winslow.

As spring advanced, he issued from his place of retreat, and, accompanied by a party, came to Seekonk to procure seed-corn for planting. This movement was revealed by two Indian females who were captured, and who also informed the colonists that his place of refuge was on Black river. The army of Massachusetts, which happened to be in the vicinity at the time, proceeded to make search for him, and succeeded in finding some of his party. They then immediately scattered, with the view of intercepting him, each squad taking different routes. Canonchet had adopted a similar policy, dividing his followers into separate parties. He was accidentally seen by a person who recognised him, and hotly pursued. The sachem, in order to expedite his flight, threw off his laced coat and wampum belt, and would have escaped, had he not made a false step and fell into the water, wetting his gun. A swift-footed Pequot, who was in the English army, immediately seized and held him, until some of the soldiers arrived. He was desired to indicate his submission, but refused, maintaining, both in his air and manner, a proud, unconquered aspect, and disdaining to make any answers compromising his honor.

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[1] Scandinavian tradition. Vide Antiq. Amer.

[2] Vide Inscription, Eth. Res., Vol. I., Plate XXXVI., p. 114.; also Vol. IV., Plate XIV., p. 120.

He was taken, under a strong guard, to Stonington, where he was allowed the formality of a trial. This local tribunal condemned him to be shot, which sentence was executed by the Mohicans and Pequots.

With Canonchet the Narragansett power in reality expired. The Narragansett nation had, doubtless, produced greater chiefs than the last named, but none who had possessed a higher or a firmer sense of his power and authority, or who had entertained a greater repugnance to the influx of the English race. Canonicus dreaded the approach of the foreign race; but he saw some advantages in that commerce, which supplied a market for what the natives could most easily procure, and furnished them with articles of which they stood in great need. These circumstances, coupled with the influence of Roger Williams, induced him to adopt a conservative course, and to prevent his tribe from committing hostile acts. His son, Miontonimo, was greatly his superior, both in mental and personal endowments; but he possessed a fiery, ungovernable spirit. Impatient under the pressure of wrongs he could not redress, he was too eager to avenge injuries received from his kinsmen, the Mohicans, by a sudden, impulsive movement, the object of which might have been attained by more deliberation. His unjustifiable death, on Sachem's Plain, is not so remarkable as an act of savage cruelty, as it is of English casuistry. An Indian hand was made to strike the executionary blow, which Indian clemency, or diplomacy, had withheld. Canonchet, also, fell by the same questionable system.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP RENEWS THE WAR WITH SUCCESS, BUT IS FINALLY FORCED TO TAKE SHELTER WITH HIS CHIEF CAPTAIN, ANNAWON, IN AN OASIS OF A MORASS, IN POCASSET. FINAL OVERTHROW OF THE BASHABARY OF POKANOKET.

WINTER is not usually a season of warfare among the forest Indians, who can be traced in the snow, and cannot camp without fires; but where the plunder of barns and cattle is at hand to afford them sustenance, the rule is violated. Philip resolved that neither cold nor hunger should stay his onset; he had engaged in a death-struggle with New England, and, it may truly be said, that she never had so energetic and desperate an Indian enemy to cope with.

After the capture of Canonchet, the party which had been led by him fled in the direction of Deerfield and Northfield, in which vicinity Philip's Indians had been, for some time, collected, committing depredations on the inhabitants. Philip made this part of the country his head-quarters, and, agreeably to accounts then current, he had received countenance from the French in Canada, who had sent, and continued to send, Indian marauding parties into this part of the Connecticut valley. He had, himself, visited Canada, and he purposed, in case of final defeat, to retire into that province. A Natic Indian who had been sent out as a spy, reported that Philip had visited Albany, to obtain assistance from the Mohawks. The Mohawks might have been inclined to aid him, but for a piece of treachery which unexpectedly came to light. Philip's men had killed a few Mohawk hunters, on their hunting-grounds in the Connecticut valley, and the chief had adroitly laid the blame on the English. But, one of the men, supposed to be dead, had recovered, and revealed the true state of the case.

It soon became evident that Philip entertained no idea of giving up the contest, but was preparing to carry on the campaign of 1676 with renewed vigor. As the spring advanced, his central position appeared to be at, or about Turner's Falls, on the Connecticut; a noted locality for the catching of shad, and other species of fish abounding in this river. At Longmeadow, on the 26th of March, an armed cavalcade, while proceeding to church, was attacked, and two men killed and a number wounded. On another similar occasion, two women and their children became so much frightened that they fell from their horses, and were dragged by the Indians into a swamp.

These, and many other affairs of a similar character, in which men were killed on both sides, rendered it clear that Philip's main force harbored in this vicinity, and thither, therefore, the English troops were marched, corps after corps, both horse and foot, under approved leaders, until the force swelled to a considerable number. The Indians were camped around the falls on both banks, in detached bodies, and were also congregated on its cliffs and on the neighboring islands. As the English force in this quarter was not, at this time, very numerous, the Indians were not in much fear, and consequently became careless. Two captives, who had escaped, reported this supineness and described their position. About 160 mounted men marched for the falls under Captain Turner, whose gallantry was commemorated by giving to them his name They were joined by militia from Springfield and Northampton, and then led by skilful guides to within half a mile of the spot, where Turner dismounted his men and fastened his horses, leaving a small guard to protect them. Having been previously joined by parties under the command of Holyoke and Lyman, the whole force proceeded with silence and caution toward the Indian camp. Daylight had not yet dawned, and the enemy, deeming themselves secure, kept no watch. They were yet asleep, and scattered around at several points, mostly above the falls, where the river poured, at one leap, over a precipice of forty feet. A well-directed fire gave them the first indication that the detested English — shouting Mohawks[1] — were upon them. Seizing their arms, they fought distractedly. A large number of them leaped into their canoes to cross the river; some of which, having no paddles, were soon swept over the falls, and all who were in them, with one exception, drowned. It is estimated that the entire loss of the Indians was 300 warriors. One hundred and forty were swept over the falls, but one of whom was saved. Those who succeeded in escaping across the river, joined the others in their flight. It was a complete surprise and a disastrous defeat. The slaughter was so great, that 100 dead were counted on the field.

After their flight, the Indians again rallied, crossed below the falls, and attacked the guard which had been left with the horses. An Indian captive reported that Philip had arrived with a reinforcement of 1000 men. This news produced a panic, and a separation of the English forces. A thickly-wooded morass flanked the left banks of the falls, extending nearly to Green river. Those who retreated by this route were subjected to repeated attacks, and one of the parties, which attempted to cross it, was entirely cut off, the men taken prisoners, and burnt at the stake. Turner beat back the party which attacked his camp, remounted his horses and vigorously pursued the enemy, who, dividing as he advanced, closed in behind, and pursued him in turn. He fell, pierced by a bullet, while crossing Green river. Holyoke, who had killed five men with his own hand, now assumed the command, and crossing the plains and Deerfield river, he entered that town, closely pressed by the Indians. In this retreat he lost thirty-eight men.

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[1] Hoyt, p. 129.

This action, however, was the turning point of the war. The Indians, who were thrice the number of their assailants, had been posted in a country where they could obtain ready subsistence, and keep the surrounding territory in alarm by their secret attacks. Believing themselves invincible, they had at last become careless, and, when they least expected it, had been surprised by a comparatively small force, a large number killed, and the rest dispersed. They had never before experienced so decided an overthrow, and, notwithstanding they rallied and fought desperately, the dreaded combination was broken up, and was never afterwards re-formed.

After this affair, Philip, who had during many months made this place his head-quarters, determined, it appears, to retreat towards the north. This chief, the various authorities state, had kept himself somewhat in retirement after a price had been placed upon his head. In the course of a few years, he had seen Sassacus, Miontonimo, and Canonchet, fall, certainly the two former, without manifesting much sympathy for their fate, denying them the aid which he now needed himself. He had also seen the colonies spread, instead of diminish. Whether he meditated the practicability of striking another blow at the settlements, after the action at Turner's Falls, or had relinquished the idea of a retreat to Canada, through the territory of the great Iroquois nation, and across the waters of Lake Champlain, is not known. He never again, however, attained to the power he had once possessed, and his fortune and influence appear to have henceforth deserted him. But, though his warlike prospects and his fate were now hopelessly obscured, he was not sensible of it, and he determined to retaliate the assault which had occasioned him so much loss, and wreak his vengeance on the settlements; several hundred warriors being still at his command.

The action at Turner's Falls occurred on the 18th of May. On the 30th of the same month, 600 Indians attacked Hatfield with great fury, burned twelve buildings, assaulted several palisaded dwellings, and killed a number of the inhabitants; but the latter being reinforced from Hadley, succeeded in saving the town from complete destruction, and in driving the Indians out of it. The loss of the colonists was five men, and that of the Indians twenty-five. The latter, in their retreat, drove off a large number of sheep and cattle.

Early on the morning of the 12th of June, the Indians assaulted Hadley with their entire force, reported at 700 warriors. An ambuscade was formed by them, at night, at one end of the town, into which they endeavored to decoy the inhabitants the following day. Not succeeding in this, they secured possession of a house, which afforded them shelter during the assault, and also fired a barn. They were, at length, repulsed with but little loss. In this action the concealed regicide, General Goff, appeared among the colonists like an apparition, marshalling the forces in the hottest of the conflict, and, after it was over, again retired to his place of concealment.

Philip next turned his attention to Plymouth, the old thorn which rankled in his heart. To this quarter he repaired personally, at the head of a large force, and harassed the surrounding settlements by his marauding attacks, but effected nothing of importance. It had the effect, however, of inducing the colonists to send fresh troops into the field, who were animated with the warmest zeal against their common enemy. Distinguished among these, was the veteran Captain Benjamin Church, who was indefatigable in scouring the country, destroying the lodges of the Indians, capturing their women and children, and killing their warriors. He spread the terror of his name far and wide. The hunted bashaba and sachem, although he had no longer a fixed point at which to convene his council, and could not count upon a place where his person would be safe, still maintained a haughty mien, and evinced no signs of submission, but, on the contrary, a persevering spirit of hostility and hatred.

While Church was in Rhode Island, Pometakom was driven from his covert like a hunted lion; his wife, children, and others of his household, being surprised and killed. The chief himself, however, escaped, and fled from place to place. At length, the brother of an Indian whom Philip had unjustly killed, brought intelligence that the haughty Pokanoket had taken refuge in a swamp, located on Mount Hope neck. Church proceeded to the peninsula with a number of volunteers, and a party of friendly Indians, guided by the informer. They crossed the Taunton, or Assonet river, in perfect secresy, and reached the swamp after nightfall. Church then formed his men in segments of a circle, in open order, and marched them upon the swamp, as radii to a centre. Having placed a friendly Indian, alternately, next to a white man, he issued orders to fire on any person who attempted to escape through the closing circle. They waited for daybreak in intense anxiety and profound silence. A small select party, under Golding, was detailed to advance and rouse up the Pokanoket chief. While these arrangements were being perfected, and the attacking party was still behind, a shot whistled over Church's head, followed by a volley, fired by a party of Indians sent out by Philip. Daylight had now appeared. The report of guns attracted the attention of the chief, and, seizing his *petunk*,[1] powder-horn, and gun, he started immediately to sustain his advanced party. An Englishman, not knowing the man, levelled his piece at him on a venture, but it missed fire. The Indians followed Philip in files. The same man again discharged his musket at him, sending two balls through his body, and laying him dead on the spot. Ignorant of the fate of the chief, an Indian voice was heard, thundering through the swamp, "*Iootosh! Iootosh!* Onward! Onward!" which cry proceeded from Annawon, Philip's principal war captain, who was urging his men to maintain their ground. The result was a bloody conflict, in which the Indians fought like tigers. Church finally made a determined charge through the oasis, with all his force, killing 130 men; but Annawon,[1] with about sixty followers, escaped.

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[1] Tobacco pouch and medicine sack.

The death of Philip was, in effect, the termination of a war which had threatened the very existence of the colonies; for, although the Pokanokets had been the prime instigators of it, the powerful tribe of the Narragansetts, and other auxiliaries, one after another, had joined the league; and, although scarcely two years had elapsed since the commencement of the war, the entire Indian power of the country was openly or secretly enlisted on the side of the Mount Hope sachem. Notwithstanding his rooted hatred of the whites, and of the whole scheme of civilization, it cannot be doubted that he was a man who took a comprehensive view of his position, and of the destiny of the New England tribes; much less can it be questioned that he possessed great energy of character, persuasive powers suited to enlisting the sympathy of the Indians, and very considerable skill in planning, as well as daring in carrying his projects into effect. Gookin calls him "a person of good understanding and knowledge in the best things."[2] We may lament that such energies were misapplied, but we cannot withhold our respect for the man who, though lacking the motives that lead Christian martyrs to the stake, and civilized heroes to the "imminent deadly breach," was yet capable of combining all the military strength and political wisdom of his country, and placing the colonies in decidedly the greatest peril through which they ever passed.

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[1] This chief was the uncle of Philip, and, when captured, surrendered his warlike paints, scarlet blanket and broad wampum belts. See Drake.

[2] Mass. Col., Vol. I., p. 200.

A MEDICINE MAN ADMINISTERING TO A PATIENT

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE MERRIMAC VALLEY, AND ABINAKI TRIBES.

At the period of the first settlement of New England by the English, the principal Indian powers located in that territory, were, the Pokanokets, under Massasoit; the Narragansetts, under Canonicus; the Pequot-Algonquins of Connecticut; and the Merrimack, or Pennacook, bashabary of Amoskeag. Each of these comprised several subordinate tribes, bearing separate names, and, although bound, by both lingual and tribal affinities, to the central tribal government, yet yielding obedience to it in the ordinary loose manner of the local Indian tribes. Each of these tribal circles was ruled by its particular chief, who, although he arrogated to himself the powers and immunities of hereditary descent, yet exercised no absolute controlling influence, beyond what the popular voice allowed him. The colonists were not long in ascertaining who were the principal rulers, nor in taking the necessary measures to conciliate them.

Their mode of treating with the Indians was, to assert that the sovereignty and fee simple of the soil were vested in the English crown; but yet to acknowledge the possessory right of the aborigines, by presents, or by purchase, in order to conciliate the local chiefs. When collisions were occasioned by disputed boundaries, or by questions of trade, they were adjusted in councils of both parties. No difficulties of any general moment occurred until the origination of the Pequot war. The bloody feud between the Mohicans, under Uncas, and the Narragansetts, under Miontonimo, was a consequence of the Pequot outbreak. The colonies endeavored, as much as possible, to abstain from any participation in this struggle; but in a very short time they became involved in open warfare with the Narragansetts. It could not be supposed that the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, who, under the benevolent Massasoit, had lived in amity with the English for such a lengthy period, could sit calmly by, and see a foreign people, whose manners, customs, and opinions differed so widely from their own, attain the possession of power, and spread over their country, without experiencing feelings of jealousy and animosity. The impatient spirit which Alexander evinced during his short reign, and the more deliberate, secret, and crafty policy of Philip, developed this latent Indian feeling. These events have, however, been previously related in detail.

The Merrimack tribes, among whom the Pennacooks appear to have held the highest position, had located the seat of their government at the Amoskeag Falls, a name denoting the abundance of beaver on that stream. The ruling sachem was Passaconaway, a celebrated magician, a distinguished war captain, an eloquent speaker, and a wise ruler. Few aboriginal chiefs ever surpassed him in mental or magisterial qualifications. For a long period, he prudently maintained friendly relations with the Massachusetts and New Hampshire colonies; and his interviews with John Eliot denote that he possessed a mind, capable of grasping and comprehending the truths of religion. It is manifest that his most earnest desires were, to make the vicinity of his beloved Amoskeag his home in old age, and that his bones should be deposited on one of the beautiful islands in the Merrimack. But the spirit of aggression frustrated his wishes. There was a strong prejudice in the English mind against the natives, which brought the colonists and the Merrimacks into collision in many different ways. Injury was retaliated by injury, and blood was avenged by blood. Murders were followed by wars, in which the English were invariably successful, and, finally, Passaconaway and his Pennacooks were driven from their homes. New Hampshire and Maine, from the Merrimack to the Penobscot, were drenched with Indian, as well as English blood. The time will arrive, when the history of these sanguinary strifes will become a fruitful theme for the pen of the author, and the pencil of the artist; and then the bold and heroic men, whose lot it was to act the part of their country's defenders in these perilous scenes, will receive their due meed of praise. The deeds of valor enacted at Kennebec, Norridgewock, Castine, Monhagan, and Sagadehock, and on the lofty Wambec,[1] will thenceforth constitute subjects to interest the mind of the reader, and excite his imagination.[2]

The Abinaqui tribe also acted an important part in the Indian history of Maine and New Hampshire. This word is of French origin, and is too vague for any ethnological purpose, being the mere translation of the Indian term for Eastlander.[3] The language of this people designates their Algonquin lineage, the latter being distinguished by some orthographical peculiarities, the principle of which is the use of the letter *r*. The early colonists called them Tarranteens;[4] but, among the Iroquois, they were known by the name of Onagunga.[5]

About 1692, while the colonies were contending with the refractory tribes on their western borders, Sebastian Rasle, a Jesuit missionary from Quebec, who had previously visited some of the western tribes, made his appearance among the Abinakies. He located himself at Norridgewock, and earnestly devoted his attention to the task of teaching them the truths of Christianity. It must be remembered, that the French residents in Canada aimed to construct an empire in America, by obtaining influence amongst the Indian tribes, east, west, north, and south, which might be turned to political account in the hour of emergency. To a great extent, the new system of instruction, introduced by Rasle, had not only a religious character, but also a powerful political tendency. The people of New England and New York, nay, of all the colonies, deemed it such; and numerous and protracted negotiations between the colonists and the tribes, as well as between the respective authorities of the two countries, were the consequence. Every movement was, either in reality, or was conceived to be, the result of Canadian jealousy of the British colonies, or of British animosity against Canada. If the Indians committed a murder, or perpetrated a massacre, it was alleged that the French authorities had incited them to the act, or countenanced them in its performance. Squadrons of ships sailed from England to avenge these reported injuries, and, for a long period, the country, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, was the battle-ground of the contending nations.

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[1] A name for the White Mountains.—*Allen's Biography.*

[2] C. R. Potter's sketch, Vol. V., p. 217.

[3] From *wabun*, the east, or place of daylight, and *ackee*, earth, or land.

[4] Wood's New England Prospect.

[5] Colden.

This position of affairs caused Rasle to be regarded by the colonists as a partisan. Throughout New England, his labors were deemed to be directed toward perverting the Indians, and implanting in their minds the seeds of error, and of hatred to the colonies. He was cited before the authorities of Boston; but the negotiations only resulted in mutual misapprehension, and ended in vituperation. The Catholics and Protestants were so directly at variance with each other, and so many worthy men and women had been slain by the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, that the colonies determined, by a coup de main, to rid themselves of what they considered the grand exciting cause of all their evils. With the caution and celerity, resulting from long practice in Indian wars, they marched a body of troops to the site of Norridgewock, and made a descent upon the village. The Indians were roughly handled in an engagement, which took place on the green, were driven thence to their wigwams, and cut down wherever discovered. Among the rest, Rasle was slain, while boldly defending his flock. His chapel was burned, and the village entirely destroyed.

SECTION NINTH.

LENNO LENAPI OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND CHICORA TRIBES OF THE CAROLINAS.

CHAPTER I.

THE COLONY OF PENNSYLVANIA IS LOCATED IN THE TERRITORY OF THE LENNO LENAPI. THEIR HISTORY.

Tradition assigns to this people an organization anterior to that of most of the other Indian tribes. Mr. Heckewelder[1] informs us that they came from the west, and that, from their ancient traditions, it is gathered that they crossed the Mississippi river, in their migration to the east. Authors have attempted to prove that their *ola walum* has reference to a very ancient migration from foreign countries. But these are merely ordinary pictographs, denoting a simple mode of ideographic communication, which is common among the entire Algonquin family, of which the Lenno Lenapi assert they were the head.

It is mentioned that, after crossing the Mississippi river, they were opposed by the Allegans, or Allegewi, who occupied the principal ranges of the Alleghany mountains. At this epoch, the tradition adds, they discovered the Iroquois, their apparent precursors, towards the north, who became their allies, and aided them in driving the Allegans out of the Ohio valley towards the south.[2] The vestiges of tribal strife, still extant in that valley, are the evidences of this ancient war.[3] If the term *any*, in the word Allegany, denote a stream or river, as it appears to do, and the river has prior right to the name over the mountains, then it may be said the Yoghag*any*, in which the same word for stream is employed, is also a term of Allegewi origin. These appear to be the only words of that language which have survived the lapse of time.[1]

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[1] Am. Historical Trans., Vol. I. [2] Vide Eth. Res., Vol. V., p. 181. [3] Notes on the Iroquois.

The name of this tribe has been said to imply "original men;" but the orthography does not sustain this assertion. Lenno is the same as *illini* in the Illinese, and *innini* in the Chippewa; the letters *l* and *n*, and the vowels *o* and *i*, being interchangeable in the Algonquin. Lenapi (ee) is in the same language, and, under the same rule, the equivalent of *inabi* and *iabi*, a male. The true meaning is "manly men;" a harmless boast to be made by a savage tribe, and which, in the history of Europe, has the sanction of more advanced races.[2] No reliable philological or ethnological proofs can be produced in this direction. There is no tribal name, in the Vesperic group of tribes, which has the least reference to their origin. The Iroquois, by the term *ongwe honwe*, only declared themselves to be superior men. To be men was, symbolically, to be brave; and bravery was the glory to which they all aspired.

We must rest satisfied with the Indian traditions, bare as they are of details. Even this much is an important contribution to their ancient history, which we should carefully cherish, and for which we are indebted to the meritorious labors of a pious follower of Zinzendorf, who thought far more of saving their souls, than of recording the history of this people.

But, wherever the Lenapi originated, and whatever were the details of the history of their migration from the Mississippi eastward, they were found, at the earliest dates, to be located in the valley of the Delaware. In a revised map, published at Amsterdam, in 1659 (Plate herewith), they are represented as occupying that valley, from its source to its mouth, extending westward to the Minqua, or Susquehannocks, and to the sources of the rivers flowing into the Delaware, which separate them from the latter; and eastward, under the names of various local and totemic clans, across the entire area of New Jersey, to the Hudson. The Dutch, who entered the Hudson in 1609, found affiliated tribes of their stock along both banks of that river, to near the point of influx of the Tawasentha. When they extended their settlements to the waters of the Delaware, they discovered themselves to be in the central position of the original stock. The fact of their aboriginal occupancy was known to the Swedes, who first entered the Delware river in 1643.[3] The events attending these colonial extensions into the domains of the Delawares, furnish no incidents of history which present new traits in the character of this tribe, warranting any lengthy detail in this place. European colonization opened to them a commerce in the skins of animals, stimulating them to unusual exertions, which, however, exposed them to the perils of luxury and indulgence. It furnished them with the new and superior products of arts and manufactures, which at once took the place of their former imperfect implements and utensils of wood, bone, clay, and flint. It taught them the use of gunpowder, the firelock, and the steel-trap, by which the prowess of their young men on the war-path was made more severe and destructive, and the species of fur-bearing animals were more speedily annihilated. Depopulation, which had long previously begun to undermine the prosperity of the Indian tribes, was greatly accelerated by the advent of the Europeans. This was the position of affairs when William Penn landed on the shores of the Delaware, in 1682. The idea of forming a colony of refuge in America for the poor, suffering, and oppressed people of some parts of Europe, had been broached at an early day. The Puritan refugees from the exactions of an English hierarchy, were the first, in 1620, to open the way to the wilderness, where savages stood ready to assail them. A similar necessity for a land of refuge was felt by the Catholics, who emigrated to Maryland under the guidance of Lord Baltimore, in 1634. In 1682, Penn provided a like haven of safety for the persecuted Quakers, who came thither, professing principles of peace and love towards men of every hue. He was especially desirous to protect the Indian race, and to treat them with the most enlarged philanthropy and charity. In the hands of William Penn, civilization was rendered mild and enticing. Christianity, as taught by those who understand its precepts, has ever been a law of good will toward all mankind. Penn did not attempt any rude interference with the principles and practices of the natives. Persuasion and example were his only weapons; and strict justice in all transactions with them, was his cardinal rule. Indian Females, as well as males, were taught the virtue of household industry. Time was deemed to be necessary, to enable the principles of the new system to take root in such dark and bewildered minds. He approached the natives in their councils, as at their lodge-fires, in an open, simple, straightforward manner, which gained him their confidence, and made them receive him as a Friend indeed.

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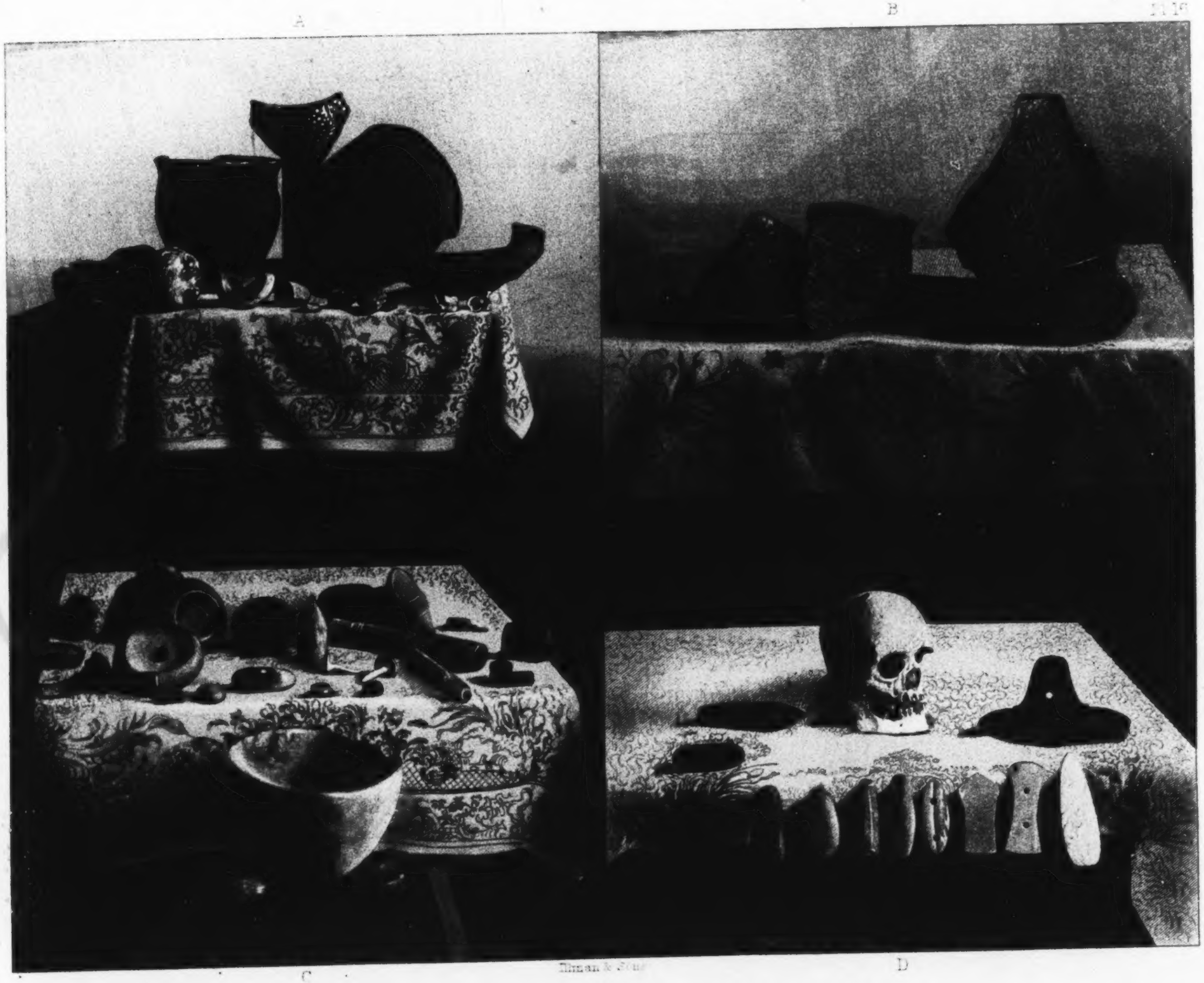
[1] The philologist, however, will perceive the analogy which exists between the term *any* and the inflections *anock* and *hannock*, meaning river, in the compound words, Susque*hannock* and Rappa*hannock*. If, therefore, part of the Allegans crossed to the waters of the Chesapeake, and were driven thence towards the south by the Lenno Lenapi and Iroquois, these words, originally in the tribal list, would seem to belong, as a point of Indian history, of suggestive importance, to the Susquehannocks, and to the Powhatanic family, both offshoots from the mother Algonquin.

[2] Tacitus. The Germanic tribes called themselves *Ala-mana*, or "all men."

[3] Campanius; Hist. Soc. Pennsylvania, Vol. III., part I., p. 70.



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ANTIQUITIES FROM THE CONGAREE INDIANS, S. CAROLINA.

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CHAPTER II.

THE TRIBAL RELATIONS OF THE CAROLINA INDIANS TO THE LEADING ETHNOGRAPHIC FAMILIES OF THE COUNTRY.

SOUTH CAROLINA was occupied, in 1670, ten years before Pennsylvania. North Carolina dates from the year 1664. Before bringing to a close our narrative of the transactions which occurred during the seventeenth century, it will be important to take a cursory glance at the families of Indian tribes located along the sea-coasts, and in the interior of the Carolinas. The Indians informed the Spaniards who visited their shores early in the sixteenth century, that the name of the country was Chicora, whence their visitors called them Chicoreans, at present supposed to have been identical with the people now known as Corees, Catawbas, &c. Of the ancient existence of the elements of such a group, we have, however, but little evidence beyond their geographical names. The most important of the tribes who resided in South Carolina, at the time of its settlement, were the Catawbas, and the Cherokees. The Catawbas could muster nearly 1500 warriors, indicating a population of about 7500 souls. They were a fierce, subtle, warlike, and brave people, and comprised twenty-eight subordinate tribes: the Westoes, Stonoes, Coosaws, Sewees, Yamasees, Santees, Congarees, &c. The Cherokees occupied the upper parts of the State, extending their possessions to the head waters of the Savannah, Coosahatchee, Alabama, Tennessee, and Cumberland.[1]

North Carolina was included in the general, but undefined area of Virginia, which was first discovered by the parties sent out under the grant made to Raleigh in 1586, and may, at an earlier period, have contained some portions of the adventurous population of southern Virginia, who, it is conjectured, might have retired thither after its successful colonization. But the Indian residents of the Carolinas appear to have been regarded as little more than incumbrances upon the land, to be evicted as easily and as speedily as possible. The earliest accounts[2] scarce make any mention of them, which may be, in some measure, attributed to the fact, that in those historical sketches published in London, with the view of directing attention to emigration, the inducements for it would not have been enhanced by the introduction of such a topic. The age of philanthropy for aboriginal or savage tribes, in any part of the globe, had hardly yet arrived. At any rate, but little can be gleaned from the details of the political and commercial plans of colonization of the period.

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[1] Carroll's South Carolina Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 188. Note.

[2] Historical Collections of South Carolina, by R. R. Carroll, 2 vols., 8vo.: New York, 1836.

The Carolina tribes eagerly availed themselves of the conveniences, luxuries, and indulgences, introduced from Europe; and in an almost incredibly short time, the little clans and chieftainships, which stretched along the shores, became extinct.

Dr. Hewit, an early historian, remarks that, attempts were made to shield them against unjust encroachments, and to protect their rights.[1] He thus writes: "Plans of lenity were, with respect to those Indian tribes, likewise adopted by government, and every possible precaution was taken to guard them against oppression, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive and bloody, but disagreeable to a humane and generous nation, and seldom accompanied with any good effects. Such ill treatment rendered the savages cruel, suspicious and distrustful, and prepared them for renewing hostilities, by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their extirpation, even though it could easily be completed, would be a cruel act, and all the while the growth and prosperity of the settlements would be much retarded by the attempt. Whereas, by treating Indians with gentleness and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become more harmless and civilized. It was hoped that, by establishing a fair and free trade with them, their rude temper would in time be softened, their manners altered, and their wants increased; and, instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on destruction, they might be rendered good allies, both useful and beneficial to the trade of the nation.

"It has been remarked, that those Indians on the continent of America, who were, at the time of its discovery, a numerous and formidable people, have, since that period, been constantly decreasing, and melting away like snow upon the mountains. For this rapid depopulation many reasons have been assigned. It is well known, that population everywhere keeps pace with the means of subsistence. Even vegetables spring and grow in proportion to the richness of the soil in which they are planted, and to the supplies they receive from the nourishing rains and dews of heaven; animals flourish or decay according as the means of subsistence abound or fail; and, as all mankind partake of the nature of both, they also multiply or decrease as they are fed, or have provision in plenty, luxury excluded. The Indians being driven from their possessions near the sea, as the settlements multiplied, were robbed of many necessaries of life, particularly of oysters, crabs, and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have considerably subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps, still remaining near the sea shore. The women are not only much disregarded and despised, but also naturally less prolific among rude than polished nations. The men being often abroad, at hunting or war, agriculture, which is the chief means of subsistence among a civilized people, is entirely neglected by them, and looked upon as an occupation worthy only of women or slaves. That abstinence and fatigue, which the men endure in their distant excursions, and that gluttony and voraciousness in which they indulge themselves in the times of plenty, are equally hurtful to the constitution, and productive of diseases of different kinds. Now that their territories are circumscribed by narrower bounds, the means of subsistence, derived even from game, is less plentiful. Indeed, scanty and limited are the provisions they raise by planting, even in the best seasons; but, in case of a failure of their crops, or of their fields being destroyed by enemies, they perish in numbers by famine. Their natural passion for war the first European settlers soon discovered, and, therefore, turned the fury of one tribe against another, with a view to save themselves. When engaged in hostilities, they always fought, not so much to humble and conquer, as to exterminate and destroy. The British, the French, and Spanish nations, having planted colonies in their neighborhood, a rivalship for power over them took place, and each nation having its allies among the savages, was zealous and indefatigable in instigating them against the allies of its neighbor. Hence a series of bloody and destructive wars has been carried on among these rude tribes, with all the rage and rancor of implacable enemies.

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[1] Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia: London, 1776. Carroll's South Carolina Collections, 1836.

"But famine and war, however destructive, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The small-pox having broken out among them, proved exceedingly fatal, both on account of the contagious nature of the distemper, and their harsh and injudicious attempts to cure it, by plunging themselves into cold rivers during the most violent stages of the disorder. The pestilence broke out among some nations, particularly among the Pemblicos in North Carolina, and almost swept away the whole tribe. The practice of entrapping them, which was encouraged by the first settlers in Carolina, and selling them for slaves to the West India planters, helped greatly to thin their nations. But, of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, for which they discovered an amazing fondness, has proved the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitutions, but also created many quarrels, and subjected them to a numerous list of fatal diseases, to which, in former times, they were perfect strangers. Besides, those Europeans engaged in commercial business with them, generally speaking, have been so far from reforming them, by examples of virtue and purity of manners, that they rather served to corrupt their morals, and render them more treacherous, distrustful, base, and debauched, than they were before this intercourse commenced. In short, European avarice and ambition have not only debased the original nature and stern virtue of that savage race, so that those few Indians that now remain, have lost, in a great measure, their primitive character; but European vice and European diseases, the consequences of vice, have exterminated this people, insomuch that many nations, formerly populous, are totally extinct, and their names entirely forgotten."

The South Carolina tribes have left but few traces or monuments of their existence, except the heaps of oyster shells, which are still observable along the alluvial margins of the rivers. From their ancient places of sepulture, the remains of stone pipes, amulets, and other relics of the arts peculiar to a hunter age, are, from time to time, disinterred. There are some mounds still existing on the waters of the Coosahatchee, as at Poketaligo, and on some other streams, which have been but little examined, or the researches have developed nothing of a new character. On the alluvial banks of the Congaree, Mr. Howe has discovered some curious evidences of ancient metallurgic operations, which were, apparently, carried on by the ancient Indians, who also appear to have deposited the bones and ashes of their dead in vases.[1] Mr. Lawson, in his Travels (1700), notices some of the rites and customs, manners and opinions, common to the Santees, and other bands, which convince us that their beliefs and superstitions were similar to those of the more advanced tribes. We are indebted to the same gentleman, also, for our most complete vocabulary of their languages. Their history, however, gives no evidence that they differed from the leading Vesperic groups, except in their names, and in some peculiarities of their dialect, which may be more readily observed in the geographical terminology.

New and interesting details of the history of the Catawbas, have been furnished in a preceding volume,[2] which furnish evidence of our, as yet, imperfect acquaintance with the past emigrations, and interchanges of position among our leading tribes.

When North Carolina was first settled by the whites, there were many small tribes located along the coasts, who numbered, collectively 10,000 souls.[3] The Tuscaroras principally occupied the valley of the Neuse, extending from the sea to the mountains. The unfortunate attempt they made, at a subsequent period, to annihilate the colony by a simultaneous rising, forms one of the most thrilling chapters in North Carolina history. This bold, cruel, and partially unsuccessful, movement, appears to have been a renewal of the project originated by Opechanganough, of Virginia, in 1622; and one cannot help feeling that it was but a rehearsal of the same tragedy enacted in 1590, of which the unfortunate, but lost, colony left at Cape Hatteras, were the victims; the proximity of the Tuscaroras to that location, giving additional countenance to the suggestion. Cusic, in his traditional sketches of the Iroquois, which indicate his profound ignorance of chronology, appears to allude to this, or possibly to some prior event, which occurred in the ante-historical period of American history, wherein a Manteo and his English companions, or a Madoc and his Cambrian followers, may be symbolized.[4]

The archæological remains on Mr. Calhoun's plantation, at Fort Hill, in Pendleton District, and also those of Fort Kienuka, attest the power of the ancient Iroquois in this quarter, and are yet, probably, in a condition to admit of satisfactory examination.

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[1] Eth. Res., Vol. IV., p. 155.

[2] Vol. III., p. 293.

[3] Williamson's History of North Carolina.

[4] Eth. Res., Vol. V., p. 631.

SECTION TENTH.

PROGRESSIVE INTERCOURSE WITH THE TRIBES, DURING THE EPOCH, FROM 1700 TO 1750.

CHAPTER I.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE RACE, AFTER THE LAPSE OF A CENTURY FROM THE FIRST LANDING IN VIRGINIA.

ENGLAND attained at once the acme of both her political and literary fame, during the reign of Queen Anne; while her American colonies, within the 1700
gloomy shadows of a distant and savage wilderness, were defending themselves from the horrors of impending starvation on the one hand, and aboriginal treachery on the other.

European intercourse with the Indians[1] had, during a period of one hundred years, produced no appreciable good effects on their general manners, opinions, and modes of life. The tribes located nearest the settlements dressed in blankets and strouds, instead of skins; used metallic cooking-vessels, instead of the clumsy clay *akeek*,[2] implements of iron and steel, instead of stone and bone; and the European fire-lock, instead of the flint arrow. The fur trade was, in their imagination, the great benefit which had resulted from the influx of civilized races. They hunted deer and beaver with increased vigor, indulging in luxuries of which their fathers had never even thought, and more particularly in the use of intoxicating liquors. They did not, however, in reality appreciate anything else which came from Europe. They still detested and discouraged the introduction of schools, letters, labor and the gospel, preferring to live, as their forefathers had previously done, by the chase, and not by agriculture. Game was still plenty; their hunting-grounds being so vast, that they appeared as if of almost illimitable extent; and the tribes from Maine to Georgia, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the borders of the great lakes, feasted, danced and sung, rioted and warred with each other, precisely as their ancestors had done a century previous. When more sombre views of their existing condition were forced upon them, when the plow of the white man encroached so rapidly on their wigwams and hunting-grounds that difficulties resulted, they plotted against the settlers, making sudden attacks upon them, or enticing them into ambuscades. These fitful efforts were succeeded by a relapse into their primitive state of idleness and inaction, without having derived, from their spasmodic effort, any permanent advantage to themselves, or having inflicted any permanent injury upon the settlements.

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[1] Detroit was established as a post by the French, in 1701; Vincennes in 1710.

[2] A cooking-pot.

During the establishment of the colonies, the impressions created by this feverish and changeful policy of the natives, were unfavorable to their sincerity of character. Wherever attempts had been made to introduce education and the gospel, and to graft it, as it were, on the original stock, they had submitted to it, as if in expectation of deriving therefrom ulterior advantages, with such mildness of manner, accompanied by such deep duplicity, as to deceive the guileless settlers; but, in the end, their real nature developed itself in the commission of cruel and treacherous acts. Such were the results of colonial experience in Virginia, between the period of the earliest successful establishment of the settlement at Jamestown, and the perpetration, in 1622, of that terrible massacre, under Opechan, or Opechanganough, when over 400 persons were killed in one day; among whom, the first victims were those who, with the aid afforded them by the benevolent in England, had labored most zealously and efficiently to teach the Indians, and to found a seminary of education for the tuition of the youth. Almost equally horrific was the plot concocted and successfully executed, in Massachusetts, in 1675, by Pometacom, after more than thirty years had been spent by Eliot, and his missionary compeers, in zealous and effective teaching of the tribes. These repulsive traits in the Indian character, did much towards repelling, and, for a time, may be said to have extinguished that benevolent and humane spirit with which they had been previously regarded. In Virginia, as in the entire South, these acts may be said to have originated a thorough detestation of the whole Indian race. Indeed, the details of these early deeds of sanguinary treachery, having been widely spread, throughout America and Europe, by means of newspapers and magazines, exercised an adverse influence, which is felt, even at the present day. It has been frequently asked, Who shall benefit such a people, and what good can arise therefrom? Unaided human reason tacitly acknowledges its inability to solve the problem; the gospel alone furnishes a motive for the efforts of the philanthropist.

Thus far, twelve of the original thirteen colonies had been established; Georgia, the thirteenth, being delayed for some time longer. Events, which followed each other in rapid succession, furnished us with a knowledge of Indian character, besides becoming the main inducement for the establishment of our intercourse with, and the development of our policy towards, the entire group of tribes, located in the east, west, north, and south. The beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by three events in the history of the colonies, which exercised an important influence on the Indian policy. 1. Penn, who had entered the Delaware in 1682, selected a site for the capital of his colony, in the heart of the Lenno Lenapi territories, and, in 1701, laid out the city of Philadelphia. 2. Frontenac, the Governor-General of New France, to the chagrin of the Iroquois,[1] directed a post to be established in the country of the Wyandots and their allies, in the vicinity of the lakes. M. de la Motte Cadillac, who was entrusted with this duty, arrived, with a military force, at the straits between lakes Erie and Huron, in July of the same year, and founded Detroit, that central point of Indian influence, whose baleful effects were felt upon the western frontiers, during that long and bloody period of sixty years, marked by captivities and murders, previous to the fall of Quebec. 3. The founding of Louisiana. The first settlement was made, in 1699, at Bolixi, in the country of the Choctaws; but the province was not ceded to Crozat until 1712; nor was New Orleans founded until 1719. It was the policy of the French to establish trading and missionary posts first, and, subsequently, cities. Michilimackinac, the earliest point of fixed occupancy in Michigan, was the central position of the western Algonquins in 1662; as was also Kaskaskia, in the same generic group of families, at least from the first visits of the priests of La Salle, in 1683. Vincennes, in Indiana, the Au Post of early writers, was first occupied in 1610.[2] The primary impulses were thus given to that Franco-Indian power, which, like a gigantic serpent, coiled its folds around, and, for a period, threatened to crush the British colonies.

Meantime, the Indians, true to their instincts, did not abandon their system of massacre. The opening of the century was characterized by the South Carolina war with the Creeks or Appalachians; the daring and successful expedition of Colonel Moore against them, within the Spanish territories, in 1704; the wide-spread and startling massacre of the Tuscaroras, in North Carolina, in 1712; and the Yamasee massacre, in 1715.

The Yamasees were a portion of some twenty-eight small tribes, of the group of Chicoras, who occupied the coasts and islands, as well as the banks of the rivers, of South Carolina, and of whom the Catawbas appear to be the only remaining, but rapidly diminishing tribe. It was the Yamasees, reputed for their gentle manners, but bitterly revengeful disposition, who had encountered the early Spanish visitors to this coast with such intrepidity, retorting treachery by treachery. The Tuscaroras belonged to the Iroquois group; a fact that would clearly appear from philology, were it not also affirmed by their traditions,[3] and by the fact that, after their final defeat at Kienuka, they fled to their kindred, the Five Nations, of western New York, and were admitted as the sixth canton.[1]

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[1] Colden. Vide Historical Sketches of Michigan.

[2] Law's Historical Discourse.

[3] Cusic. Vide Eth. Res., Vol. V., p. 631.

Up to this period, there had been no attempt made at colonization in the country occupied by the confederacy of the Creeks, or Muscogulges.[2] This people, agreeably to their traditions, having immigrated from the west, crossed the Mississippi, the Alabama, the Chattahootche, and the Appalachicola, extending themselves towards the east, north, west, and south. At the earliest period of their settlement, and kindling of a council fire, or establishment of a government, they were located on the river Altamaha. There is no doubt that they conquered, and either killed, incorporated with themselves, or ejected, the prior aboriginal inhabitants. Hawkins informs us, that they conquered and carried the Uchees, as prisoners, from the southern part of South Carolina. Ogelthorpe, who originated the plan of the Georgia colony, about the year 1730, established it in the Creek territory, lying between the Savannah and Altamaha. Like those of the Puritans, the Marylanders, and the followers of Penn, the Georgia colony was designed for, and became, a refuge for oppressed or needy Europeans. The plan followed was, as had been the case in all previous instances of colonization, to bestow lands upon, and afford employment to, the colonists, to enable them to improve their condition, and, also, to sustain their high anticipations; always, however, paying a due regard to the rights and condition of the aborigines. The sovereignty and the fee simple of the territory was held to be vested in the crown; but the right to their usufruct, until settled by presents, or by actual purchase, was absolutely held by the Indians. The question was reserved as one for settlement by the administration, through the usual medium of treaty, as all the colonies had previously done. All had promised them justice, kindness, fair dealing; and all had urged upon them the benefits to be derived from the promotion of agriculture, arts, letters, temperance, and every other adjunct of civilization. Ogelthorpe offered the Indians similar terms to those tendered them by the Pilgrims of New England; by the Duke of York in New York and New Jersey; by Lord Baltimore in Maryland; and by Penn in Pennsylvania. The rewards arising from a life of labor and virtue, and the evils attendant upon error, were, in their estimation, in the hands of the Indians themselves. If the natives preferred idleness, inebriation, and vice; if, through neglect, they became the victims of disease, death, and depopulation, it must be considered part of that great physical and moral law, which entails the punishment as a sequel to the offence. Good men could but regret it. If an Indian would hunt deer, instead of guiding the plow; if he preferred alcohol to water as a beverage; and to idle away his time, instead of improving it, the political economist regretted, without having the power to deter him from pursuing his erroneous course. The moral and industrial law proclaimed to the Indians their mistaken policy, announcing to them, in accents of momentous potency, the ordinary maxims which govern society, "Labor and thrive; be idle and dissolute, and die." "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."[1] The frequent errors and delinquencies of the Indians did not, however, dry up the springs of human charity and benevolence. Every decade had its philanthropists; and their beneficent deeds shine brightly, even at the present day.

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[1] Colden's History of the Five Nations.

[2] Bartram.

Each new colony established in America gave to the Indian the same lesson which had been taught him by its predecessors. At the outset, civilization had apprized him of its requirements, and, though the Indian learned its lessons slowly, yet it was hoped that he *did* learn, and that he made some progress in the right direction. Hope induced perseverance, furnished an apology for ignorance, and forgave repeated injury. The baptism of Manteo, which was performed in Virginia, in 1586, may be regarded as indicating the outpouring of light at Cresswicks, in 1744. Such was the state of the Indians when the Anglo-Saxons first found them, and located on their borders.

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[1] Genesis iii. 19.

CHAPTER II.

THE AQUINOSHIONI, OR IROQUOIS.

The close of the seventeenth century appears to be a suitable opportunity for taking some notice of a people, whose power had then culminated. There were but two tribes of those which ranged the land east of the Mississippi, north of the Cherokees, and east of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, over whom they did not, at this early day, exercise a primary or a secondary influence; and, even of these excepted tribes, one was seated 1000 miles to the north-west, and the other 1000 miles to the south-west of their council-fire at Onondaga. The name of Aquinoshioni, under the figure of a long house, or council lodge, is indicative of their confederate character. Tradition refers the origin of their nationality and advancement to Tarenyawagon, a divinity, who, in his social state, while on earth, assumed the name of Hiawatha, and taught them the knowledge of all things essential to their prosperity.[1] By a hyperbole, they are also called Ongwi Honwi, or a people surpassing others.[2] The French, agreeably to their system, gave them the name of Iroquois, a term founded on two Indian radicals, with the Gallic terminal, *ois*, suffixed.[3]

We are informed by Colden, who wrote their history to the period of the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick (1697), that the tribes composing this confederacy were not originally deemed superior to their neighbors. He commences their history at the epoch of the settlement of Canada (1608); at which time, he depicts them as being inferior to the Adirondacks, or Algonquins. They did not equal the northern group of tribes, either in hunting, war, or forest arts, though they possessed an element of subsistence in the cultivation of the zea maize. By ceasing to war against each other, and confederating for their common defence, they laid the corner-stone of their national establishment. They first successfully tried their united strength against the Satanas,[2] a cruel people, located on their borders, which so raised their spirits, that they, at length, went to war against the Adirondacks, who had been, primarily, their tutors in forest arts. After some reverses, they proved themselves an overmatch for the latter in stratagem, and, finally, obtained decisive victories over them in the St. Lawrence valley.

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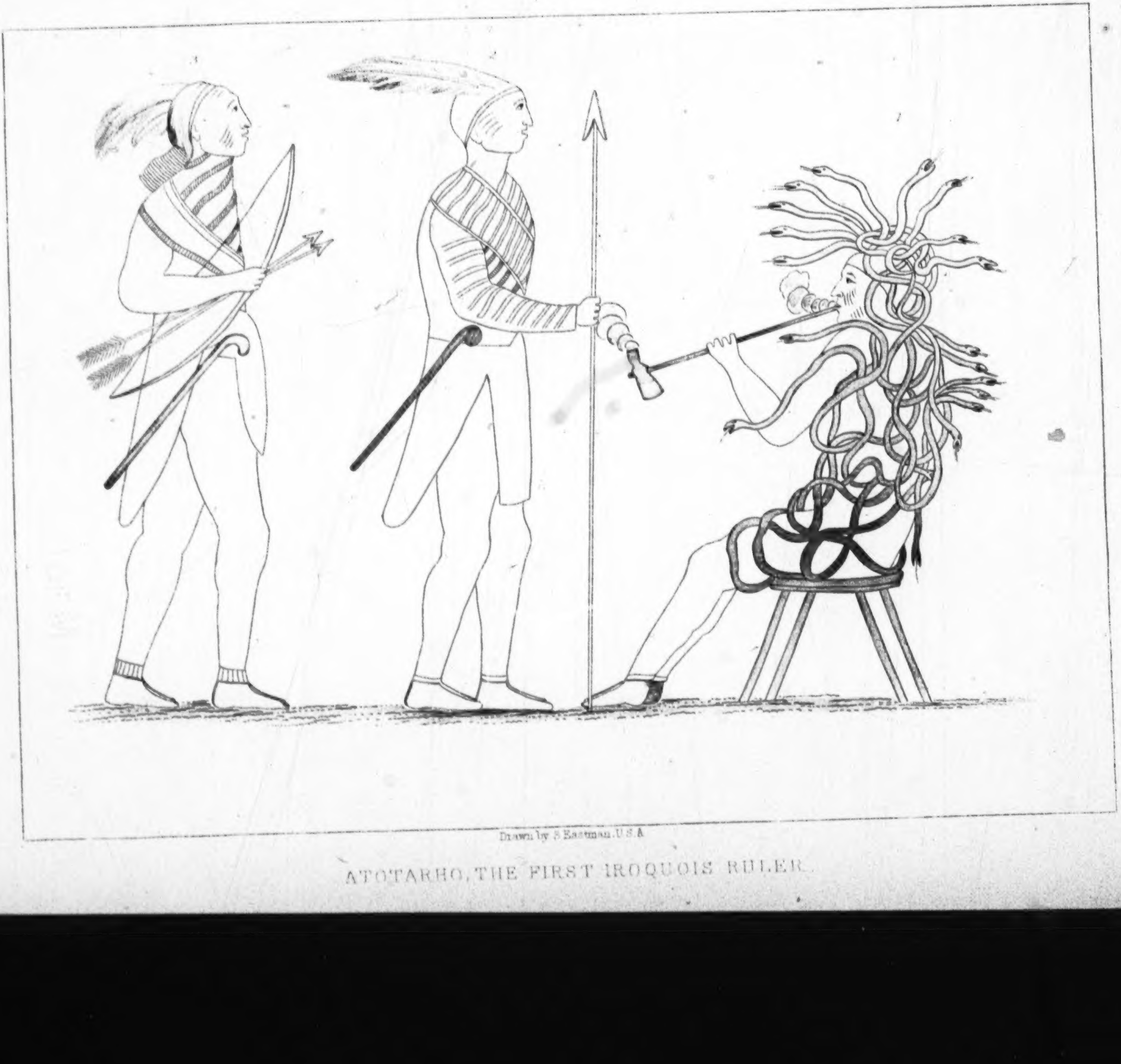
[1] Eth. Res., Vol. V., p. 636.

[2] Colden's History of the Five Nations.

[3] Charlevoix's Letters.

Plate 75.



Drawn by S. Eastman. U.S.A.

ATOTARHO, THE FIRST IROQUOIS RULER.

Mr. Colden furnishes us the history of the Iroquois during the period of about a century (1609 to 1697), in so clear and precise a manner, that our only regret is, that he carries it no farther. He perceives in this people a love of liberty, and a spirit of independence, which particularly mark them; but is at a loss which most to admire, their military ardor, their political policy, or their eloquence in council. The union of the cantons, each possessing equal powers, in one council, was the cause of their triumph among hunters in the east, west, and north, who acknowledged no government but that of opinion, and followed no policy but that actuated by revenge, or undefinable impulse. All the weighty concerns of the Iroquois were the subject of full deliberation, in open council; and their diplomatic negotiations were managed with consummate skill. When the question of peace or war was decided, the counsellors united in chanting hymns of praise, or warlike choruses, which, at the same time, gave expression to the public feeling, and imparted a kind of natural sanctity to the act. The majority of those who have given their attention to Iroquois history, have recognised, in their public acts, the germs of a national policy, which was suited to concentrate in their hands an imperial sway, which would have been characterized by greater subtlety and strength, than that of the Aztecs under Montezuma, or of the Peruvians under Atahualpa.

Their tribal relations being conducted according to fixed principles, so also were their commercial affairs, and under a system equally stable. A short time subsequently to the arrival of Hudson, and the building of Fort Orange, they formed a close alliance with the Dutch, who regarded the gains of commerce as the most decided advantage to be derived from their colony. They furnished the Indian warriors with guns, powder, flints, shrouds, blankets, hatchets, knives, pipes, and all other articles necessary for the successful prosecution of the fur trade, which was conducted on a basis so advantageous to both, that the mutual friendship then contracted was never broken. With the river Indians, of the Algonquin type, who lived in the same state of discord and anarchy as the other tribes, there occurred several, and some very serious, quarrels; but the union of the Iroquois and Dutch was intimate, and never more so than when the province was surrendered to the Duke of York, in 1664. By the terms of this surrender, the good will of the Iroquois was secured to the English. The trade with the Indians was wholly in the hands of Dutch merchants and traders, and their interpreters, who continued to conduct it. They had extended this traffic through western New York to the so-called "Far Indians," at Detroit, Saganaw and Michilimackinac, where there are still some of their descendants.[1] As the Iroquois had, for a long period, held the balance of power in America, this influence became very important to the English, and was analogous to the Algonquin alliance with the French, which, after the fall of Quebec, was also transferred to the English.

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[1] In these distant localities, we still hear of such names as Hance, Riley, Truax, Ten Eyck, Graverod, Fisher, Wamp, Yon, and Wiser.

The attachment of the Iroquois to the English, alone saved western New York from becoming a French colony. From the time of the action with Champlain, that commander having supplied his Indian allies with guns, the Iroquois had been prejudiced against the French nation. At sundry periods they repelled the invasions of La Barre, Denonville, and Frontenac, and, also, resisted the establishment of missions at Oneida, Onondaga, and Ontario. Their delegates frequently stood in the presence of the Governor-General at Quebec, with wily dexterity counteracting plot by counter-plot. In truth, they defended the territory till the English colonies became strong enough to protect it themselves.

The French had found themselves so severely taxed to resist the Iroquois, that the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick was most welcome news at the castle of St. Louis. Colden observes, that the French commissioners who conveyed the intelligence of this peace to the Onondaga country, and, by negotiation, secured their assent to it, likewise esteemed it a blessing. To the French, heaven could not have sent a greater. "For nothing," it is remarked, "could be more terrible to Canada than the last war with the Five Nations. While this war lasted, the inhabitants ate their bread with fear and trembling. No man was sure, when out of his house, of ever returning to it again. While they labored in the fields, they were under perpetual apprehensions of being seized, or killed, or carried to the Indian country, there to end their days in cruel torments. They, many times, were forced to neglect both seed-time and harvest. The landlord often saw all his land plundered, his houses burned, and the whole country ruined, while they thought their persons not safe in their fortifications. In short, all trade and business was often at an entire stand, while fear, despair, and misery appeared on the face of the poor inhabitants."[1]

Governor Clinton calls the Iroquois the Romans of the West.[2] Charlevoix, who visited the shores of Lake Ontario, in 1721, says, that he perceived a Greek element in their language.[3] While forming some Iroquois vocabularies, in western New York, in 1845, I found it to possess a dual.

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[1] Colden, p. 202.

[2] Discourse before Hist., Literary, and Philos. Society, N. Y.

[3] Journal.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIAN TRIBES, NORTH AND SOUTH, SLOWLY ARRIVE AT AN APPARENTLY GENERAL CONCLUSION, THAT THEY POSSESS THE POWER TO CRUSH THE COLONIES.

At the time of the settlement of Georgia, not only had all the colonies of the crown of Great Britain been established, but every element, both foreign and domestic, necessary to their future expansion, had been introduced. Thus, the power and energies developed subsequently in the States of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Iowa, California, Minnesota, and Oregon, as, also, in New England, of Vermont and Maine, were then all shadowed forth in the future. These States did not spring into existence until decades of years subsequently; but when they did culminate and put forth strength, they eliminated no new principles for adoption by the Indian tribes within their respective boundaries. As colony after colony was incorporated, the Indians were unceasingly urged to imitate the usages and manners, of European society, to practise the duties of men, to abandon the uncertain pursuit of the chase, to renounce the seductions of indulgence, and to turn a deaf ear to the doleful rites and enchantments of the soothsayers, jossakeeds, and jugglers. There was one exception on their part, to their lack of vigor in that typical appreciation, required by no small part of the early teachings of the ecclesiastics in the colonies; and that was the symbolical religion introduced by the Catholic communities, founded by Spain and France. The use of signs and symbols was quite in accordance with the ideas of the natives, who regarded the sun and moon as the symbols of the Deity, and represented person and passions by types of birds and animals, which included the entire range of species in the great classes of animated nature. But subsequent observers have been unable to discover that any very permanent moral impressions, as to pêrsonal accountability, were made on the Indian minds.

The French peasantry, who were in constant intercourse with the Indians, did not, themselves, profess or practice a very high standard of morality, and were, therefore, the more acceptable to the natives, whose customs, manners, and opinions, they at once adopted. They never ridiculed their religious rites, and freely selected their wives from the tribes among whom they pursued their vocation, as boatmen, "merchant voyageurs," and runners to collect credits in the fur trade.

The *courier du bois* and the Indians resembled each other in a thousand little notions, regarding tastes, food, and dress. The Frenchman did not think the wigwam a dirty or a disgusting place; he went to gaze with complacency at the Indians' wabeno and medicine dances. He was not sure that necromancy and spirit worship were altogether wrong; readily learned the Indian language; fabricated canoes of the finest pattern; became a perfect adept in these arts; and soon acquired a reputation, superior to the Indians, for navigating these light and beautiful vessels. He smoked the nicotiana, the Indian's most sacred weed, as they socially travelled together; and the native, under the guidance of his bourgeois, chanted one of the Frenchman's gay songs with the liveliest emotion. In his social chats he represented the "Grande Monarque" as superior to all sovereigns, and contrasted the relative power of the kings of England and France, with a partiality that placed the latter above all comparison. To interest and affect the Indian, conversation must be plain, simple, and adapted to his comprehension; and in these characteristics no class of persons have ever surpassed, or even equalled, the French.

The social teachings and manners of the French, so opposite to those of the English, furnish a true means of estimating the relative positions held by the two leading races of Europe who were so long opposed to each other on this continent, and are in some measure an apology for the Indian. They are believed, also, to have exerted a strong influence on the course of the Indians, in the great contest against the Anglo-Saxon race. Another apology may be made for the part which the Indians took in the wars so long existing between the European races. It would have required strong presence of mind and great forecast, to have resisted the influences and seductions which, from time to time, induced them to enter the field as auxiliaries, first on this side, then on the opposite. Those who could exert the strongest powers of persuasion, and most deeply interest the savages, were most sure of their services. It was the dark age of Indian history. The Indian was not the only one who lacked moral powers; the uncouth frontiers-man, as well as the mere buyer and seller of beaver and musk-rat, were not overstocked with it. Had the aborigines always been taught that, between nation and nation, as between man and man, duplicity was wrong; finesse and trickery, contemptible; deception, dishonorable; and treachery, abominable; there might have been better results. With him, war was a passion; he loved to see blood flow. But when he warred for others, he did so for nothing: a dupe at the outset, he was doubly a dupe at the close.

He embarked in these foreign contests with an entire blindness to his true interests, fighting not for himself, but for others. Whether Louis or George prevailed, was not the true question. Others could laugh, but he suffered, whichever party succeeded. Take up his melancholy history for the half century we have under review, nay, for a whole century, and there are too many evidences that he played the part of a tool, a drunkard, or a madman. There was no battle in which he was engaged as a flank auxiliary, in which he did not lose men; but, for every one killed in action, he lost ten by camp diseases, by hardships, and by the unskilful medical treatment of his *muskikinines.*[1] "Will these paltry presents pay," said the venerable Wabisha, "for the lives we have lost in battle, and for our warriors who died on the road?"[2]

The Yamasees and the Tuscaroras in the South were not the only tribes which, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, evinced a spirit of hostility, and commenced a series of massacres, and a war of extermination against the whites. Partial as the Indians were to the French, there were two nations whom the latter could not control. These were the Iroquois, and the Outagamies, or Foxes.

Who the Outagamies were is not known, and their early history is a blank. It has been inferred, from their language, that they were Algonquins, who used the Lenno Lenapi pronunciation, in which an *l* is substituted for *n*, giving to their speech a more liquid flow. They appear, at an early day, to have been ejected from, or forsaken by, the Algonquin family and political organization. Their traditions refer to a primitive residence at the site of Cataraqui, where, it may be supposed, they formed an intimacy with the Iroquois; and, if so, that they were one of the vengeful instruments of those immense piles of bones, and gigantic ossuaries, spread over the interior of Upper Canada.[3]

In 1712, this tribe, swayed probably by the Iroquois influence, attempted to destroy Detroit, and, as in all similar cases, their movements were secret, and the attack sudden. There were then but twenty soldiers in the fort. Under various pretences they gathered in that vicinity; but the plot was revealed in time to save the fort. The assault was made on the 13th of May, but, on the same day, the commandant was greeted by the voices of a numerous party of friendly Wyandots, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies, who routed the assailants. The Outagamies then retreated to an entrenched camp, near at hand, but, becoming finally straitened for food and water, they were forced to sally out and take possession of a house nearer the fort, whence they discharged a most destructive shower of lighted arrows, which set fire to the houses within the works. Eventually defeated, they retired to a peninsula jutting out into Lake St. Clair, where they repelled a furious assault of the French and their savage allies. After several days' preparation, during which artillery was brought from the fort, their position was stormed, very many killed, and the rest forced to flee to the upper lakes, and locate themselves on Fox river, flowing into Green Bay. Here the sequel of their history fully accords with the account given by the French, of their cunning and perfidious character. They harassed traders at all the portages leading to the Mississippi river, and spread war and alarm in all directions, as far as Lake Superior; but, being at length besieged by the French commander, De Louvigney, with a competent force, at a selected position, since called, on account of this event, Butte des Morts, or Hill of the Dead, they were overcome, and suffered immense slaughter, after which, the survivors fled to the banks of the Wisconsin. They were nearly destroyed, and received no further notice in our Indian history, until within the nineteenth century.

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[1] Medicine-men.

[2] For the whole of this noble speech, vide Historical Sketches of Michigan, p. 106: Detroit, 1834.

[3] Vide Oneota, p. 400.

In 1712, at the time of the Fox assault on the fort of Detroit, the Iroquois nation comprised five tribes, or cantons; namely, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The same year they were joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, making the sixth canton. The latter, once a powerful tribe, had been nearly annihilated by the North Carolina forces, assisted by a chivalrous body of men under Colonel Barnwell of South Carolina. The accession of the Tuscaroras, however it might have pleased the cantonal government, could have added but little to the efficiency of a people, who had, from the earliest times, been the terror of the Indian tribes. Colden informs us that the Iroquois cantons had first attained power by their confederation,[1] their wisdom in council, their policy in the adoption of conquered tribes, and their superior bravery in war.[2] Governor Clinton tells us that their acquisition of power was much facilitated by their advantageous location in western New York, in a region abounding in game, of unsurpassed fertility of soil, and situated at the head of many large and leading streams, down which they could suddenly make their forays, after the successful execution of which they might return by land.[3]

All the tribes in an east and west line, between Lake Champlain, the Connecticut, and the Illinois, acknowledged the supremacy of the Iroquois. North and south their sway extended from the mouths of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Susquehanna, to the great lakes; thence, northwardly to the Ontawis, or Grand river, of Canada, to Michilimackinac, and to the entrance of Lake Superior. In 1608, under the name of Masawomacks, they were the terror of the Powhatanic tribe of Virginia; as Mingoes, they spread their dominion over Ohio; and, as Nado-wassies, they were the foes of all the Algonquin, or Adirondack races. At periods anterior to the arrival of the colonists, they had prevailed over the once proud and powerful Lenno Lenapi, and placed them *sub jugo*. They threatened the very existence of Canada. Tribes, whom they could not subject to their stern policy, were exterminated by the club and the tomahawk.

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[1] The period of the formation of this confederacy is uncertain.

[2] Colden's History of the Five Nations.

[3] Discourse delivered before the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.

It became a part of the policy of all the colonies to conciliate such a people; consequently, they were in fact parties to all important Indian treaties formed during the period of our early history, and, until the colonies finally assumed their independence. In every negotiation involving the question of boundaries, or the termination of a war, the first demand was, What will the Iroquois do? They still, in reality, held the balance of power.

CHAPTER IV.

IN THE CONTEST FOR THE INDIAN POWER, BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, THE POSSESSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND OF THE GREAT LAKE BASINS BECAME, IN THE END, THE PRIZE CONTENDED FOR.

The close of the seventeenth century was marked by events which excite in us a more than usual degree of interest in the aboriginal policy. The settlements made at Bolixi, and on other parts of the open shores of the Gulf of Mexico, during the latter years of this century, were followed by the location of others in the Mississippi valley. New Orleans was founded in 1799. La Salle, by his discovery of the Mississippi river, had developed an important fact in North American geography. Such a river, and such a valley, could only be paralleled, in the history of the Old World, by the Nile and the Niger; and, in the New, only by the Amazon, the La Platte, and the Orinoco, of South America. But, unlike those streams, although passing through a region possessing an equally fertile soil, the climate and sanitary advantages of the country in its vicinage far transcended them.

The foundation of the city of New Orleans furnished a depôt for the products of a region, whose extent and resources could scarcely be estimated. This entire territory, extending to the sources of the Arkansas, the Ohio, and the Missouri, as well as to the great chain of lakes, was filled with Indians, of various names and families, who roved in wild independence over its plains and through its forests, contributing to a new and most attractive branch of commerce, the fur trade. To wield political influence amongst them was, in fact, to secure the most direct means of promoting colonial success. The fine sylvan country of the Illinois had, from the period of its first discovery, been the universal theme of admiration. At an early day, posts were established, not only at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, but, having become the headquarters of mild ecclesiastical and commercial functionaries, they were continued up the Wabash, the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin, where they were met by similar establishments, diverging from Quebec and Montreal. From this period may be dated the renewed prosperity of New France.

Fort Niagara, which commanded the Iroquois borders, had been founded as early as 1678; Michilimackinac, on the peninsula, was erected in 1668; Fort Oswego, the ancient Gliuna, was built in 1727; Detroit in 1701; Vincennes in 1710; and, a short time subsequently, a series of minor posts, extending along the lake shores, from Green Bay and St. Joseph's to the Miami of the Lakes, and the Sandusky, and thence to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. Among all the Indian tribes inhabiting these regions, the French king, French power and liberality, and French manners, were spoken of with praise, and regarded with admiration.

Such was the progress made by the new ecclesiastical establishments, that a commissioner, of high sacerdotal standing, was deputed by the Court of France to visit the western posts and tribes. Charlevoix, who performed this task, and whose journal and history furnish proofs of the zeal and learning he displayed, journeyed from Quebec, through the chain of lakes, to the Mississippi, which, in 1721, he descended to New Orleans. He made many valuable inquiries respecting the history and condition of the tribes, the results of which he reported to his government. In his era, the worship of an eternal fire, the great dogma of the Ghebir system, was still found to exist among the Natchez, or Chigantualga Indians, who accompanied its rites with imposing ceremonies.

The possession of the Mississippi valley was, in reality, the prize for which all these exertions were made; and the British colonies soon became aware, that a chain of military posts, extending from New Orleans to Quebec, was about to environ them.

In 1687, the Canadian authorities, with great formality, repossessed themselves of the Straits of Detroit, commemorating the event by the issue of a protocol.[1] In 1749, the Governor-General of Canada caused leaden plates, bearing suitable inscriptions, to be nailed to trees, and also others to be buried beneath the earth, in the Ohio valley, as a testimony of the re-occupancy of that valley by the French. They aimed, at least, to make the record strong.[2] But a fraction over fifty years elapsed, when these posts were extended up the Ohio to its source, at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany, where Fort Du Quesne was built, in 1753. The comprehensive and vigorous movements of the French secured the influence of the tribes, whom they supplied with goods, wares, and merchandise at all the posts. Virginia, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, were the first to take the alarm. The French assumed the sovereignty of the country by right of its discovery by La Salle, and a long period had not elapsed when the western tribes attacked the southern and western frontiers, with a vigor which threatened the annihilation of the colonies.

In 1728, the Shawnees and Delawares, pressed by the Iroquois, and feeling the encroachments of the advancing settlements, fled across the Alleghanies to the Ohio valley. The Iroquois power had long previously driven the Lenno Lenapi in the same direction.

In 1736, the French local authorities reported to their home government, in Paris, that they exercised a control over 103 tribes, comprising a total of 16,403 warriors, representing a population of 82,000 souls.[1] It no longer admitted of a doubt, that the object of the French was, by drawing this line around the colonies, to prevent them from extending their possessions to the westward beyond the summits of the Alleghany mountains. Such, indeed, was the boast of some of the leading Indian chiefs, who regarded the English as the nation which designed to infringe on their forest domains, to impose upon them the yoke of labor and letters, and to tread out their very existence.[2] The sanguinary inroads of the French and their savage allies on the frontiers, first brought the youthful Washington into the field. He was but sixteen years of age when, in 1748, he made his first exploratory trip in that direction.[3] Five years subsequently, he undertook his perilous official journey to the French post on Lake Erie, thus obtaining his first knowledge of the habits of a subtle foe, whose instability of purpose, and cruelty of character, required perpetual vigilance.

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[1] Oneota, p. 406.

[2] Archæ Americana, Vol. II.

With respect to the great lake basins, they were, at an early date, in possession of the French. Lake Ontario was commanded by Forts Cataraqui, Niagara, and Oswego; Erie was secured by the location of Fort Le Nou, on the Straits of Detroit, and Lake Huron by Fort St. Joseph (the site of the modern Gratiot), situated at the head of the river St. Clair, as also by the old peninsular fort of Michilimackinac. Lake Superior was overlooked by the fort of St. Mary's, on the straits of St. Mary, and by that of Madaline, at Chegoimegon; Michigan by a Fort on Green Bay, another at the mouth of the St. Joseph's river, and by the post at Chicago. Small vessels transported arms and supplies to the various posts, and the heavy batteaux of the French, or the light Algonquin canoe, kept up a constant intercourse between the posts and missions, both by night and day. The English colonial governors, accustomed to the dilatory movements of their own regular soldiers and sailors, could scarcely conceive with what celerity intelligence was communicated.

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[1] Eth. Res., Vol. III., p. 553.

[2] Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan.

[3] Irving's Life of Washington.

SECTION ELEVENTH.

MOMENTOUS PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY, PRECEDING THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH POLICY REGARDING THE TRIBAL, OR INTERNATIONAL, MOVEMENTS OF THE INDIANS.

THE jealousy and hatred existing between the tribes, prevented extensive hostile combinations against the English, and proved the salvation of the colonies. Every large tribe, from the era of the settlement of Virginia, to that of Georgia, deemed itself superior to all others, vaunted of its prowess, and despised its enemies. Wingina, Powhatan, and Opechanganough, were but prototypes of Sassacus, Pometacom, and Attakullakilla. The continent had been overrun by predatory bands long before its discovery by Europeans, and, at that period, the tribes were living in a state of intestine anarchy, and outward war. When the colonists landed and began to hold intercourse with them, every little tribe exercised an independent sovereignty, sold lands, and prosecuted wars. Of the several stocks who claimed to live in a state of association or confederation, the Iroquois alone possessed anything like a fixed system. The Muscogees, or Creeks, assumed to be a confederacy of seven tribes, but their association was so loosely organized, so destitute of governmental power, that it could not make levies, procure volunteers, meet out punishments, or grant rewards. The Algonquins assimilated in their tribal character and peculiar customs, but every tribe acted as it pleased, without respect to any governmental rule. The seven tribes of the Dakotas styled themselves a united people; the Pokanokets went to war, single-handed, against all New England; the Tuscaroras determined to destroy North Carolina, at a blow; the Yamasees undertook to brave, if not to cope with, South Carolina; and the tribe of the Foxes insolently resolved, without any auxiliaries but the Sauks, or original occupants of Saganaw,[1] to drive the French out of Michigan.

The refractory tribes of New England, who had either submitted to the colonists, or had been conquered by them and fled, derived sympathy and efficient aid from the Canadian authorities. The Pequot refugees who had found shelter from the Mohawks, and been permitted to settle on a tributary of the North river, under the name of Scagticokes, finally fled to Lower Canada. The entire canton of St. Regis originally comprised refugees of the Iroquois, who had either refused to submit to the religious teachings, or to the political influence of the English.

The tribal and international movements, throughout the entire country, were controlled, with the sole exception of those of the important cantons of the Iroquois, by the general policy and influence of the French, and tended to the furtherance of the French colonial interests. It was observed at an early day by the English governors, and by the commanders on the frontiers, that a cordon of tribes, friendly to the French, occupied the whole of the immense line extending from Quebec to New Orleans; and every decade of the existence of the British colonies appeared to increase the apprehensions of evil impending from this quarter. This policy of the French was not a recent one, but can be traced back to the earliest times. From the period when Donnaconna was taken to France, and Agahonna greeted as the forest monarch of Hochelaga, it had been a primary policy of the Gallic authorities, to secure the influence of the Indian tribes. Two great stocks of tribes constituted the leading executors of the French policy.

Along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, from the Three Rivers as far as the entrance of the Great Otawa river, the coast was occupied by tribes of the generic stock, to whom was given the name of Algonquins.[2] The southern, as well as the northern, shores of the St. Lawrence, below the point denoted, as far down as Gaspe Bay, including Tadousac and the island of Orleans, were covered by parties of the Iroquois of the Wyandot branch. The governmental seat, and council-fire of this tribe were located on the mountain island of Hochelaga, to which Carter gave the name of Montreal. A close alliance was formed with the Algonquin tribes, and also with the Wyandots, or Hurons, a French soubriquet for this tribe. The Wyandots affirm themselves to have been the parent tribe of the Iroquois, and, although they do not appear to have been a member of the confederacy of the Five Nations, they were, then, on the most amicable terms with them. Their offence against the Five Nations was, that they had not only offered their aid to the French, but also to the Algonquins, their enemies. As soon as this alliance with the French was understood, the Five Nations, at first moderately, but afterwards peremptorily and violently, ordered them to leave the island of Hochelaga, and remove to New York.[1] The Wyandots having refused to obey this mandate, the Iroquois made war upon them, and so harassed them that they were compelled to seek shelter under the guns of Quebec; in which place even, they were not safe, but were finally expelled from the valley of the St. Lawrence. The French themselves were fiercely attacked, and at one time became seriously afraid that they would be driven from the country.[2]

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[1] The modern Saganaws are renegades and refugees from the Chippewa stock, who fled to, and re-occupied the original town, abandoned by the Sauks.

[2] Eth. Res., Vol. I. p. 306.

The flight of the Wyandots from the St. Lawrence valley, in 1659, produced a great displacement of tribes. They passed up the great Ontawas river, and across Lake Nepissing, to the Manatouline chain of islands, of Odawa lake, which thence received the appellation of Huron, their French nomme de guerre. But the New York Iroquois having pursued them thither, they fled to the rocky island of Tiedonderoga, called Michilimackinac by the Algonquins, with whom they were in close alliance, as they had originally been in Lower Canada. Remarkable evidences of their residence in the interior of this island, and also of their agricultural habits, may still be traced in the large spaces which were cultivated, and which are yet very conspicuous. Of these, the area called by the French, Le Grand Jardin, and the ground about Sugar Loaf, and Arched Rocks, will amply repay a visit from the curious. But, being also followed hither by the Iroquois, they took shelter on Lake Superior. Pursuing them to that retreat, they were defeated by the Algics at Point Iroquois in the Chippewa country. A sanguinary battle, followed by a massacre, was fought on the cape at the left-hand entrance into that lake, which has since been called Point Iroquois.

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[1] See Letters of Le Jeune.

[2] Colden.

CHAPTER II.

INTER-EPOCHAL HISTORY OF THE LAKE TRIBES, AND OF THE EXPULSION OF INDIANS WHO PRECEDED THE ALGONQUINS.

PRIOR to the flight of the Wyandots from the St. Lawrence, a nation, of Algonquin lineage, called by old writers Utawawas, and Atawawas, and by modern ones, Odawas, and Ottawas, resided on the chain of islands, in Lake Huron, called Manatoulines, or Islands of the Great Spirit. Portions of this nation participated in the early wars in Lower Canada, and were taught the truths of the Christian religion by the missionaries. The parent tribe had, for a long period, dwelt on the islands of the Great Spirit, and the lake itself was, in consequence, called Odawa lake. At the same period, another leading tribe, of adverse lineage, called the Assegun, or Bone, Indians, resided on the upper parts of the lake. Their council fire and tribal seat were established on the island of Michilimackinac. They occupied Point St. Ignace, and also the north shores of the lake, as low down as the influx of the St. Mary's river; and they likewise extended their possessions westward and northward along the shores and islands of Lake Michigan.

To their position on the Manitoulines, the Ottawas refer, as the oldest traditional point in their history. Personal bravery, united with the power of performing miraculous or extraordinary feats, through the influence of necromancy, were the great objects of attainment, and formed a theme for boasting among their heroes. The origin of the tribe they attribute to a renowned personage, whom they called Sagima. Sagima had been celebrated, during his prime, for deeds of prowess and wisdom, and for his great spiritual power. But he was now tottering under the weight of accumulated years; his brethren had classed him as an Akiwazi, or one long above ground; and he was soon destined to take his long anticipated journey to the symbolical land of the dead, or Indian paradise. Sagima resided with his wife, and had four sons, namely, Wau-be-nace, Wauba, Gitchey Wedau, and the youngest, named after himself, Sagima. It is of the feats of the latter, who was the favorite son, that tradition speaks; for he was not only the pride of his parents, but was also endowed with all the intrepidity, wisdom, and magical power of his father. In his youth, he was noted for his eccentricities, and fool-hardy exploits; when he reached the period of manhood, he evinced great powers of endurance, frequently fasting ten days, and, after tasting a little food, again renewing his fast; and, when his future guardian spirit was revealed to him, it was the *Great Serpent*, or Gitchie Kinabik, who lives under the *ground* and *water*.

At this time, the Asseguns began to trespass on the territory of the Manatoulines, and killed some of their people. A war with this tribe was the result. Accompanying the warriors, at first as a young volunteer, and concealing the great powers he felt conscious of possessing, Sagima performed feats which drew all eyes upon him. He soon became an efficient warrior, and, in the end, the deliverer of his country. In this contest, the Manatoulines were aided by the Odjibwas, or Chippewas of English history. The first great battle with the Bone Indians, was fought on the peninsula, called by the French, Detour. Sagima then pursued his enemies westward to their entrenchments, on the north shore, near some mounds and bivouacks, the remains of which are still to be seen, northward of St. Ignace. From this position he dislodged them, and took possession of the territory up to Point St. Ignace, where the war terminated, and the Asseguns, crossing the strait to the headland, called Piqutinong, the locality where old Fort Michilimackinac was subsequently built by the French, there formed a village. Having conquered the country of St. Ignace, the Odawas gradually withdrew from the Manatoulines, and located their tribal seat at St. Ignace. The following spring, the Asseguns crossed over and killed an Ottawa woman, who was planting corn. Sagima raised a war party, and crossed the strait to the Assegun village, which was found to contain only old men, women, and children, the warriors having gone up the Sheboigan, a river ten miles to the eastward. Sagima followed their trail, discovered their canoes hid in the overhanging bushes, and waylaid them in a shallow, sandy bay. The returning Asseguns were attacked at a disadvantage, and a dreadful massacre followed.

After this defeat, the Asseguns fled to the eastern shores of Lake Michigan; but they were finally pursued south to the banks of the Washtenau, called by the French, Grand river. This formed the limit of the Ottawa conquests, and thence they returned to their tribal seat at St. Ignace. The Chippewas, who had been their confederates in this war, settled on Grand Traverse Bay, and at some other locations to the westward, where the two tribes still reside in intercalated villages.

During the prosecution of this war, on the shores of Lake Michigan, the Ottawas and Chippewas became involved in a quarrel with a tribe called, by early writers, Mascoutins, a term, apparently, derived from the phrase Mush-co-dains-ug, or Little Prairie Indians. These Indians appear to have allied themselves with the Bone Indians. Chusco, an aged Ottawa, conversant with their traditions, attributes to them the old cleared fields, and the mounds on the Michigan coast, particularly those on Grand river.[1] From this period the Asseguns and Mascoutins were confederates. The Ottawas and Chippewas, as soon as practicable, pursued them beyond Washtenau river to Chicago, whence they fled towards the south and west; hence, no further trace of them can be found in the Indian traditions.[1]

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[1] Memoirs of Thirty Years.

In an official report of the Indian tribes, made to the government of Canada, in 1736, the Mascoutins are designated as occupying the locality south of Green Bay, and are rated at eighty warriors, which would indicate a population of 400 souls. Bouquet and Hutchins, in their tables, formed in 1764, report them as occupying the same locality, and state their numbers at 500.[2] Modern estimates make no mention of the tribe. In traits and habits, the Mascoutins closely resembled the Kickapoos, and they may possibly have been absorbed in that very nomadic, prairie-loving tribe.

Regarding the Asseguns, referred to in their traditions, as the predecessors of the Algonquins on the upper waters of Lake Huron, it would be hazardous to offer any conjecture, except it be founded on philology, their name appearing to assimilate with the French term, Osages, and they being evidently of the Dakotah or Iroquois stock.

To the events preceding the Assegun wars, we can add no chronology. It seems certain that they occurred prior to the flight of the Wyandots to the lakes, in 1649; for when, in this year, the latter reached the Manatouline group, they found it vacated by the Ottawas, and located their residence on it; hence, as before mentioned, the lake received the name of Huron. Having been allies of the Ottawas, and other Algonquins in the St. Lawrence valley, they were welcomed as friends. Their residence on the island of Michilimackinac, under Adario, in 1688, is mentioned by all the early writers; and, although they were obliged, for a time, to take shelter among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, the growth of the French colony of Detroit enabled the latter to invite them to locate themselves in that vicinity, where, for so long a period, they have occupied a conspicuous place, as the umpire tribe.

By this transfer of the Wyandots to the Lakes, the Algonquin tribes were, in reality, strengthened; for they came thither as friends. By the prior expulsion of the Asseguns and Mascoutins, the wide lake basins had been cleared of all tribes who were adverse to their rule; and they had secured the free use of their lakes, as well as of their hunting grounds. They now began fearlessly to cross the broad waters in their canoes, and soon felt themselves established in the magnificent geographical empire of the great lakes. From the northern limits of Lake Huron, through the straits of St. Mary to Lake Superior, and from Michilimackinac, around the far-spreading shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan, thence, eastwardly to Detroit, and southwardly to the Ohio, there were no languages spoken but those which were derived, more or less recently, from the Algonquin. This generic language was of mild and easy utterance, and possessed a full vocabulary, containing but few sounds not readily enunciated by either the French or the English. The members of these tribes were people of good stature, and pleasing manners, who readily adopted European modes of conducting their traffic, and of transacting business. They borrowed from the French the complimentary term, *Bon jour*, on meeting, having, in their own language, no equivalent for that of good-day. If we consider the Algonquin group, which extended south from the site of Chicago to Kaskaskia, and the junction of the Ohio, and north to the Crees, or Kelistenos, of the Lake of the Woods, we find a singular agreement of character. There was no tribe, in all the broad expanse of country named, which did not, with equal ardor, recognise the French manners as the type of civilization and religion.

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[1] Manuscript Notes on Indian History and Antiquities, Vol. II., *nobis.*

[2] Eth. Res., Vol. III., p. 555

CHAPTER III.

THE ALGONQUINS SIDE WITH THE FRENCH IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY.

The French now attempted, by taking formal possession of the Ohio valley, to unite the extreme boundaries of New France, and prevent the extension of the English colonies.

The expulsion of the Asseguns, or Bone Indians, and of the Mascoutins, from the Lake region, in all probability, occurred before the close of the fifteenth century, being prior, at least, to the first landing of Europeans. No notice of it can be found in the works of the earliest writers; the *Wasbashas*,[1] a tall, bold, turbulent tribe, who may be thought to correspond in character with that people, being, at a primeval period, located in the north, but, after their flight to the south, always on an affluent of the Missouri. Their traditions furnish nothing but an allegory, representing that their origin was derived from a beaver and a shell.[2] If these be symbols, they denote that they lived in a region abounding in trees (the bark of which was their food), and fish; and that their state of life was fortuitous and feeble, from natural, and not from historical causes.

It is uncertain at how early a period the French visited Lake Huron, and the upper lakes, but their first journey thither probably occurred between the year 1608, and Champlain's surrender of Quebec to Kirk, in 1629. Whatever the period was, the Algonquins appear to have then exercised dominion in the country. The Mascoutins, who, by the name, appear to have been of Algonquin lineage, were then located in that territory. The Illinese occupied the valley of the Illinois, and also the left banks of the Mississippi, from its outlet to the influx of the Ohio. The Miamies were seated in the St. Joseph's, or Grand river, valley of Michigan, and the various bands called Michigamies,[3] on the shores of Lake Michigan. The Menomonees occupied the northern shores of Green Bay, and, even as early as 1636, the Mascoutins had been driven to the country lying south of the banks of Fox river. The only acknowledged trans-Mississippian Indian tribe residing on Green Bay was that of the Winnebagoes, which, although of Dakotah origin, had an Algonquin name, and lived in amity with the Algonquins.

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[1] It may, perhaps, be thought that *Osages* is a term derivative from *Wasasas*; if so, little stress can be laid on the supposed recognition.

[2] Eth. Res., Vol. I., p. 319.

[3] Ibid., Vol. V., p. 191.

That the French succeeded in arraying the numerous and scattered tribes of the Algonquins against the English colonies, is well known to every reader of Americo-Indian history. Intercourse and habits made them one in feeling and policy. Although it has been suggested that the Indian tribes appeared to feel a sense of their ability to crush the primitive English colonies, yet they lacked the power of combination, to make any general movement for that purpose. At every phasis of their history, they felt the necessity of having a European basis of power upon which to lean. In other words, they sought to be allies, and not principals, in the great contests with the colonies; and were, in reality, the flankers, and rarely, or never, the main body of fighting men. From this preference for the French by the Algonquin family of the Lenno Lenapi, the oldest member of it, agreeably to some authorities, may be excepted prior to 1742. In a public council held at Lancaster, during this year, they were ordered by the Iroquois, in a very harsh manner, to remove from the lands they occupied, because they had sold them to Penn, or to other persons, without having received authority. They were directed to take up their residence in the west, and from this date the Delawares were, and have been, regarded as being under French influence. Such reports and suspicions gathered strength from year to year, and this influence followed them westward, until they became residents of the Muskingum river, where the Christian converts were at length massacred.

It was the early developed policy of New France, to employ against the frontier settlements the Indian forces at their command; a power so eminently calculated to annoy and harass, and, without which it does not seem probable they could have so long maintained their ground against the British colonies. Indian warfare is conducted by a species of guerilla force, which, in efficacy, exceeds all others, not only on account of its sanguinary character, but also the suddenness of its attacks, its entire freedom from the annoyances of baggage, and the alacrity with which the warriors charge and disperse. There is no military arm which can at all cope with, or successfully check, these guerilla parties, as it is their policy never to risk an open battle; consequently, when the clumsy infantry and dragoon soldier is sent into the woods to cope with such a supple, and nearly invisible enemy, he appears to be little more than a target for a ball or an arrow.

A review of the French colonial policy, from the days of Champlain to those of Montcalm, develops the fact that the Indian power was one of their most effective means of offence. The great conflicts on land and ocean did not produce the most intense results; for, during all this period, extending over 150 years,[1] it was the Indian war parties and marauding expeditions, which infested the frontiers from Virginia to the small towns of New England, that committed deeds thrilling upon the senses, and frequently making the heart sick. Men, women, and children, sent unheralded into eternity, at midnight, by the war-club and scalping-knife; blazing tenements, cruel and prolonged captivities, death at the stake, and murder in its most horrid forms, constituted the main incidents of this epoch.

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[1] A. D. 1608 to 1749.

An Indian considers 100 miles but a short distance, and 1000 miles as not a long one to march, when the purpose he has in view is to glut his vengeance, or gratify himself. He is not a man who pines for the enjoyments of home, there is not much to attach him to it; to camp in the woods is his delight, and the wilderness is, comparatively, his dwelling. Time passes lightly with him, its pace never wearies him; and anything which cheats him of the very idea of its passage, is pleasant. He is always at leisure, and death itself receives a rather friendly welcome. To journey to Fort Du Quesne, Erie, Oswego, Niagara, or Quebec, for the trifling present of a gun, a blanket, or a kettle, a pound of powder, a gorget, or a flag, was, in point of enterprise, considered as nothing for an Indian chief. To him, to whom time is nothing, and wandering a pleasure, the toil is ten times overpaid by the reward. He naturally esteems gifts, and habitually loves the giver. France was, to the Indian, the beau ideal of all that was admirable in a foreign power, combining generosity with amiable manners and kindness of demeanor.

The French, by multiplying forts on the frontiers, most surely extended their influence. They had, from an early period, occupied positions on every important western river or lake; and, by taking formal possession of the Ohio valley, in 1753, they consummated a long cherished scheme, and environed the western colonies with a cincture of scorpions. Western Virginia and Pennsylvania groaned under the new inflictions of savage vengeance; and, from this time, the Indian forays on the western frontiers became incessant, being perfectly unexampled in our history for their frequency, and the cruelty, or, rather, barbarous inhumanity which characterized them; murders, ambuscades, and tortures, becoming the terror of the settlers. Not the least important feature in the policy which directed these Indian wars, was the countenance that they received from the French officials at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Detroit, Miami, Sandusky, and other minor posts. It was these depredations, and the policy which directed them, that first brought Washington into the field.

The Gallic and Anglo-Saxon powers were now fairly pitted against each other, and it was evident that this new phasis of French aggression must soon lead to a general conflict. France or England must rule America. The British ministry had, in some measure, prepared for this struggle. The local commerce had necessitated the erection of Fort London, in the valley of Virginia. Fort Cumberland had been previously built on the Potomac, Fort Stanwix at the head of the Mohawk, Forts Anne and Edward on the sources of the Hudson, and Fort William Henry on Lake George. These formed the chief defences in the middle of the eighteenth century; and, from the close of Queen Anne's war, they were supported by occasional detachments of veteran troops, who had served under the Duke of Marlborough, and other distinguished officers. These forts served as defences to the frontiers, enabling the colonies to preserve their existence; but they were not sufficiently powerful to roll back the tide of aggression.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IROQUOIS ADHERE TO THE ENGLISH.

To counteract this policy, the English found it necessary to call in the aid of the Iroquois cantons. The Indian is more gratified with a present of ten dollars' worth of merchandise, than if he had received twenty times the value in money, as a permanent annuity. Early partakers of the benefits resulting from Anglo-Saxon proximity of settlement and commerce, they became firm friends to all who belonged to that race. The warlike Mohawks were the most prominent tribe in the confederacy, at the time of the discovery of the Hudson. They found a very good market for their furs, which rendered them affluent in every comfort of Indian life; and they adhered to their early relations with a perfectly unabated and unchanging steadiness. After being furnished with guns, the Mohawks revisited Lake Champlain, where they encountered the renewed energies of Canada, and, in a short time, induced all the cantons to join them. Another great advantage accrued to them, at this period, in the employment of fire-arms against their enemies at the south and west. The introduction of gunpowder into America revolutionized the entire Indian mode of life. The expeditions became not only more lengthy, but were also characterized by greater frequency; and, in a short time, no tribe could withstand them. Ambition stimulated every canton, and, before the surrender of the province to the English, in 1664, the council fire, at Onondaga, burned still brighter and more fiercely. Unaided by this influence, New York, as well as the northern and central British colonies, could not have protected so wide a frontier without any extraneous aid. They frustrated the plan for establishing a mission at the old French fields, in Madison county,[1] as also at Onondaga,[1] in western New York. They likewise defeated the armies of Frontenac, and of Denonville.

An agency was also established in the Iroquois country, which, from little beginnings, at length systematically controlled this power for the protection and furtherance of the interests of the English colonies. This was the one which became so celebrated under the management of Sir William Johnson. Johnson emigrated to America in 1734, and, having undertaken the management of an estate in the Mohawk valley, for

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[1] Notes on the Iroquois.

Sir Peter Warren, embarked in the fur trade, and learned the Indian language. He frequently accompanied the Iroquois delegates, who went to Albany to transact business with the government; and therein evinced so much tact, and such an intimate knowledge of the Indian dialects, that, in a few years, the superintendency of this department of government in the British colonies was committed to his care. The Iroquois had been constantly gaining in power during the previous century, and the authority which they now exercised over the tribes in the north, south, and west, enabled Johnson, through their means, to exert a controlling influence. He combined within himself the faculties of close observation, great prudence, judgment, decision, energy, and courage. By his judicious management of affairs and of a large private estate, he acquired a just appreciation of Indian character, and great popularity with the Iroquois. His Indian policy imitated, and even surpassed in efficiency, that of the French. He paid the utmost deference to their ancient ceremonial, not to say oriental, mode of transacting public business. He received their delegates and foreign ambassadors with great ceremony, listened to them patiently, and answered them carefully; made them liberal and judicious presents; and ordered every attention to be paid to their personal wants. No Indian who came to him, ever went away hungry, or in want, from his agency; and no one ever complained that he had not received an audience. The Indian is always greatly influenced by the respect with which he is received; no European can be more so. He has a high opinion of himself, of his position, and of his destiny; he does not know that he is a savage; he does not feel the want of our knowledge, our letters, our religion; he is a patient, courteous, dignified listener; he regards the features and expression of a man with great attention, and is a good judge of general character; he is prone to approbativeness, values approval, appreciates kindness, and is altogether reliable as a personal friend.

Such were the materials of the power which Johnson undertook to control. He regarded the proud, noble, but untutored Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca sachems, with their principle of cantonal representation, and confederate unity, as, in some measure, a reproduction of the Amphyctionic council. He sent formal messages to them, desiring their attendance, whenever occasion required it. This careful attention greatly pleased them, and, if it was ever delayed, they refused to obey it. Distance was immaterial to him, as he found it was nothing to them. Meeting together in council, they transmitted the message to the most distant places. Under the honored title of Mingoes, portions of the Iroquois stock resided in the Ohio valley, and served as diplomatic agents, to communicate intelligence. The most distant valleys of the west, and the remotest lakes of the north, were thus made accessible; and the relations of the Illinois, and of the tribes of Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, were as well understood at his nominal seat, on Tribes' Hill, in the Mohawk valley, as those of Genesee, Albany, and the Cahöatatea. The high rank which he held in the New York militia, caused him to be employed on some of the most important services, and he achieved several momentous victories in the war with the French. No one can peruse the history of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia, nay, even of the States further south, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the era of the Revolutionary War, without observing how intimately the Indian policy of these colonies was connected with the Iroquois supremacy, and how completely Sir William controlled it, through a well-established system of subordinates. Governors of States thought it no derogation from their dignity to meet the delegated Iroquois sachems in general council, and their sanction was deemed essential to all purchases of land, and questions of boundary, even to the utmost limits of Virginia and Kentucky.

CHAPTER V.

THE WESTERN INDIANS UNITE TO SUSTAIN FRANCE IN THE POSSESSION OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

The Indians never understood the benefit of combination sufficiently to resist, alone and in their own strength, the inroads of the European powers; although, in all the early epochs, they held the balance of power between them. The struggle which was at this period brewing on the western frontiers, was not only for the possession of supremacy on the Ohio, but, in fact, as became apparent in a few years, for the control of the entire Mississippi valley. It was a contest which would decide whether France or England should govern in America. The Indians were so far a party to the contest, that it was necessary for each nation to pay their court to them, and there was no surer method of acquiring their good will than by respecting their ancient mode of holding councils, and paying due reverence to their ceremonial rites and customs. To smoke a national pipe, to deliver a belt of wampum beads, to present a chief with a medal or a flag, were, in their eyes, acts of the most momentous importance. To do nothing in a hurry, to deliberate slowly, to measure, as it were, the importance of events by the time devoted to the performance of their ceremonies, were to the Indians very pleasing evidences of capacity for negotiation. When an Indian orator arose and pointed to the zenith, to the nadir, to the place of the sun and moon, and to the cardinal points, he fancied himself to be surrounded by a pantheon of supernal and spiritual influences. He loved this pomp of ceremonies, and he felt complimented to see an European official respect them. Trifles lead to success.

Light talk and frivolous manners never failed to be estimated by the old Indian sages at their true worth. They are considered as evidences of the want of sober thought and fixed purpose. . It has been mentioned that the inroads of the Indians, which either preceded, or succeeded the occupation of the Ohio valley by the French, had the effect to bring Washington into that field of adventurous action. We are informed that he was but sixteen, when he first began his explorations on the Alleghany chain.[1] Five years of manly exercise, and experience in the life of woodcraft, surveying, and exploration, had given him a shrewd insight into Indian character, and prepared him for further and more important trusts in a department of service, requiring, above all others, perpetual vigilance and precaution. And if, in the estimation of the Indians and the pioneers, he surpassed the others engaged with him, it was doubtless owing to the Indians' appreciation of the solidity of his character. Tanacharisson, who was the head sachem of the Mingo-Iroquois of the Ohio valley, was the presiding chief in the first council, or consultation, in which Washington took part. In fact, he was well known among the tribes, and performed, at the place of his residence, the duties of a Chargé d'Affairs in modern diplomacy, as the half king, Scarooyadi, did on the Juniata, and Skilelamo on the Susquehanna. Favorably impressed, from the first, the Indian remained a firm friend of the enterprising Virginian to the day of his death.

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[1] Irving's Life of Washington, p. 35.

The double interest created by the fine soil and climate of Ohio, and by apprehension of the hostility of its native tribes, strongly directed the minds of Virginians to that quarter, and, at sundry times, they despatched agents to visit the country, and report its position, resources, and the feelings of the Indians. Among these reconnoissances, those of Croghan, Gist, and Trent, constitute marked epochs in the history of Indian policy and sentiments. The result of these missions, which extended to the Wabash and the Scioto, denoted that French influence was predominant; and that the Algonquin tribes generally, were in close alliance with that power, while the Mingoes expressed friendly opinions of the English. From a remark made by a Delaware sachem to one of their agents, it appeared to be a question, not whether Indians possessed, or wished to occupy any part of the country, but simply whether the French or English should have possession of it.[1] A year or two passed in rather fruitless efforts to obtain a better knowledge of Indian affairs in the Ohio, and in endeavors to adjust matters on a better footing. Governor Dinwiddie, at length deeming it proper to send an agent to the French authorities at the post of Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, committed the trust to Washington, whose experience on that frontier, together with his judgment and discretion, well qualified him for the task. Accompanied by a French interpreter, Washington left Williamsburg, the seat of government, on the 30th of October, 1753. He rode on horseback across the Alleghanies. At Cumberland, Mr. Gist joined him as Indian interpreter, and, at another point, a second interpreter and four experienced woodsmen were added to his cavalcade. All the rivers were so swollen, that he was compelled to swim the horses across. He reached the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers (now the site of Pittsburg) without accident, and pointed out that spot as a suitable and desirable location for a fort. In that vicinity he found a Delaware sachem, named Shingiss, who gave him directions for finding Logstown, the residence of Tanacharisson, the half king. He reached that place after sunset in the evening, but the chief was absent. He immediately sent runners to invite him to an interview, and the chief arrived at his lodge the next day. He discovered him to be intelligent, patriotic, and tenacious of his territorial rights. He received him with courtesy, and despatched messengers to some of the other chiefs to invite them to a council. They arrived the following day, when he laid before them the purport of his instructions from the governor of Virginia, and requested guides to conduct him to the French posts, and a safe conduct on the way. A pause then ensued. The council having deliberated formally on the matter, the half-king arose, assumed an oratorical attitude, and gave his assent, declaring that the English and themselves were one people, and that he intended to return the French belts; thus, in the usual form of Indian diplomacy, rejecting their overtures. A delay of three days was required to summon the Indians from their camps, and secure their compliance, after which Washington was furnished with the required guides and aids. He was accompanied, also, by the half-king, by Jeskakake, a Shawnee, and by another chief, named the Belt-keeper, or White Thunder. They reached the post of Venango, a distance of seventy miles, in four days. This was but an outpost of the fortress near Presque Isle. After witnessing some of the peculiar manœuvrings and intrigues of both French and Indian diplomacy, Washington proceeded to the latter, where he was received with ceremonious politeness by the commandant, St. Pierre. The purport of these details is merely to demonstrate how the Indian character fluctuated, under the operation of two diverse sets of counsels. Tanacharisson, the Mingo sachem, remained faithful to his professions, and informed Washington of the result of a secret council with St. Pierre, in which it was decided that a present of goods should be sent to secure the good will of his village at Logstown. The entire journey was fraught with unusual peril and hardship, being performed amid the severity of winter; and its results furnish us with a good view of Indian character, as swayed by the alternating emotions of hope and fear, and by the operation of motives of self-interest on the Indian mind. The result of the mission was, however, unsuccessful. Early in the spring of 1754 the French took possession of the point at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, dislodging a party of men engaged in the same work, under Captain Trent, of the Virginia militia, and erected Fort Du Quesne. The English had been overreached, and a fixed point established, whence to control Indian action. The spirits of the Indian allies of the French had been raised to the highest pitch, and the power of the English colonists defied.

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[1] Irving's Life of Washington, p. 57.

CHAPTER VI.

NATIONALITY OF THE INDIANS IN BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

Civilized communities regard success as the result of superior judgment; but, with the Indians, it is the effect of an impulsive, irresistible movement, under the operation of which judgment gives place to hope, and they are incited to such infuriate action as to produce confusion in the ranks of the enemy. Fort Du Quesne had no sooner been established, than it became a centre for the direction of Indian movements in the west. Far and near they resorted to it. Feasts, dances, and the distribution of presents, were the order of the day, and the vicinity resounded with shouts and songs. The frontiers of the English colonies were speedily subjected to Indian inroads and attacks. Dinwiddie, by his tardy movements, had lost his vantage-ground, and Virginia enterprise, though directed by its best men, failed to recover its former position. The year 1754 was characterized by alarms, murders, apprehension, the formation of plans, and their failure. There was no security on the frontiers, from Carolina to Pennsylvania, nor in western New York. The Catawbas and Cherokees had not been employed to counteract the movements of the western Indians; this measure was not thought of in the zeal of the Ohio company to effect settlements, or in the efforts of the local military forces to dislodge the French. Washington defeated Jumonville by a brisk movement, displaying great enterprise and decision; but he was himself compelled to surrender to a vastly superior force, at Fort Necessity.

The year 1755 afforded but a gloomy prospect for the cause of the colonies. Never before, perhaps, had they been so boldly threatened by the combined power of the Indians and the French. The Alleghanies were the natural barriers between the east and the west. To retrieve their position in the west, and to open the way for future emigration beyond the Alleghanies, where there are, at present, fifteen new States, the British cabinet sent out two regiments of veteran troops, under the command of General Braddock, who was a proud, high-disciplined soldier, despising the very name of an Indian, and deeming him incapable of making any impression on the solid columns of a regular army. Braddock had learned the art of war on the battle-fields of Europe, and disdained all skulking and dodging, which is the real art of Indian warfare. He underrated the colonial troops and frontiersmen, not only because they were not highly disciplined, but because they had, to some extent, adopted the hunter mode of warfare. His landing at Alexandria, the glitter and parade of war which pervaded his movements, his councils with the colonial governors, and the wide-spread fame of the expedition, which was designed to cross the Alleghanies, filled the entire country. Braddock was clothed with the fullest powers by the king. Colonial governors waited upon him, and expectation had reached the highest pitch of excitement. At no previous period had such an army been landed in America. Among those who waited on him at Alexandria, was General William Johnson, charged by the New York colonial government with the control of Indian affairs in the Mohawk valley, and among the Iroquois. Braddock appointed him Superintendent-General of Indian affairs in America, clothed him with ample powers, and provided him with funds.[1] Braddock completed his arrangements. Filling up his regiments with the best recruits, having an ample military chest, a well-arranged quartermaster's department, the most experienced guides and pioneers, and Washington himself as an aid in his personal staff, it is not strange that he conquered every delay, and surmounted difficulties of a semi-Alpine character, in conveying his troops and cannon over the intricate passes of the Alleghany range, and in reaching the dark and turbid, yet placid waters of the Monongahela. But it *is* wonderful that, after this long and laborious march, during which a passage for his platoons had been cut through forests of thick trees, tangled with brushwood, and the artillery had been sometimes lowered over steep precipices by sailors, with ropes; and, although he was aware that a wild, Arab-like enemy was shouting around him; it is wonderful that, under these circumstances, he should not have proposed to meet this subtle foe in the manner best calculated to defeat them, and that he turned a deaf ear to all the counsels of experience. Up to the fatal 9th of July, the army marched through a narrow vista, twelve feet wide, cut through a dense forest, into which the eye could scarce penetrate. But, in such a forest, it would have been strange, if eight hundred warriors, led by French commanders, and concealed behind trees, from the shelter of which they took sure and steady aim, should not, in a short time, shoot down every officer, whose cockade and sword were distinctive marks, and also quickly annihilate the common soldiers. This was, indeed, fencing against flails, and fighting against hope. The forest itself seemed to be armed; "Birnam wood" was advancing, and filled with hostile foes. In an almost incredibly short time, 700 men and their officers lay dead on the field; the advanced columns, panic-struck, commenced a flight, which nothing could check; the General himself fell, and that proud army which, in early morning had crossed the Monongahela in gallant array, with drums beating and colors flying, fled like sheep before wolves, abandoning their cannon, their ammunition, and their wounded to their implacable foes. Washington, who became the guardian angel of the remnant of the troops left on the field, had two horses shot under him, and four bullets driven through his clothes. This defeat was effected by the western and northern Indians, the

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[1] Johnson returned to New York, and began to act under his new commission in May, 1855.—*Documents N. Y. Colonial History:* Albany, 1856, Vol. VII., p. 21.

Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and Wyandots, who were chiefly of Algonquin lineage. The French Indians, from the lakes, were present in great force; and it has been surmised that Pontiac himself was their leader. The Iroquois were not on the field in their tribal character, although some Mingoes[1] and Senecas were present. Johnson had urged the necessity of sending the warriors with Braddock, but they declined.[2] The utmost result of his efforts was, that they promised not to oppose him.

It is an error to suppose that Braddock was the only one who placed no faith in the efficiency of Indian guerilla warfare. Educated military men, in all ages of our history, have been prone to undervalue the Indian system; and these opinions are held by officers at the present day. If the battle is not always to the strong, it cannot be expected that David, with his sling, will always kill Goliah; but well-drilled armies must be efficiently protected on their flanks, and an accurate adaptation of means to ends must ever be preserved in the tangled forest, which cannot be penetrated, as well as on the level plain, where the view is uninterrupted. The heavy, camp-fed, clumsy-footed soldier is never a match, in the forest, for the light, active Indian warrior. A review of our Indian history, from Braddock's day to the present era, proves that a small Indian force in ambuscade, is an equivalent for, or will overmatch, ten times its number of regular troops, who adhere to the system of fighting in platoons. The regulars are either thrown into confusion, become panic-struck, are slaughtered in large numbers, or are totally defeated. Such was the result of Colonel Harmer's attempt to ford the Miami, and of St. Clair's to penetrate the Wabash woods. General Wayne, who was like a lion, where there was an opportunity to fight, as at Stony Point, was obliged to abandon the ground on which Fort Recovery was subsequently built. During two entire years he contended against tribes of active warriors, whose fathers, nay, some among themselves, had fought against Braddock. It was not until caution had made him wise, and he attained a true knowledge of Indian wood-craft, that he finally prevailed against them, on the Miami of the Lakes. It was there that he met the Miamis, Piankashaws, and Weas, under Little Turtle, and the same leaders who had opposed Harmer and St. Clair. They were leagued with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Delawares, Shawnees, and other Algonquin tribes, who, with the Wyandots, had overthrown Braddock. It is not, however, certain that, if the ambuscade so successfully and warily constructed, in a wide field of heavy grass, at the Miami rapids, had been laid in a dense forest, where horses would have been useless, the result would not have been very different.

What, but the neglect of caution, or temerity in underrating Indian prowess and aboriginal tactics, can be assigned for the occurrence of the dreadful massacre of Major Dade and his command, by the Seminoles?

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[1] *Mengwe* is the Delaware for Iroquois. The English pronounced it *Mingo*, the Dutch, *Maqua*.—*Lit. and Hist. Com.*, *Phil. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 29.

[2] Doc. New York Colonial History, Vol. VII., p. 24.

It has been asserted,[1] that there were but 637 Indians engaged in the action which resulted in Braddock's defeat. These consisted principally of Ottawas, Odjibwas, and Pottawattamies, from Michigan; Shawnees, from Grave Creek and the river Muskingum; Delawares from the Susquehanna; Abinakis and Caughnawagas from Canada; and Hurons, or Wyandots, from the mission of Lorette and the Montreal falls, under Athanase, a Canadian. The whole were commanded by the popular Beaujeau, who was killed early in the action. This force, including the recreant Abinakis, was, as may be seen, entirely of the Algonquin family, with the exception of the Hurons, a segregated Iroquois tribe, who had always sided with the French, and a few "scattered warriors from the Six Nations." To this force were added 146 Canadian militia, and 72 regular troops, who fought according to the Indian mode. It is impossible that such a defeat could have occurred under ordinary circumstances; and the fact conclusively attests the efficacy of an Indian auxiliary force as a vanguard to regular troops, in a wild forest country, where they can screen themselves from observation, and bid defiance to the death-dealing artillery, or the attacks of dragoons. No event in American military annals cast such a blight on American hopes, as this defeat. After the lapse of a full century, a thrill of horror still creeps through the veins at the recital.[2]

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[1] Sargent's History of Braddock's Exp., p. 223: Phila., 1855.

[2] Ibid.

CHAPTER VII.

THE IROQUOIS POLICY FAVORS THE ENGLISH.

The sachem commissioner, Tanacharisson, and his successor, Scarooyadi, had evinced a firm friendship for the English on the Ohio border, in conformity with the general policy of the New York Iroquois tribes, while they at the same time freely condemned the English for their tardy movements, and their non-adoption of the Indian mode of warfare.

The ultimate consequences of the defeat on the Monongahela were most disastrous. Rumor rapidly disseminated the news in every direction, and all the colonies felt the effects of the blow. The dread of Indian massacres disturbed the quiet of every hamlet; nor was their alarm without due foundation. A band of 150 savages crossed the Alleghanies, and ravaged the frontiers of Virginia and Maryland. Foremost in these forays were the Delawares, under Shingiss, whose ire appeared to have received an additional stimulus from the recent triumph of the Gallic-Indian forces. The Delawares had long felt the wrong which they suffered in being driven from the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna, although it was primarily owing to their ancient enemies and conquerors, the Iroquois, whose policy had ever been a word and a blow. The Shawnees, friends and relatives of the Delawares, had been, from the first, a revengeful, warlike, roving people. Originating in the extreme south, they had flitted over half the continent, fighting with every tribe they encountered, until they reached the extreme shores of Lake Erie, where, under the ominous name of *Satanas*,[1] they were defeated by the Iroquois, and thence fled to the Delaware, and subsequently to the Ohio valley. From an early period they were avowed enemies of the colonies, and this enmity never ceased, until after the overthrow, in 1814, of the wide-spread conspiracy of Tecumseh. Both tribes, in lineage, as well as in language, were Algonquins, and adopted their policy; from first to last being cruel enemies in war, in peace, treacherous friends.

While the gloom caused by the defeat of Braddock, and the evidences of Indian hostility, which assumed a tangible shape during the autumn and winter of 1753, still hung like a cloud on the western frontier, an auspicious sign appeared in the East. The Iroquois threw the weight of their influence in the English scale. It having been a part of the original plan of the campaign to take Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, this enterprise was entrusted to General William Johnson, an officer of the New York militia, whose settlement in the Mohawk valley, and influence with the Indians, have been previously mentioned. Johnson was placed in command of 5000 or 6000 New York and New England militia, and a chosen body of Mohawk warriors under Soiengarahta, locally called King Hendrick. After laying the foundations of Fort Edward, he proceeded to the southern shores of Lake Sacramento, which he re-named Lake George, in compliment to the reigning house of Hanover. He there located his camp in such a manner as to have the lake in his rear, a breastwork of felled trees in front, and some impassable low grounds, or swamps, on his flanks. In the intervals of his hastily-constructed breastworks, he planted some heavy pieces of ordnance. The Count de Deiskau, who opposed him, was a brave, dashing officer, possessing great spirit and strength of purpose, who, had he led men of similar metal, would have readily taken the English camp. He had left Crown Point to attack the new fort, Edward, with 3000 men, of whom 200 were drilled grenadiers, and 800 Canadians. He had also some 700 Algonquin Indians, of various tribes. Being apprised by his scouts, that the enemy was within the distance of a few miles, Johnson dispatched Colonel Williams, with 300 men, to reconnoitre. This brought on an action; the militia retreating, pursued by the entire force of howling Indians; and, in their rear, Deiskau appeared at the head of his compact and disciplined troops. The action was, at first, carried on at long range, and confined to rattling volleys of small arms. Deiskau then advanced with his grenadiers, and maintained a brave, but fruitless contest; the English artillery made such great havoc in his ranks, that finally the fire of the French began to slacken, and they fled in confusion. Deiskau was wounded, and killed, during the retreat. Soiengarahta, who, with his Mohawks, had fought valiantly outside the works, also fell. Soiengarahta was a chief of high standing among the Mohawks, of approved wisdom, undoubted intrepidity, and a firm friend of the English. He had visited England, and had been presented at court, where the annexed portrait of him was taken. He united great amenity of manners, dignity of bearing, and mild features, to the most determined courage and energy. He led 200 Mohawks, who are described by the gazettes of the day, to have, on this occasion, "fought like lions."[1] This victory aroused the spirits of the colonies, and occasioned a feeling of joy far above its real merits or importance. Johnson was created a knight baronet, and voted £5000 by the English Parliament. He was, however, censured for not pursuing the enemy and capturing Crown Point; but he contented himself with building Fort William Henry, on the site of his camp.

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[1] Colden. This tribe, and this war, must not be confounded with that waged against the Eries, which occurred in 1655.

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[1] Notes on the Iroquois, p. 413.

SOI-EN-GA-RAH-TA,
OR
KING HENDRICK.

CHAPTER VIII.

TAKING OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY, ON LAKE GEORGE, AND THE PLUNDER AND MURDER OF PRISONERS BY THE FRENCH INDIANS, CONTRARY TO THE TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

A SLIGHT review of events will enable us to appreciate the existing position of affairs. The colonists struggled on, through periods of terror which followed in close succession. The defeat of Braddock, by an Indian ambuscade, was still fresh in the memory of all, not a twelvemonth having elapsed, when the announcement of the disastrous capture of Fort William Henry rang through the colonies with startling effect. In 1757, Montcalm, the active Governor-General of Canada, crossed Lake Champlain, the Andiatora of the Iroquois,[1] with a reputed force of 4000 or 5000 men, accompanied by a very large body of diverse tribes of northern and western Indians, of the Algonquin family, collected from the great lakes, and from the valley of the St. Lawrence. A person present when this force approached the fort, represents Lake George to have been entirely covered with batteaux and canoes, which, combined with their banners and music, formed a scene of military display and magnificence, heightened by the wild and picturesque brilliance of the Indian costume, that has seldom been equalled.

The soldiers anxiously gazed over the walls of the fort at the approaching force, as at a panorama. During five days the fort was defended with intrepidity, by Colonel Munro, who had a garrison of 500 regular troops, supported by a body of provincials. It was closely besieged, while the Indians, encamped on the surrounding fields, made the forest ring with their shouts and war songs, and illuminated the obscurity of night with their numerous camp-fires. About 3000 provincials, who were encamped outside the fort, took refuge within the works, as soon as the enemy arrived.[2] The siege was stoutly maintained, a hope being entertained that reinforcements, which had been demanded, would arrive from Fort Edward. But, unfortunately, a letter from General Webb, the commandant of the latter post, apprising Munro that no reinforcement could be sent, and advising him to surrender, fell into the hands of Montcalm's Indians; and, with this letter in his possession, Montcalm summoned the garrison to surrender.

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[1] This ancient name for Champlain, may be found in the New York Historical Documents.

[2] New York Col. Doc., Vol. VII.

One of the terms of the capitulation was, that the army should march out with their arms, but without ammunition, and, with all the camp followers, should have a safe-conduct to Fort Edward. Fatal error! The wolves were to behold their prey and not gloat.

Circumstances would seem to indicate, that not only Braddock, but the British officers generally, were slow in obtaining a knowledge of the character of the Indians in time of war; when they are governed by hopes of plunder and impulse; the desire to obtain scalps and booty being the great and only motive which ever induces them to accompany European armies, and force alone exercising any restraint upon their fiendish instincts. No sooner had the English columns marched out of the gates, and reached the plain, than the Indians began to plunder them of their effects, and, finally, to strip both officers and men of their clothing. Resistance was followed by blows, and many, stark naked, were glad to escape with their lives. In vain did the troops, destitute of ammunition, claim protection from this outrage. Colonel Munro, after the pillage commenced, took shelter in the fort, and demanded that the terms of the capitulation should be enforced. But the French, who were powerless, have been blamed, perhaps justly, for not efficiently complying with their engagements; yet, it is no easy matter to restrain marauding Indians. It has been estimated, that a large number of the force which surrendered on this occasion, perished subsequently;[1] although it is probable, that the fears of an officer, who narrowly escaped from this scene of pillage, far exceeded his capacity of cool judgment. His statements of the carnage are, certainly, not sustained by any historical authority to which we have had access.

Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, in a letter, written August 24, 1757, observes:—"Montcalm, under his own eyes, and in the face of about 3000 regular troops, suffered the Indians to rob and strip them, officers as well as men, of all they had, and left most of them naked."[2]

To strip the clothes from a man's back, and not to cleave his head with the tomahawk, was remarkable forbearance on the part of the Indians.

The nation that employs Indians in war, places itself in the position of a person who taps a broad lake, leading the waters, by a little stream, through a sand-bank. When the current swells, he cannot control it, and the augmented flood sweeps everything before it.

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[1] Carver, p. 211.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc.: Albany, 1856, Vol. VII., p. 274.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN THE INTERIOR, DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE DEFEAT OF DEISKAU, AND THE CAPTURE OF FORT DU QUESNE.

After the defeat of Braddock, the British interest with the Indians rapidly declined. As Indians judge alone from appearances, it was not an easy task to convince them that the English power had not permanently failed. Johnson, who had, in the spring of 1755, been appointed by Braddock the Superintendent-General of British Indian affairs, began his new duties as soon as he reached New York, and labored earnestly to restore confidence among the Iroquois and Algonquin tribes. No one can carefully examine the records of his proceedings without being convinced that he labored zealously. He was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the country, as also with the Indian power and resources in America, from north to south, and as intimately conversant with the true character of the aborigines. In his speeches, he stripped them of their guises, laid bare their secret impulses, and pointed out to them their interests in clear and bold terms.[1] During sixty years, commencing with the foundation of New Orleans, in 1699, the French influence among the Indians had been on the increase. The noble enterprise of La Salle, and his followers, who passed through the great lakes, and down the Mississippi, singing as they went; the gay and sprightly manners of the French; their ready adaptiveness to a nomadic course of life, replete with novelty and breathing the spirit of personal independence; together with their entire political and religious policy, impressed the Indians with almost indelible emotions of pleasure and approbation. The French required no cessions of land, built no factories, traded with them in a free and easy way, and did not fill the Indian mind with the idea of the coming of a people who, by the progressive inroads of labor and letters, would eventually sweep them from the earth. Whatever was the cause, certainly no other European nation ever acquired such an ample and wide-spread influence over them.[2]

Immediately after returning from Alexandria, Sir William Johnson assembled a very large number of Indians, some accounts say 1200, at his place on the Mohawk, to whom he communicated the fact of his new appointment. He made them offers in this assembly, for the purpose of restoring their lost confidence in the English, and detach them from the French interests, to inspire them with a just estimation of the power of Britain, and to interest them in the British cause — objects in which he, by perseverance, succeeded. He eloquently plead for their assent to his proposal to send a body of warriors with General Braddock, but in this he was unsuccessful. Good diplomatists at all times, they met him by a declaration that the governor of Virginia, who was not a favorite, had, as in the case of the Ohio company, intruded on their lands in the Ohio valley, where their sachem, Tanacharisson, resided; and that it was a suddenly originated proposal, which required deliberation. They also, for reasons stated, declined accompanying General Shirley, to Oswego; but agreed to assist him in the contemplated attack on Crown Point, to the command of the forces detailed for which purpose he had been appointed. The latter promise was promptly fulfilled, and, at the defeat of Deiskau, on the banks of Lake George, the Mohawks, under Hendrick, acquitted themselves in such a manner as to gain a high reputation.[1]

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[1] N. Y. Hist. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 19. Colonial Documents, Albany, 1856, Vol. VII.

[2] One of the Jesuit priests remarks—that "the French did not convert the Indians, but turned Indians themselves."—*Halket.*

The victory at Lake George was the turning point in the ascendency of the British influence with the Iroquois and their allies, which had been at a very low ebb at the commencement of the French war, in 1744. The fame which followed this victory aided greatly in raising Johnson in the estimation of the Indians, and from this date the Indian political horizon began to brighten. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated September 28, 1757, Johnson points out their true policy, while he warns them of the deep-rooted dislike which the Indians entertained against the reckless conduct of the colonial patentees, who had made the encroachments on their lands, of which the Indians complain. "By presents and management, we may be able to keep some little interest yet alive, and induce some nations to a course of neutrality; but I am apprehensive that more expense, speeches and promises (so often repeated and so little regarded), will never be able to effect a favorable revolution in our Indian interests, and deprive the French of the advantages they have over us by their Indian alliances. I would be understood, my Lords, that there is no alternative, by which we may possibly avail ourselves, so as to keep an even hand with the Indians, — BUT REDUCING THE FRENCH TO OUR TERMS, WOULD ENABLE US TO GIVE LAW TO THE INDIANS."[2]

This became the British policy; belts and speeches were inadequate to the result. It was a contest between England and France, which must be settled, and the nation that gained it would control the Indians. The triumph at Lake George, in which action Soiengarahta lost his life, seemed to presage events which were soon to transpire. The taking of Fort William Henry, and the conduct of Montcalm, only gave a new impulse to the vigor with which England prepared to contest the supremacy.

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[1] Had it not been for the jealousy of General Shirley, and his counteracting counsels with the Six Nations, the force in this battle would have been much greater. — *N. Y. Hist. Col. Doc.*, Vol. VII. p. 21.

[2] New York Hist. Col. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 276.

No one understood better than Johnson the position of the two parties contending for the Indian sway, and, in a very general council, convened at his Hall on the Mohawk, April 19, 1767, at which the Shawnees, and other Algonquin tribes, as well as the Iroquois, were present, he handled the French without gloves.

"Brethren, listen, and I will tell you the difference between the English and French. The English desire and labor to unite all Indians into one general bond of brotherly love and national interest. The French endeavor to divide the Indians and stir up war and contention amongst them. Those who intend to destroy or enslave any people or nation, will first endeavor to divide them. This you and all the Indians upon this continent know has always been, and continues to be, the endeavors of the French. But though this is a fact which I think all the Indians must certainly see, yet the French have found means, somehow or other, so to bewitch their understandings, as to make many of them believe they love the Indians, and mean well towards them. 'T is very strange, brethren, that any one man, much more any number of men, who are not either mad or drunk, can believe that stirring up brethren to spill each other's blood, dividing them from one another, and making parties among them, are proofs of love, and marks of friendly design towards them. Not less unaccountable is it, brethren, that the French should be able to persuade the Indians, that building forts in the middle of their country and hunting-grounds, is for their interest and protection. I tell you, brethren, and I warn you, that whatever good words the French may give you, how much soever they may now smile upon you, whatever presents they may now make you, your chains are in their pockets, and when their designs are ripe for execution, they will take the axe out of their bosom and strike it into your heads. But this they know they cannot do until you have broken the Covenant Chain with your brethren, the English, and taken up the axe against them. 'T is for this reason the French are always endeavoring, by lies, by presents, by promises, to stir up all Indians to fall upon the English settlements, and destroy their best friends and faithful brethren; and many Indians have been so wicked and so foolish, as, in spite of treaties and ancient friendship, to become the dogs of the French, and come and go as they commanded them.

"Brethren, if the Indians do not return to their senses, they will see and feel when it is too late, that they have ruined themselves, enslaved their posterity, and lost their country. They will find their country fortified by the French, not against the English, but against the Indians themselves.

"Brethren, what I have said, and am going to say, I say not to you only, but to all Indians; and I desire you will, with this belt, make it known amongst all the nations you have any acquaintance or connections with.

"Tell them, from me, to look at the French forts, built, and building through the middle of their country, and on their best hunting lands. Let them look at the French flags, flying in their forts at all the great lakes, along the great rivers, in order to oblige them to trade with the French only, sell their skins, and take goods for them at what prices the French please to put on them. And it is a thing well known to all Indians, that the French cannot sell them goods near as cheap as the English can, nor in such assortments and plenty."

To renew the attempt of Braddock had been the original plan of General Shirley, but the following year elapsed in merely concerting measures. The plan of the campaign of 1758, contemplated the reduction of Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and of Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio. General Abercrombie, who undertook the former, aided by a large army, suffered a repulse. Lord Howe fell while leading an attack, and when, in a few days, it was renewed against an impregnable breastwork of horizontal trees, they were compelled to retreat to Fort Edward. The Mohawks who were present at this assault, looked on with amazement at this exhibition of heroic but injudicious bravery. As an episode to this siege, Colonel Bradstreet proceeded by a sudden march to Oswego, with the Iroquois in his train, and crossing Lake Ontario in batteaux, surprised and took Fort Frontenac, capturing a large amount of supplies, as well as arms, and returned triumphantly.

The reduction of Fort Du Quesne was intrusted to General Forbes. He marched from Philadelphia, with an army of 5800 regulars and provincials, and a commissary and quartermaster's force of 1000 wagoners. Washington joined him at Fort Cumberland, with his regiment of Virginians. At Raystown, Forbes sent Colonel Bouquet forward with 2000 men; but, in a spirit of confidence, Bouquet dispatched 800 of this force, under Colonel Grant, to make observations in advance. The latter commander was surprised on hills overlooking the fort, by M. Aubrey, with 700 or 800 Frenchmen, and an unnumbered force of Indians, his troops defeated and dreadfully slaughtered. Retreating to Bouquet's position, with the baggage, the camp was attacked with great fury and obstinacy, but by a ruse that officer sustained himself, and retreated successfully with his forces, after much severe fighting and many casualties. The loss at Grant's defeat, was numerically greater in proportion to those engaged, than was sustained at Braddock's. Thirty-five officers were killed or wounded. The prisoners taken by the Indians, served, as it were, to surfeit their barbarity and cruelty, and deter them from proceeding further, for, after reaching Du Quesne, they soon dispersed, and deserted the fort. On the arrival of General Forbes, the combined force moved on with regularity, exciting apprehension and alarm. On the 24th of November, the army reached, and encamped at, Turtle Creek, within twelve miles of the fort.

No Indians were descried by the scouts, and the night passed away without alarm. On the 25th, at an early hour, the army was put in motion, and, as the advance-guard approached the location of the fort, they observed large columns of smoke, and, at intervals, heard heavy explosions. The indications could not be mistaken. The fort had been abandoned after being set on fire — its artillery being embarked for the Illinois, and its infantry for Lake Erie. The defeat of Grant, and the prisoners captured, had proved an escape valve for Indian barbarity. After practising the most inhuman tortures upon the prisoners, whose bleached skeletons lined the approach to the fort, and after rioting in debauch, they had, with their usual impatience, returned to their forest homes, leaving General Forbes to advance unmolested, and abandoning De Legneris, the French commander. On the 25th, the column advanced in force, and the British flag was triumphantly planted on the fort by General Forbes, who bestowed upon it the name of the celebrated British minister, Pitt. The western line of the colonial frontiers was thus advanced to the river Ohio.[1] From this period, Indian warfare found its principal field of development west of, and beyond that border, truly called the River of the Beautiful, by the Indian tribes.

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[1] The elements of this word are the Iroquois exclamation, *oh*, and *io*, a substantive termination of the exclamation for the beautiful in scenery. It is the same term heard in the Wyandot word, Ontar-io.

CHAPTER X.

THE IROQUOIS ABANDON THEIR NEUTRAL POSITION IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

At the victory obtained on Lake George, in 1755, a year so disastrous to the British army, the Mohawks alone, of the six Iroquois cantons, were present, with Johnson, their beloved Warraghiyagay, and two hundred warriors, headed by the great Soiengarahta. A far greater force had been expected from, and promised by, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Senecas; but, owing to the influence of General Shirley, whose act appears to have been dictated by no higher motive than personal envy of Johnson's rising power with that people, these tribes withheld their respective quotas of warriors.[1] A vacillating and indecisive policy had been pursued by them for some years, and while they were, to use symbolic language, in the chain of friendship with the English, and held the other tribes in check, in conformity with their own and the British interests, they were lukewarm in taking the field as the auxiliaries of the English armies. Johnson had endeavored, soon after his return from his conference with Braddock, to induce a body of the confederates to cross the Alleghanies with that officer; but they evaded the proposal. Cherishing, from ancient times, an ill feeling towards Assaragoa, their name for the Governor of Virginia, they regarded Braddock's advance as a Virginia movement. They deemed the Virginians land robbers, who coveted the Ohio valley; and they were sufficiently good diplomatists to bring forward several weighty considerations on the subject. It happened, while this negotiation was pending, that they furnished Johnson with messengers to the authorities at Fort Cumberland. These Indian runners were there informed that a party of six of the warriors sent out by the Mohawks against the Catabas, had all been killed. This news exercised such a bad effect on the council, that they neither promised nor furnished aid to Braddock, although they did not join the Indian forces on the Ohio to oppose him. Not a man of their people, who bore the honored title of Mingoes, was in the battle of the Monongahela. Tanacharisson, called the Half-King, and Scarooyadi, his successor, evinced throughout a firm friendship for the English, first locally pledged to Washington, during his perilous journey, in 1753.

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[1] New York Hist. Doc., Vol. VII.

The Iroquois had, from the remotest antiquity, enjoyed the reputation of eloquent orators, and expert diplomatists. But Johnson was not a man to be dazzled by words and speeches, while the weightier matter of action was in abeyance. In a general conference with the Onondaga and more westerly tribes, held June 16th, 1757, nearly two years subsequent to his victory on Lake George, in which the Mohawks had so nobly supported him, he alluded to this matter, and proceeded to dispose of some of their diplomatic subterfuges.

"Brethren, you tell me the reason you did not make use of the hatchet I sharpened for you last summer, when I was at Onondaga, and at which time I also painted and feathered your warriors for action, was, because you found yourselves in danger from the Missisagas, and, therefore, were obliged to let my hatchet lay by you, and take care of yourselves.

"Brethren. This is the first time I have heard the Missisagas were your enemies, and I am surprised how it came about. It is but two years ago, at the great meeting here, that you brought down the chief man amongst the Missisagas, and introduced him to me as your great friend and ally, and told me that he and his people were determined to follow the example of the Five Nations. You then desired I would treat and consider him accordingly, which I did, and gave him presents to his satisfaction, and he took belts from me to his people. For what reason, therefore, you think yourselves in danger from the Missisagas, I cannot comprehend, unless it is from some misunderstanding, which, I hear, happened in the woods, some few days ago, between some of your people and them.

"Brethren, another reason you give me for your inactivity is, that you are few in number, and you daily hear yourselves threatened by your enemies. As to your numbers, had you taken my advice, given you many years ago, and often repeated, you might now have been a strong people. I should be glad to know who these enemies are, and what grounds you have for these fears.

"Brethren, you say that the English would first make a trial against their enemies, and that, if we found we could not do without you, that then we would call on you for your assistance. I have looked over the records, where all public speeches and business with the Nations are faithfully wrote down, and I find no such thing there, and I am very positive you must be mistaken; for, from the first meeting I had with the Six Nations, after my return from Virginia, to this day, I have been constantly calling and exhorting them, as children of the Great King of England, as brothers and allies to the English, to join and assist His Majesty's arms against our common enemy, the French; and the Six Nations have as frequently assured me, they would act with us, and for us; and, you must know, you have a great number of belts from me on this subject, now in your possession. You tell me, though you don't know from what quarter, that you expect, in a few months, to be attacked by some enemy, and that, therefore, you think your own preservation requires you to stay at home, and be on your guard. What foundation you have for all these fears, so lately come upon you, you have not thought proper to inform me, and, therefore, I am at a loss about it, especially as I understand several parties of your young men are gone a fighting to the southward. Formerly, you told me that, if you had forts built at your towns, and some men to garrison them, you might then go to war with your brethren, the English, and not be afraid of your old men, your wives and children, during your absence. These forts, though very expensive to the King, your Father, were accordingly built for you, and, if you had applied, you might have had men to garrison them. Brethren, your conduct will, in my opinion, appear very ungrateful, and your reasonings very inconsistent to the King, your Father, and to all your brethren, the English, when they come to their knowledge, as they soon will do; wherefore I would advise you to reconsider the matter, and take it into your most serious consideration.

"Brethren. You say Captain Montour and Captain Butler brought you a message in my name, that I expected you would use the hatchet I had put in your hands against the French; that the message was laid before the council of Onondaga, who said they did not expect such a message from you, as the Covenant Chain was for the common safety, both of us and you, and that, if you were to leave your country unguarded, it might end in your destruction.

"Brethren. It is certain the Covenant Chain was made for our common good and safety, and it is well known to you all that it speaks in this manner: *That the English and the Six Nations shall consider themselves as one flesh and blood, and that, whenever any enemy shall hurt the one, the other is to feel it and avenge it as if done to himself.* Have not the French hurt us? Is not their axe in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations, both to the southward and northward, joined the French against us? Nay, some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves, and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners amongst you, whom you conceal from me? Have you not, lastly, suffered the Swegachie Indians to come through your habitations, and take one of our people from the German Flats? Let me ask you now if all this is behaving like brethren, and whether you ought not to be ashamed when you put us in mind of the Covenant Chain? Surely you dream, or think I have forgot the old agreement between us, when you talk in this manner. I take you by the head, and rouse you from your lethargy, and bring you to your senses.

"Brethren. You say you must take care of yourselves, and not leave your country unguarded. When our brother's house is on fire, will another brother look quietly on, smoke his pipe at his own door, and say he can't help him, because, perhaps, his own house may take fire? Does the Covenant Chain speak this language? Did your forefathers talk after this manner? Did I talk so to you when the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras sent me word, last year, that they expected the enemy were coming upon them? Did not I and your brethren run through the ice and snow, at two or three different times, to their assistance? Where, and who, are those enemies you so much dread? Let us know, do you want our assistance? if you are in danger, we know the Covenant Chain, and will be ready to defend or die with you. We won't tell you, make one trial by yourselves, and that we must stay home, and take care of our own preservation.

"You always tell me 'tis for our mutual interest you go so often to Canada; I am apt to think you have brought these alarms and these fears with you from thence.

"Brethren. I must tell you, that my orders from the King, your Father, are, to take care of and supply with necessaries such good and faithful Indians as will go out and fight for him and his people; and that such and their families, only, has he empowered me to arm, clothe, and provide for, which I shall continue to do to all such as will go out upon service; and those, I dare say, will, in the end, find they have acted more for their honor and interest, than those who stay at home, and smoke their pipes.

"Brethren. You have assured me, that it is the unanimous resolution of the Five Nations to hold fast the ancient Covenant Chain, made by our forefathers and yours. Brethren, our end of this chain is bright and strong, and we shall not be the first to let it go; but it seems to me that your end is grown very rusty, and, without great care, will be in danger of being eaten through, which I should be very sorry to see, as it would be the means, also, of extinguishing the fire here, and oversetting the Tree of Shelter."

CHAPTER XI.

CLOSE OF THE WAR BY THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

It was the policy of the British colonial government, in establishing a general and central superintendency at Fort Johnson, on the Mohawk river, not only to attach the Six Nations strongly to its interests, but to govern the entire Indian country through their extensive influence over the other groups of tribes. This general policy had been understood and carried out by the colonial governors of New York, from the beginning of the century, and, indeed, dates back to the Dutch, as it was pursued by them in 1664. Trade was principally conducted at the central point, Albany, but traders were allowed to visit remote places. The French traders, from Canada, obtained their best supplies from Albany, and the intercourse thus established upon, and cemented by, a triple interest — that of the tribes, the merchants, and the governing power — became a very firm bond of union, and one that gained strength by the lapse of time. The metals, woollens, and other articles of real value, which they received in exchange for their furs, were so much superior to the products of the rude arts Hudson found in their possession in 1609, that it is doubtful even, whether at this period, many remembered that the Iroquois had ever used stone knives, axes, and pipes; made fish-hooks of bones, awls of deer's horns, or cooking pots out of clay.[1]

But, although a trade so mutually beneficial established a firm friendship, and the growth of every decade of the colonies added to its strength, yet it was not, in fact, until the abolition of the power of the Indian Commissioners, at Albany, who were frequently traders themselves,[2] and the transfer of the superintendency of Indian affairs to the hands of Johnson, that an elevated and true national tone was given to the system. When Johnson was placed in the possession of power, he visited their remotest villages and castles, and built stockades in each of their towns, to serve as places of refuge if suddenly attacked. In his anxiety to control the Algonquins, and the Dionondades, or Quaghtagies, he had visited Detroit, and his agents had scoured the Illinois, the Miami, the Wabash and the Ohio, before the French built Fort

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[1] The very antiquities of the country were forgotten in two centuries; and we are indebted to a very erudite writer in the Smithsonian Transactions, for telling us that these rude arts, and vestiges of mounds, are the remains of ancient civilization.

[2] N. Y. Hist. Doc., Vol. VII.

Du Quesne. When he could send them messages by the power of the king, or speak to them in his council-room, with the voice of a king, he had, also, as we may readily perceive from the records, published at this late day, the judgment, firmness, and prudence of a king.[1] No one, it would seem, could be better adapted to give solid advice to the Indians of all the tribes.

Johnson did not limit his attentions to the Six Nations. After the defeat of Braddock, the entire frontier line of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was left unprotected. Invasion, rapine, and murder, were the common inflictions, under which groaned the entire interior country, from the Ohio to the Susquehanna; and not a farm could be settled, or a team driven on the road, without incurring the risk of death, or captivity. These murders having been chiefly attributed to the Shawnees, and Delawares, who were still located on the sources of the Susquehanna, Johnson employed the Iroquois, who, from an early period, exacted allegiance from them as a conquered people, to summon their chiefs before him. A delegation of the principal men of these tribes attended in his council early in the spring of 1758, to whom he gave a detail of the acts complained of, placing them before them in their just light, and forewarning them of the inevitable consequences which would result from a repetition of such nefarious acts, and that, not only Pennsylvania and Maryland, but all the neighboring colonies would be aroused against them. At this council, a delegation of Nanticokes, Conoys, and Mohikanders attended, who informed him that they lived at Otsiningo,[2] on the Susquehanna, where his messengers would always find them.[3]

Addressing these nomadic members of the disintegrated and fast-decaying Algonquin group, as he did the Iroquois in the full strength of their confederacy, Johnson adopted a line of argument and diplomacy founded on high principles of national polity, and guided by a true estimate of the Indian character. He frequently moved their sympathy by an Indian symbol, where an argument would have failed. All causes of disaffection, whether arising from questions of trade, the encroachments of settlers, inhuman murders, or from any other of the irregularities so common in the Indian country, were handled by him with calm judgment; and good counsels, and the most efficient practical remedies, through the means of agents, presents, and money, were judiciously dispensed.

The year 1759 was a brilliant period for the British arms. Braddock, Loudoun, Shirley, and Abercrombie, had, respectively, exercised their brief authority as commanders of the British forces in America, and passed from the stage of action, leaving a clear field for the induction of a new military policy. Amherst, if not surpassing his predecessors in talent and energy, was, at least, more fortunate in the disposition of his forces, more successful in the execution of his plans, and especially so in the election of his generals. The military spirit of the British nation was roused; its means were ample; and its commanders men of the highest capacity. France was about to be subjected to a combined attack on all her strongholds, which would surpass anything previously attempted. The colonial struggle, which had been protracted through a century and a half, was about to terminate. The first successful onset was made on Niagara, which was regularly besieged by General Prideaux, who was killed in one of the trenches, while encouraging his men to more active exertions. Through this casualty Sir William Johnson succeeded to the chief command, and vigorously prosecuted the plans of his predecessor. Learning that reinforcements, accompanied by a body of Indians from the lakes, had entered the Niagara valley, and were marching to the relief of the fort, he sent against them a detachment of troops, together with a large force of Iroquois, who valiantly met and defeated the enemy. He then summoned the garrison to surrender, which opened the gates of the fort on the 20th of July. Within a week from this time, Louisburg, which had been invested by Admiral Boscawen, succumbed to the military prowess and heroism of General Wolfe, who, having been promoted for his gallantry in this siege, ascended the St. Lawrence, and by a series of masterly movements, conducted with great intrepidity, captured Quebec, losing his own life on the plains of Abraham, where, also, ebbed out that of his brave and able foe, Montcalm. The city surrendered on the 13th of September. De Levi, from the opposite point of the river, vainly attempted its recovery. In the spring of 1760, General Murray followed De Levi up the valley of the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and effected a landing at the lower part of the island, while General Amherst and a large regular force, together with Sir William Johnson and his Iroquois, disembarked at La Chine. The troops on the island made no resistance, and, with its conquest that of Canada was completed. Its retention by the English was one of the chief results of the treaty of peace, soon after concluded between France and England. The terms of the capitulation included the smaller posts of Le Bœuf, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, which were surrendered in the year 1761.

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[1] New York Hist. Coll. Doc., Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., VI., IX.

[2] Now Binghampton, N. Y.

[3] New York Hist. Coll. Doc., Vol. VII.

SECTION TWELFTH.

PERIOD INTERVENING FROM THE CONQUEST OF CANADA TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

CHANGES IN THE RELATIONS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

THE ensuing fifteen years of Indian history are crowded with the records of interesting events. The great question among the Indian tribes had been, "Is England or France to rule?" In a memorial to the States-General of Holland, dated October 12th, 1649, it is quaintly said: "The Indians are of little consequence."[1] Whichever power prevailed was destined to rule them, and the controversy was now drawing to a close. As the termination of the struggle approached, the agents of the government had lost their patience. 1760

"Be not any longer wheedled, and blindfolded, and imposed on," said Sir William Johnson to the Iroquois, "by the artful speeches of the French; for their tongues are full of deceit. Do not imagine the fine clothes, &c., they give you, is out of love or regard for you; no, they are only as a bait to catch a fish; they mean to enslave you thereby, and entail that curse upon you; and your children after you will have reason to repent the day you begot them; be assured, they are your inveterate and implacable enemies, and only wish for a difference to arise between you and us, that they might put you all out of their way, by cutting you from the face of the earth."[2]

Champlain founded the city of Quebec in 1608, adopting the Algonquin catch-word,

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[1] N. Y. Coll. Hist. Doc., Vol. I., p. 269.

[2] New York Colonial History, Vol. VII.

Kebik, "take care of the rock,"[1] as the appellative for the nucleus of the future empire of the French. One hundred and fifty-two years, marked by continual strifes and negotiations, plots and counterplots, battles and massacres, all having for their object supremacy over the Indian tribes, had now passed away. Wolfe and Montcalm were both dead. The empire of New France, reaching from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, would, thenceforth, only have a place on the pages of history. But had the Indians derived any advantage from the contest? Had they, in fact, struggled for any definite position, or had they only fought on the strongest side, anticipating better usage, more lucrative trade, greater kindness, or more even-handed justice, from one party, than was to be obtained from the other? Was this hope well defined and permanent, or did it fluctuate with every change of fortune, with the prowess of every warlike, or with the tact of every civic, character who trod the field? Did they not vacillate with every wind, being steady only in the preservation of their chameleon-like character, true when faithfulness was their only, or supposed, interest, and false or treacherous when, as frequently happened, the current of success changed?

Two prominent genera of Indian tribes existed in the north and west from the earliest settlement of the colonies, namely, the Algonquins and the Iroquois. The Algonquins trusted to the French to enable them to prevent the English from occupying their lands. The Iroquois looked to the English for aid to keep the French off their possessions. When, after the long struggle was over, and the English finally prevailed, the Indian allies of the French could hardly realize the fact. They did not think the king of France would give up the contest, after having built so many forts, and fought so many battles to maintain his position. They discovered, however, that the French had been defeated, and they, at length, became aware that, with their overthrow, the Indian power in America had also departed. The tribes of the far west and north were required to give their assent to what was done, which they did grudgingly. The name of SAGANOSH had been so long scouted by them, that it appeared to be a great hardship to succumb to the English. NADOWA, the Algonquin name for Iroquois, had also, from the earliest times, been a word of fearful import to the western Indians, and their shout was sufficient to make the warriors of the strongest villages fly to arms, while their families hid in swamps and fastnesses. Both the English and the Iroquois were now in the ascendant.

In a review of the history of this period, it will be found that nine-tenths of the western Indians were in the French interest. The Shawnees, ever, during their nomadic state, a vengeful, restless, perfidious, and cruel people, had left central Pennsylvania, as early as 1755–9, in company with, or preceding the Delawares. After the defeat of Braddock, and down to the close of Wayne's war, in 1793, their tracks, in the Ohio valley, had been marked with blood. The Delawares, during the year 1744, and subsequently, were, in truth, driven from central Pennsylvania, not by the Quakers, but by the fierce and indomitable Celtic and Saxon elements. Unfortunately for this people, they had the reputation of siding with the French. After the massacre of Conastoga, the Iroquois, who had once held sway over the whole course of the Susquehanna, fled back to Oneida, and other kindred cantons. That portion of the western Iroquois who bore the name of Mingoes, and were once under the rule of Tanacharisson, the half-king, and, subsequently, of Scarooyadi, were suspected of, and charged with, unfriendliness, after the stand taken by Logan. The numerous Miamies, Piankashaws, and Weas of the Wabash, were, ab initio, friendly to the French. The Wyandots, or Hurons, of Sandusky and Detroit, who had been driven out by the Iroquois with great fury, and who took shelter among the French and the French Indians, had always been hostile to the English colonies. The numerous and wide-spread family of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies, had exerted a very varied influence on the English frontiers.

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[1] The waters of the St. Lawrence, at ebb tide, run swiftly against part of the rocky shore.

Turning our inquiries to the Illinois tribes, had they not, from the remotest times, found their worst foes in the Iroquois? For this information, consult La Salle and Marquette. The Peorias, the Cahokias, and the Kaskaskias, had, from the first discovery of the country, dealt with French traders, and were thought to be imbued with French principles. The Winnebagoes of Green Bay, representing the bold prairie tribes of the Dakotah stock, west of the Mississippi, at no period were not the friends of the French. Intimate relations had been maintained with the Kickapoos, and with the wandering tribes of the Maskigoes, by the French missionaries and traders. Among all the Algonquin tribes, the Foxes and the Sauks, who had, in 1712, assailed the French fort at Detroit, were the only enemies of the French; and they, previous to the conquest of Canada, had been driven to the Fox river of Wisconsin. On the west, the French were in alliance with the Osages, Missouries, Kansas, Quappas, and Caddoes; and, on the south, with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Muscogees

All the necessary arrangements for taking possession of the military posts lately occupied by the French, were promptly and efficiently made by General Amherst. Niagara having been garrisoned from the time of the conquest, Captain Rodgers was sent thence to Detroit, in 1761. This detachment was followed by Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent-General of Indian affairs, who placed the intercourse with the Indians on a proper footing. Rodgers afterwards proceeded to Michilimackinac, where his proceedings subjected him to severe censure.[1] Forts Chartres, Vincennes, Presque Isle, and the other minor posts, were garrisoned by English troops. The Indians were still numerous, although they had suffered greatly in the war. The Indian trade yet required arrangement, and the commanding officers of these isolated western posts, at all times had far more need of the counsels of wisdom, than of military strength, and required more skill in the arts of Indian diplomacy, than in the active duties of the field.

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[1] New York Hist. Colonial Doc., Vol. VII.

CHAPTER II.

WAR WITH THE CHEROKEES.

While these fundamental changes were taking place in the relations and 1760 prospects of the northern tribes, those of the south remained quiescent, relying for security on the power of the French. The Cherokees, at that time, occupied the interior of South Carolina, extending from the head waters of the Savannah, and its principal branch, the Keowee, across the Appalachian chain to the Tennessee, then called the Cherokee river. Either instigated by wrong counsels, or indulging their natural proclivities for rapine and murder, these Indians had committed several outrages on the frontier settlements of this province. At the close of the year 1759, Governor Littleton, having obtained from the legislature authority to raise a large body of men, with which to bring the tribe to terms, promptly marched into the Cherokee country at the head of 800 provincials, and 300 regular troops. This incursion, succeeding, as it did, a long period of inactivity and supineness, so much intimidated and surprised the tribe, that, being then entirely unprepared for open war, they did not hesitate to sue for peace, which was granted them in too much haste, without understanding the true nature of the Indian character and policy.

At this time the territory of the Cherokees extended from Fort Ninety-Six, on the Carolina frontiers, and Fort Prince George, on the Keowee branch of the Savannah, to the main sources of that river, and across the Appalachian chain to, and down the Cherokee, or Tennessee, river, and its southern branches — a country replete with all the resources requisite in Indian life, possessing a delightful climate, and abounding in fertile, sylvan valleys. The tribe has been accused of operating against the southern frontier under the influence of the French, who supplied them with arms and ammunition.

The treaty concluded with Governor Littleton, refers to certain articles of amity and commerce entered into with these people, at Whitehall, September 7, 1730, as well as to another pacification of November 19, 1758, and then proceeds, with the precision of the legal phraseology of the old black-letter lawyers, to rehearse grievances of a later date, for all which transgressions the tribe stipulates to make amends, and promises future good conduct. They actually delivered up two Cherokees who had committed murders, promised the surrender of twenty more, and gave twenty of their principal chiefs, as hostages for the due performance of the terms of the treaty. To this formal document the great chief of the nation, Attakullakulla, and five other principal chiefs, subsequently affixed their assent and guaranty. This matter being accomplished, Governor Littleton returned with his army to Charleston, and the Indians, after a short time, recommenced their depredations. It has been remarked by Major Mante, that "the Indians are of such a disposition, that unless they really feel the rod of chastisement, they cannot be prevailed on to believe that we have the power to inflict it; and, accordingly, whenever they happened to be attacked by us, unprepared, they had recourse to a treaty of peace, as a subterfuge, which gave them time to collect themselves. Then, without the least regard to the bonds of public faith, they, on the first opportunity, renewed their depredations. Negotiations, and treaties of peace, they despised; so that the only hopes to bring to reason their intractible minds, and of making them acknowledge our superiority, and live in friendship with us, must arise from the severity of chastisement."[1]

Littleton had scarcely returned home, when the Cherokees renewed their ravages. They attacked with great fury the settlement of Long Canes, sparing neither planter, cattle, buildings, women, nor children. They were particularly severe on English traders. This attack was subsequently repeated by a party of 200 warriors, who extended their depredations to the forks of the Broad river, where they surprised and killed forty men. Inspirited by their success they made an attack on Ninety-Six, but the fort proving too strong, they proceeded to the Congaree, spreading devastation both by fire and sword around them. Littleton, on the receipt of the earliest news of these irruptions, sent an express to General Amherst, asking for reinforcements.

On the 18th of February, 1760, the Cherokees assembled around Fort Prince George, on the Keowee, and attempted to surprise it. While the garrison was gazing at the force from the ramparts, a noted chief, called Ocunnasto, approached, and desired to speak to Lieutenant Coytmore, the commandant, who agreed to meet him on the banks of the Keowee river, whither he was accompanied by Ensign Bell, and Mr. Coharty, the interpreter. Ocunnasto said he wished to go down and see the Governor, and requested that a white man might be allowed to accompany him. This request being assented to, he said to an Indian, "Go and catch a horse for me." This was objected to; but the chief, making a feint motion, carelessly swung a bridle which he held, three times around his head. This being a secret signal to men lying concealed, a volley was instantly poured in, which mortally wounded Coytmore, who received a ball in his breast, and inflicted deep flesh wounds on the others.

This treachery aroused the indignation of Ensign Miln, commanding the garrison of the fort, who determined to put the twenty Cherokee hostages, and also the two murderers, in irons. But the first attempt to seize the assassins was instantly resisted;

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[1] Mante's History of the Late War in North America, p. 289: London, 1772.

the soldier who was deputed to effect it was tomahawked and killed, and another one wounded. This so exasperated those within the fort, that all the hostages were immediately put to death. In the evening the Indians fired two signal guns before the fort, and, being ignorant of the manner in which the hostages had been disposed of, shouted to them, "Fight strong and you shall be aided." The works were then invested, and an irregular fire maintained all night, with but little effect. On searching the room which had been occupied by the hostages, several tomahawks were found buried in the ground, which had been stealthily conveyed to the prisoners by their visiting friends.

Meantime, Amherst, immediately on the receipt of Governor Littleton's express, had despatched to his relief 600 Highlanders, and an equal number of Royals, under Colonel Montgomery. On reaching Charleston, Montgomery immediately took the field. The celerity of his movements against the Cherokees took them completely by surprise. On the 26th of May he reached Fort Ninety-Six, and, June 1, passed the Twelve mile branch of the Keowee, with his baggage and stores, and, conveying them up amazingly rocky steeps, he pushed on, night and day, marching eighty-four miles before taking a night's rest. Having progressed forty miles further, he constructed a camp on an eligible site, and leaving his wagons and cattle, with his tents standing, under a suitable guard of provincials and rangers, he took the rest of his troops, lightly-armed, and directed his course toward the Cherokee towns. Thus far his scouts had discovered no enemy, and his rapid advance had been unheralded. His first object was to attack Estatoe, a town some twenty-five miles in advance, and for this purpose he set out at eight o'clock in the evening. After marching sixteen miles, he heard a dog bark on the left, at the town of Little Keowee, about a quarter of a mile from the road, of the location of which his guides had not informed him. He immediately detached a force with orders to surround it, and to bayonet every man, but to spare the women and children. This order was strictly executed; the men being found encamped outside the houses, were killed, and their families captured, unharmed. In the mean time the main force marched forward to Estatoe, in which they found but ten or twelve men, who were killed. This town comprised about 200 houses, which were well supplied with provisions and ammunition. Montgomery, determining to make the nation feel the power of the colonies, immediately attacked the other towns in succession, until every one in the lower nation had been visited and destroyed. About seventy Cherokees were killed, and, including the women and children, forty were taken prisoners. Only four English soldiers were killed, and two officers wounded. Montgomery then returned to Fort Prince George, on the Keowee, where he awaited proposals of peace from the Cherokees, but hearing nothing from them, he resolved to make a second incursion into the middle settlements of the nation. He marched his army from the fort on the 24th of June, and using the same despatch as on the previous occasion, in three days he reached the town of Etchowee.

The scouts having discovered three Indians as they approached this place, took one of them prisoner, who attempted to amuse the colonel with the tale of their being ready to sue for peace; but he, not crediting the story, marched cautiously forward for a mile, when his advanced guard was fired on from a thicket, and in the melee its captain was killed. Montgomery, hearing the firing, ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to advance; who steadily pushed forward through an ambuscade of 500 Indians, rousing them from their coverts. As they reached more elevated and clearer ground, the troops drove the Indians before them at the point of the bayonet. Placing himself at the head of his force, he proceeded toward the town, following a narrow path, where it was necessary to march in Indian file, the surrounding country being well reconnoitered in advance by his scouts. On reaching Etchowee it was found to have been abandoned. After encamping on the open plain, Montgomery ordered out detachments in several directions, who performed gallant services, driving the enemy across a river, killing some, and taking several prisoners, when, scattering their forces, they inflicted upon the Indians a severe chastisement. He then returned to Charleston, by way of the fort on the Keowee, and rejoined Amherst in the north.

The Cherokees being disposed to retaliate these severe irruptions of Colonel Montgomery, the month of August had not elapsed before they began to give unmistakeable proofs of unabated hostility. Fort Prince George they had found too strong for them, but the garrison of Fort Loudon, on the confines of Virginia, being reduced in numbers, and in great want of provisions, was immediately besieged. After sustaining the siege until reduced to extremity, the commanding officer, Demere, with the concurrence of all his subordinates, very unwisely surrendered the fortification to his savage foe, August 6, 1760. The result of this ill-advised capitulation soon became apparent; the garrison and men being ruthlessly attacked before they had proceeded any distance from the fort, and both officers and privates cruelly massacred. Captain Stuart was the only officer who escaped, his salvation being due to the intervention of Attakullakulla himself, the leader of the attacking party.

Notwithstanding the reduction of Canada, the Indians in remote districts still continued their opposition to the English power. This was particularly the case with the Cherokees. To curb this tribe, Colonel Grant was, in 1761, ordered to march against them with an adequate body of troops, who soon compelled them to sue for peace.[1] Nothing further of note marked the military operations of this year. Major Rodgers was sent to take possession of the forts at Presque Isle and Detroit. General Monckton commanded at Fort Pitt.

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[1] Mante's War, p. 347.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONFEDERATE ALGONQUINS AND HURONS OF THE UPPER LAKES, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PONTIAC, DISPUTE THE OCCUPATION OF THAT REGION BY THE ENGLISH.

OTHER tribes besides the Cherokees, manifested dissatisfaction, or broke out into open hostility. The Shawnees and Delawares of the Ohio valley had been inimical to the colonies ever since their migration, or, in effect, expulsion from Pennsylvania, in 1759. The entire mass of the Algonquin tribes of the upper lakes, and to the west of the Ohio, deeply sympathized with the French in the loss of Canada. They hoped that the French flag would be once more unfurled on the western forts, and this feeling, we are assured by Mante—a judicious historian of that period—had been fostered by the French, whose mode of treatment of the Indians he, at the same time, commends. "For," he continues, "it soon appeared that, at the very time we were representing the Indians to ourselves completely subdued, and perfectly obedient to our power, they were busy in planning the destruction, not only of our most insignificant and remote forts, but our most important and central settlements."[1] Under this impression, General Amherst had ordered to the west, to keep the Indians in check, the regular forces which had been employed against Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal. Little more was done, in 1761, than supplying garrisons to the forts at Presque Isle, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, by which, though the country was occupied, its native inhabitants were not overawed. Fort Pitt had been occupied from the period of its capture, in 1758; but its garrison having been reduced by the Indian wars in the west, it was, early in 1763, invested by the Shawnees, Delawares, and their confederates. The defection of the western tribes was found to be very great, extending from the Ohio valley to, and throughout, the whole series of lakes, into the valleys of the Illinois, Miami and Wabash.

At this time, there was living, in the vicinity of Detroit, a chief possessing more than ordinary intelligence, decision of character, power of combination, and great personal energy, named Pondiac, or Pontiac. He appears to have been the originator of this scheme of a western confederation against the English; for, in 1761, on the

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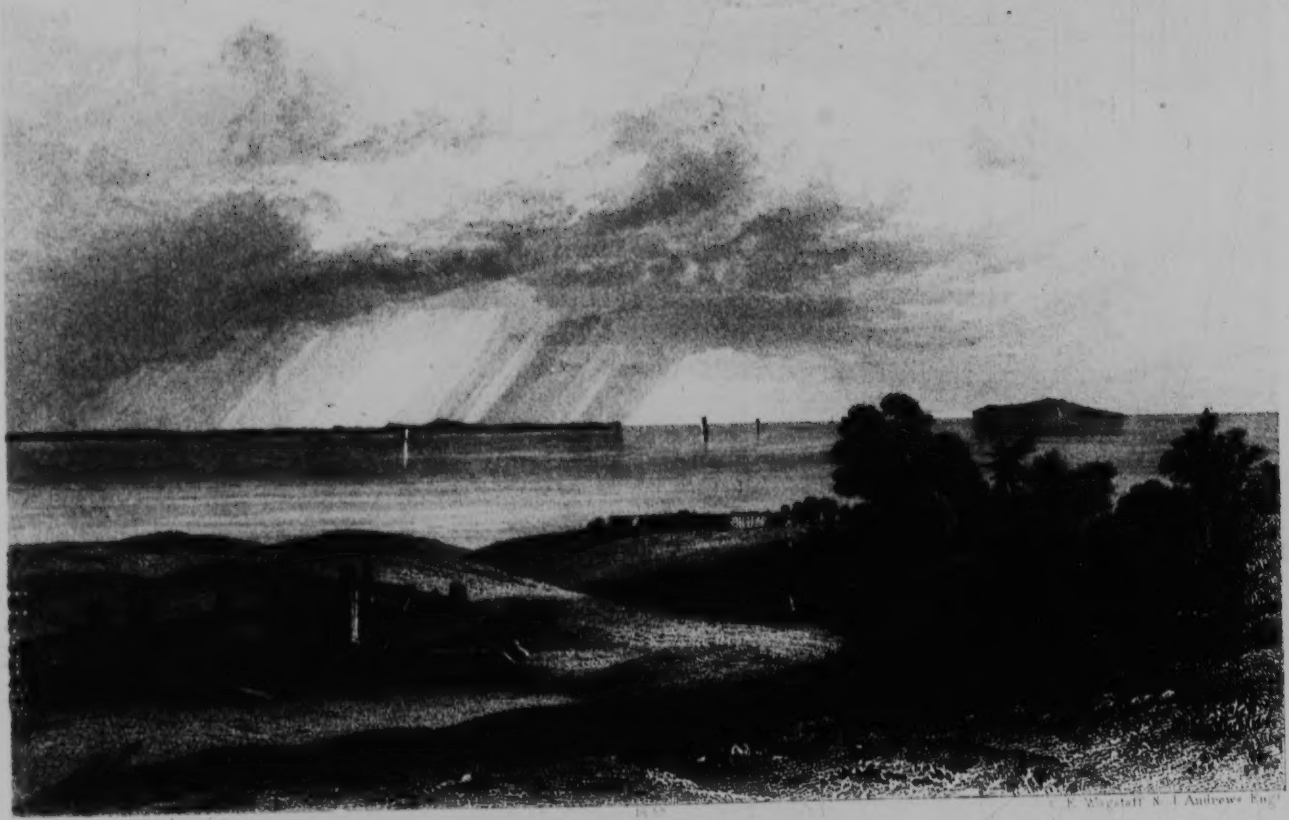
[1] Mante's War, p. 479–481.


E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Eng.

RUINS OF OLD FORT MACKANACK, 1763.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA.

first advance of the relief of the French garrison, when Major Rodgers, who led the troops, had reached the entrance to the straits of Detroit, Pontiac visited his encampment, and, employing one of those bold metaphors which the Indians use to express much in a few words, assuming an air of supremacy, he exclaimed, "I stand in the path."[1] "To form a just estimate of his character, we must judge him by the circumstances in which he was placed; by the profound ignorance and barbarism of his people; by his own destitution of all education and information; and by the jealous, fierce, and intractable spirit of his compeers. When measured by this standard, we shall find few of the men whose names are familiar to us, more remarkable for all things proposed and achieved, than Pontiac." To him the conduct of the plot had been left. It had been secretly discussed in their councils for about two years, during which time he brought the principal tribes of the region into the scheme. The tribes which formed the nucleus of this plot were the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and the two bands of Hurons residing on the river Detroit. From facts gleaned after the submission of the tribes to General Bradstreet, in 1764, it appears that this combination was more extensive than has been supposed, and that the Miamies, Piankashaws, and Weas, had also been compromitted. The time appointed for a general rise having arrived, the whole line of posts on that frontier, comprising twelve in number, extending from Forts Pitt and Niagara to Green Bay, were simultaneously attacked, and, either by open force, or by finesse, nine of them taken.[2] The most singular mode of attack among the whole, was that practised at Fort Michilimackinac. The fortress, at that period, occupied the apex of the peninsula of Michigan, where it juts out into the strait in a headland (called Picwutinong). It consisted of a square area, having bastions, built of stone, surmounted with pickets, which were closed by gates; and was capable of being defended against any attack. But stratagem was resorted to. The king's birthday (June 4th) having arrived, the Ottawas and their confederates engaged in a game of ball on the level boulevard, which led from the landing, up by the fort, into the village. The gates were open, and the officers attended the sport. While moving up and down this boulevard, the players struggling and rushing, the ball was dextrously thrown into the fort, and the contending parties rushed in after it. This was the signal for an attack. The war whoop was raised, and the tomahawk applied so rapidly, that not a drum was beat, or a rank formed, and the place became the scene of one of the most startling massacres.[3] One officer and seventy soldiers were killed; but, of three hundred Canadians in the fort, not one was molested. For a view of the ruins of this fort, with the island of Michilimackinac in the distance. (See Plate LIII., Vol. II.)

Detroit was selected by Pontiac for the display of his own arts of siege and attack.

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[1] British Annual Register for 1778. Vide Rodger's Narration.

[2] Cass; Hist. and Lit. Sketches of Michigan, p. 24.

[3] Henry's Travels, 1763 and 1809.

Having, in a previous volume,[1] given a copy of a journal of this siege, kept within the fort, it is only necessary to furnish here a succinct abstract of the events which transpired. The fort was under the command of Major Gladwyn, who had a garrison of two complete companies of infantry, numbering one hundred and twenty-two privates, and eight officers.[2] There were also, within its walls, forty French traders and engagées. Pontiac invested the place, May 8th, 1763, with a total force of 450 warriors,[3] who had been instructed at the councils, drilled under his own eye, and painted and feathered for battle. But an attack was not his first move; he aimed to take the fort by a deeply laid plot, which was, in effect, to visit the commandant at his quarters, accompanied by a limited number of assassins, bearing concealed weapons, to smoke with him the pipe of peace, and to present him with a formal address, which was to be accompanied by a belt of wampum, the most solemn and honored custom in Indian diplomacy. This belt was worked on one side with white, and on the other with green beads.[4] Having finished his speech, with the white side turned towards his auditor, the reversal of it in his hands to the green side, was to be the signal of attack. The plan was well devised, and must have succeeded, had it not been revealed to the commandant, in a manner which it is unimportant to our purpose to state.

On the day appointed, Pontiac appeared at the gates with his aboriginal fellow-conspirators, demanding an audience. He was freely admitted, but, in passing the esplanade, observed an unusual display of the military. The garrison was under arms, and the sentinels doubled, which aroused Pontiac's fears; but his covert inquiries were met by a ready answer, that "it was to keep the young men[5] to their duty, and prevent idleness." The language employed by one who has collated the local traditions on the subject, while they were still within reach, may here be quoted. "The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became still more so, as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of presenting the belt to Major Gladwyn (and turning it in his hands) and all was breathless expectation, the drums at the door of the council suddenly rolled the charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man, constitutionally and habitually. He had fought in many a battle, and often led his warriors to victory. But this unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, entirely disconcerted him. Tradition says he trembled. At all events, he delivered his belt in the usual manner, and thus failed to give his warriors the concerted signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and, drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle, and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, turned him out of the fort."[6]

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[1] Eth. Res., Vol. II., p. 242. [2] Cass' Discourse. [3] Pontiac MS., Vol. II., p. 240. [4] Ibid.

[5] Young men, with the Indians, is an equivalent phrase for warriors, when speaking on such topics.

[6] Cass' Discourse before the Michigan Historical Society: Detroit, 1828, p. 32.

CHAPTER IV.

PONTIAC HOLDS DETROIT IN A STATE OF SIEGE DURING THE SUMMER OF 1763.

Foiled in his attempt to take the garrison by stratagem, Pontiac commenced an open attack. He had no sooner left the walls of the fort, than he fired 1763 upon it, and his followers began to assail the scattered English settlers in its vicinity, while on every side could be heard the startling sassaquon, or war-whoop. A widow woman, and her two sons, were immediately murdered on the common. A discharged sergeant and his family, cultivating lands on Hog Island, were the next victims. Taking shelter behind buildings contiguous to the fort, an incessant fire was maintained against it, which was continued for several days; blazing arrows being discharged by the Indians, which set fire to some buildings within the walls. Determination of purpose marked every act, while the savage yells of the natives, and the continual reports of murders and outrages filled the garrison with apprehensions. The abandonment of the fort and embarkation of the troops for Niagara was contemplated, but the plan was opposed by the prominent French inhabitants, who were better acquainted with the true character of Indian demonstration and bluster, and particularly with the real dangers of such a voyage. A small vessel was, however, dispatched to Niagara on the 21st of May, soliciting aid both in provisions and men, through a country entirely occupied by Indians. The Indians unabatedly continued their attacks, absolutely confining the garrison within the walls, and preventing them from obtaining supplies of wood and water. Pontiac, meantime, conceived the idea of decoying Major Campbell into his camp, under the pretence of renewing pacific negotiations. This gentleman was favorably known to the Indians, as the immediate predecessor of Major Gladwyn, who had but recently relieved him in the command of the fort. By the advice of those most conversant with the Indian character, Pontiac's request was acceded to, and Campbell went to his camp, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougal. But all the projects of Pontiac were set at nought by an unforeseen occurrence. In one of the sorties from the fort, an Ottawa of distinction, from Michilimackinac, had been killed, and his nephew, who was present, determined to revenge his death. Meeting Major Campbell one day, as he was walking in the road near the camp of Pontiac, the savage immediately felled him to the earth with his war-club, and killed him. This act was regretted and disavowed by Pontiac, who, by the detention of Major Campbell, sought only to secure ulterior advantages through the person of his hostage.

Anticipating succors to be on their way to the fort, the Indians kept vigilant watch at the mouth of the river. This duty appears to have been committed to the Wyandots. On one of the last days of May, a detachment of troops from Niagara, having charge of twenty-three batteaux, laden with provisions and supplies, encamped at Point Pelée, on the north shore, near the head of Lake Erie, wholly unconscious that any danger awaited them. Their movements had, however, been closely reconnoitered by the Indians, who, having formed an ambuscade at this place, furiously attacked them near daybreak. During the resulting panic, the officer in command leaped into a boat, and, accompanied by thirty men, crossed the lake to Sandusky. The rest of the detachment were killed, or taken prisoners, and all the stores fell into the enemy's hands. The prisoners were reserved to row the boats. On the 30th of May, the first of the long line of batteaux was seen from the fort, as it rounded Point Huron, on the Canada shore. The garrison crowded the ramparts to view the welcome sight, and a gun was fired as a signal to their supposed approaching friends. But the only response was the gloomy war cry. As the first boat came opposite to the little vessel anchored off the fort, the soldiers rowing it determined to recapture it. While the steersman headed the boat across, another soldier threw overboard the Indian who sat on the bow. In the struggle both were drowned, but the boat was rowed under the guns of the fort. Lest the other captive rowers should imitate this example, they were landed by the Indians on Hog Island, and immediately sacrificed.

News of the treaty of peace concluded at Versailles, February 10, 1763, between France and England, reached Detroit on the 3d of June, while these events were in progress. From the French who were assembled on this occasion, the intelligence received a full and prompt acquiescence, as a conclusive sovereign act; but the Indians continued the siege. Pontiac finding he could not take the fort, proposed to the French inhabitants to aid him, but they refused.[1] About this time, the vessel which had been dispatched to Niagara, by Major Gladwyn, arrived at the mouth of the river with supplies and some sixty men. The winds being light and baffling, the Indians determined to capture her, and a large force left the siege and proceeded to Fighting Island for that purpose. While the vessel was lying at the mouth of the river, the Indians had endeavored to annoy her by means of their canoes, but the wind had forced her to shift her anchorage to this spot. The captain had ordered his men below decks, to keep the Indians in ignorance of his strength, having apprized them that a loud stroke of a hammer on the mast, would be a signal for them to come up. As soon as darkness supervened, the Indians came off in their canoes in great force, and attempted to board her; but a sudden discharge of her guns disconcerted them. The following day the vessel dropped down to the mouth of the straits, where she was detained six days by calms. Meantime, Pontiac determining to destroy her, for this purpose floated down burning rafts, which were constructed of the timbers from barns destroyed by the Indians, dry pine, and a quantity of pitch added, to make the whole more combustible.[1] Notwithstanding two such rafts were constructed and sent down the river, the vessel and boats escaped them. A breeze springing up on the 30th of June, the vessel was enabled to hoist sail, and reached the fort in safety.

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[1] Hist. and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, p. 37.

General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, though weakened by the force withdrawn for the Indian war in the west, was fully sensible of the perilous position of the western posts, in consequence of the Indian hostility, and prepared to send at the earliest period, reinforcements to Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit. The relief destined for the latter post was placed under the orders of his secretary, Captain Dalzell, who, after relieving Niagara, proceeded to Detroit in armed batteaux, at the head of a force of 300 men. To the joy of all concerned, this reinforcement arrived at Detroit on the 30th of July, when the place had been besieged upwards of fifty days. Captain Dalzell, who brought this timely accession to the garrison, proposed a night assault on Pontiac's camp, which the commandant assented to, not, however, without some misgivings. Two hundred and fifty men were selected for this duty, and, with this force Captain Dalzell left the fort, as secretly as possible, at half-past two o'clock on the morning of the 31st. At the same time, two boats were despatched to keep pace with the party, and, if necessary, take off the wounded. The darkness of the night rendered it somewhat difficult to discern the way, and made it a task for them to keep the proper distance between the platoons. After marching about two miles, when the vanguard had reached the bridge over the stream, which has since been known as Bloody Brook, a sudden fire was poured in by the Indians, which created a temporary panic among the troops, from which, however, they recovered. The intense darkness completely obscuring the enemy, a retreat was ordered; when it appeared that there was a heavy force in the rear, through which the column had been allowed to pass. The English were, in fact, in the midst of a well-planned ambuscade. Dalzell displayed the utmost bravery and spirit in this emergency, but was soon shot down and killed. Grant, on whom the command devolved, was severely wounded. The Indians were concealed behind the wooden picketing, which lined the fields, and sheltered the buildings of the *habitans;* but as the day began to dawn, the troops were enabled to discern their perilous position. They then embarked some of their wounded in the boats which had accompanied them, and, concentrating their forces, retreated toward the gates of the fort, which they entered in compact order. The loss in this attack was seventy men killed, including the commander, and forty wounded; being nearly one-half of the sallying party. It was a decided triumph for the Indians, who thenceforth pressed the siege with renewed vigor.

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[1] Michigan Sketches, p. 37.

As the season for hunting approached, the Indians gradually dispersed; the siege languished, and was finally abandoned. There is no previous record in Indian history of so large a force of Indians having been kept in the field for so long a period; and this effort of the Algonquin chief to roll back the tide of European emigration, was the most formidable that was ever made by any one member of the Indian race. Rodgers styles Pontiac an emperor. He certainly possessed an energy of mind and powers of combination exceeding those of any other antecedent or contemporary chief. Opechanganough possessed great firmness, and was a bitter enemy of the white race; Sassacus only fought for tribal rights and supremacy; the course of Uncas was that of a politician; Pometacom battled, indeed, to repel the people whose education, industry, and religion, foredoomed his own; but Pontiac took a more enlarged and comprehensive view, not only of the field of contest, but also of the means necessary for the retention and preservation of the aboriginal dominion. At a later period, Brant merely fought for, and under the direction of a powerful ally; and Tecumseh but re-enacted the deeds of Pontiac, after the lapse of fifty years, when the scheme of repelling the whites was, in reality, preposterous.

CHAPTER V.

THE WESTERN INDIANS CONTINUE THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY. COLONEL BOUCHET MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF FORT PITT. THE BATTLE OF BRUSHY RUN.

THE struggle of the Indians, in conjunction with the French, for supremacy in America, may be stated to have commenced in 1753, when Washington first 1763 originated the idea among the western tribes, that the Virginians were taking preliminary steps to cross the Alleghanies, and open the route for the influx of the entire European race. This notion may be perceived in the addresses of Pontiac. "Why," he exclaimed, repeating, as was alleged, the words of the Master of Life, "why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and, when you are in distress, I will help you."[1] The policy of driving back the English accorded well with the views of the French, who carefully encouraged it, and first developed it at the repulse of Washington, before Fort Necessity, and again gave to it a new impetus the following year, at Braddock's total defeat and overthrow, which had the effect of arousing the passions of the Indians. From this date, they became most determined opponents to the spread of British power, and always formed a part of the French forces in the field. Such was their position under Montcalm, at Lake George, in 1757, and also at the sanguinary defeat of Major Grant, in 1758. The epoch for making this struggle could not have been better chosen, had they even been perfectly conversant with the French and English policy; and the result was, ten years of the most troublesome Indian wars with which the colonies were ever afflicted. As time progressed, it became evident that the long colonial struggle between the two crowns must terminate. If the English were defeated, not only the French, but the Indians would triumph; while it was equally true that, if the French failed, the Indian power must succumb. Pontiac perfectly understood this, and so informed his confederates. This question was, in effect, settled by the peace of Versailles; but the Indians did not feel disposed to drop the contest. Detroit was still closely invested; Fort Pitt was also beleagured; and the only road by which relief could reach it, passed through weary tracts of wilderness, and over high mountains. It was likewise located on a frontier, the inhabitants of which lived in a continual dread of the Indians.

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[1] Michigan Sketches, p. 27.

General Amherst ordered Colonel Bouquet to relieve this post with the remnants of regiments, which had returned, in a feeble and shattered condition, from the siege of Havana. The route lay through Pennsylvania, by the way of Carlisle and Fort Bedford, and many discouragements were in the way. His troops and supplies came forward slowly. He reached Fort Bedford on the 25th of July, and, pushing on to Fort Legonier, relieved that post from a threatened siege. As soon as the Indians, who besieged Fort Pitt, heard of his approach, they left that place, and prepared to oppose his march. Bouquet had disencumbered himself of his wagons, as also of much heavy baggage, at Fort Legonier, and moved on with alacrity, conveying his provisions on horses. On entering the defile of Turtle Creek, his advance had proceeded but a short distance, when they were briskly attacked on both flanks. A severe and desperate battle ensued, which admitted of several manœuvres, and developed some instances of Bouquet's gallantry. Captains Graham and McIntosh, of the regulars, were killed, and five officers wounded. As the day closed, an elevation was gained, on which the troops bivouacked. At daybreak the following morning, August 6th, the Indians surrounded the camp, and commenced a lively fusilade, making frequent sallies, alternately attacking and retreating. This became very annoying to the troops, who were greatly fatigued, and destitute of water. They fought in an extended circle. At length, the Colonel resorted to the ruse of withdrawing two companies from the outer line, and made a feint of retreating. By this movement, he decoyed the Indians into a position, where they were promptly charged with the bayonet, and repelled. Their retreat then became a rout, which also involved a part of the Indian forces hitherto unengaged. Bouquet then retired to Brushy Run, where there was abundance of water; but he had hardly posted his troops, when the Indians again commenced an attack, which was, however, speedily repulsed. The loss in these actions amounted to fifty men killed, and sixty wounded.

After these battles, the Indians did not renew the siege of Fort Pitt, but withdrew beyond the Ohio; and, four days subsequent to the action at Brushy Run, Bouquet entered Fort Pitt.

While these events were transpiring, the Indians were yet closely besieging Detroit, and the garrison began to suffer from fatigue and want of provisions. A vessel, manned by twelve men, and in charge of two masters, was despatched from Fort Niagara, during the latter part of August, with stores for its relief. It reached the entrance to Detroit river on the 3d of September; but the wind being adverse, the crew dropped the anchor. About nine o'clock in the evening, the boatswain discovered a fleet of canoes approaching, containing about 350 Indians. The bow gun was fired, but too late, as the canoes had, by this time, surrounded the vessel. The Indians immediately cut the cable, and began to board her, notwithstanding the fire from the small arms, and also from a swivel. The crew then seized their pikes, a new weapon of defence with which they were provided, and, fighting with great bravery and determination, killed many of the foe. The Indians feared an explosion on board the ship, which, swinging around, disconcerted and confused the savages, who thought she was about to drift ashore: this enabled the crew to use their guns effectively. The master and one man were killed, and four men wounded; but a breeze springing up, the other seamen hoisted sail, and brought the vessel safely to Detroit. For this brave act, each of the crew was presented with a silver medal.[1]

The garrison being thus provided with supplies, the further efforts of the Indians proved of no great consequence. As the season for hunting approached, the Indians mostly dispersed, except some small parties, who watched the fort, and prevented any egress from it. Open war never being carried on by the Indians during the winter, Major Gladwyn made such a judicious disposition of his means, as prevented any surprise during that season.

Fort Niagara had not been attacked, although its garrison was weak; but its precincts were continually infested by hostile Indians, which made it necessary to send out large escorts with every train despatched from it To rid the Niagara valley of this annoyance, and open the route to Schlosser, a detachment of ninety men was directed to scour the surrounding country. Owing to the inconsiderate ardor of the officer in command, and, also, to his ignorance of Indian subtlety in time of war, the detachment was decoyed into an ambuscade, in which he, and all his men, with the exception of three or four, were killed.[2]

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[1] Mante, p. 500.

[2] Ibid., p. 501.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL PACIFICATION BETWEEN THE ENGLISH, AND THE INDIAN TRIBES, EAST AND WEST. TREATY OF PEACE WITH THE SENECAS, WYANDOTS, OTTOWAS AND CHIPPEWAS, MISSISSAGIES, POTTAWATTAMIES, AND MIAMIES.

1764 The campaign of 1763 had the effect rather to inspire than to depress the hopes of the Indians. The English forces had been withdrawn to further projects of conquest in the West Indies; thus leaving but few troops on the frontiers. Forts Pitt and Detroit had, for many months, both been closely invested by the tribes, who completely impeded ingress and egress. The determination evinced by the forces of Pontiac at Detroit, his attacks on the shipping sent to its relief, the sanguinary encounter at Bloody Bridge, in which Dalzell was slain, and at Brushy Run, where Colonel Bouquet was so actively opposed, together with the utter destruction of a detachment of ninety men and its officers, on the Niagara portage, afforded an additional stimulus to the wrath of the Indians. These successes not only served to inflate the Indian pride, but likewise denoted a feeble military administration on the part of the British commander.

General Amherst was of opinion that more vigorous action, and a more comprehensive and definite plan were required for the campaign of 1764, while, at the same time, the ministry had crippled his abilities by withdrawing nearly all his regular troops.[1] Under these circumstances, he called for aid from the colonies, determining to send Colonel Bouquet with an efficient army against the western tribes, who beleaguered Fort Pitt, and overawed the valleys of the Ohio, Miami, Scioto, and Wabash, and at the same time to direct Colonel Bradstreet to proceed with a large force, in boats, against the northwestern tribes, at Detroit. To enable him to carry out his plans, he appealed earnestly to the respective colonial legislatures for troops, which were cheerfully supplied. Sir William Johnson determined to hold a general convention of the tribes at Fort Niagara, in connection with the Bradstreet movement, and to endeavor to induce as many Indians as possible to accompany that officer, on his expedition to the vicinage of the upper lakes. Having made these arrangements, Amherst, who had zealously and efficiently prosecuted the war against Canada, solicited leave to return to

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[1] Mante, p. 502.

England, and was succeeded in the command by General Gage, an officer of very inferior character.

It being necessary to conduct the operations of Bradstreet's detachment by water, that officer superintended the work of constructing a flotilla of batteaux at Schenectady, on a plan of his own invention, each boat having forty-six feet keel, and being sufficiently capacious to contain twenty-seven men, and six weeks' provisions. As soon as this immense flotilla was ready, it was ordered to Oswego, where Sir William Johnson had also directed the Indians to assemble. His force, of all descriptions, on reaching Oswego, numbered about 1200. Three vessels were employed to transport the heavy stores to the mouth of the Niagara, and the Indians, in their canoes, followed the extended train of batteaux along the Ontario coasts, making the usual landings at the Bay of Sodus,[1] and Irondequot. They arrived at Fort Niagara in the beginning of July. This concourse of boats and men was, however, in reality, the smallest part of the display.

A large number of the Indian tribes had been summoned to a council by Sir William Johnson, who had collected 1700 Indians at Niagara.[2] Never had such a body of Indians been congregated under his auspices. The council was held in Fort Niagara. He had brought with him the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace, amity, and alliance, which had been prepared by him at Johnson Hall, where it had received the signatures of several of the leading chiefs. Major Gladwyn had sent Indian deputies from Detroit, and various causes had combined to swell the attendance at this great convention. Henry relates that one of Sir William's messages reached Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior, and induced the tribe there located to send a deputation of twenty persons.[3] The Senecas, however, whose conduct had been equivocal during the war, did not make their appearance, although their deputies had signed the preliminary articles at Johnson Hall. Sir William sent to their villages on the Genesee, repeated messages for them, which were uniformly answered by promises. But promises would not serve, and, consequently, Colonel Bradstreet authorized the Baronet to send a final message, announcing that, if they did not present themselves in *five* days, he would send a force against them, and destroy their villages. This brought them to terms; they immediately attended the convention, and, at the same time, surrendered their prisoners. A formal treaty of peace was then concluded.

Colonel Bradstreet desired to depart immediately, but Sir William begged him to postpone his march until he had finished with the tribes, and given them their presents; for, although he had just concluded a treaty of peace with them, he had no faith in their fidelity, and feared that, if the troops were withdrawn, they would attack the fort. With this request Bradstreet complied. He at length departed, taking with him 300 Indian warriors as auxiliaries, although he was conscious they accompanied him rather in the character of spies. Sir William, having accomplished this important pacification returned home; and, on the 6th of August, Colonel Bradstreet proceeded on his protracted expedition along the southern coasts of Lake Erie. His intentions, as publicly announced, were, to conclude peace with such tribes as solicited it, and to chastise all who continued in arms. Being detained by contrary winds at *l'Ance aux Feuilles*, he there received a deputation from the Wyandots of Sandusky, the Shawnees and Delawares of the Ohio, and the bands of the Six Nations, residing on the Scioto Plains. The sachems deputed by these tribes, presented four belts of wampum as an earnest of their desire for peace, and, in their speeches to Bradstreet, excused their respective nations for the murders and outrages committed, on the usual pretext of not being able to restrain their young warriors, or of not being aware of the real state of facts, at the same time soliciting forgiveness for the past, and promising fidelity for the future. Variable weather having delayed Bradstreet, he was at length enabled to proceed forward, and, on the 23d of August, reached Point le Petit Isle, where intelligence was brought to him that the Indians, collected on the Miami of the lakes, were resolved to oppose his progress. He immediately determined to attack them in that position, whither Pontiac had then retired, but while yet on Lake Erie, pursuing his course to the mouth of the Miami, he received a deputation from the Indians of that stream, who requested a conference at Detroit. Visiting the Bay of Miami, and finding the Indian camp abandoned, he again returned to Point Petit Isle, and from this position detached Captain Morris, at the head of a body of men, with directions to march across the country and take possession of the territory of the Illinois, which had been ceded to England by the treaty concluded at Versailles, in 1763.[1] Bradstreet then proceeded to the head of Lake Erie, and, entering the straits of Detroit, reached the town and fort on the 26th of August. Never previously had such a large force, accompanied by so much military display, been seen in that vicinity. The long lines of batteaux and barges, filled with their complement of military, with their glittering arms, their colors flying, drums beating and bugles sounding, were followed by those containing the attachés of the quartermaster's and commissary's departments, and by the fleet of canoes containing the 300 auxiliary Mohawks and Senecas, together with the deputies of the surrounding tribes. Indians always judge from appearances, and every attendant circumstance indicated that the British government, which could send so numerous and well-appointed a force, to such a distant point, must in itself be strong. Bradstreet determined to land his army on the plain, extending from the fort along the banks of the river, and, as detachment after detachment filed past with military exactitude, to its position in the extended camp, the gazing multitudes of red men realized the peril of their past position, and trembled for the future. The commander did not take up his quarters in the fort, but directed his marquée, on which the red cross of England was displayed, to be pitched in the centre of this vast encampment. The 7th of September was appointed for the meeting of the council, when the aboriginal deputies were received, decked out with all their oriental taste, and bearing their ornamented pipes of peace. The first tribes on the ground were the Ottawas and Chippewas, who had been the head and front of Pontiac's offending. They were represented by Wassong, attended by six other chiefs, whose respective names were Attowatomig, Shamindawa, Ottawany, Apokess, and Abetto. Wassong made his submission in terms that would not have been discreditable to a philosopher or a diplomatist. He excused his nation for their participation in the war, laid the blame where it properly belonged, and then, appealing to the theology which recognises God as the great ruler of events, who orders them in wisdom and mercy, promised obedience to the British crown. While speaking, he held in his hand a belt of wampum, having a blue and white ground, interspersed with devices in white, green, and blue, which, at the close of his speech, he deposited as a testimonial of the truth of his words. He then, holding forth a purple and mixed belt, in the name of the Miamies, tendered their submission, depositing this belt also as their memorial. Shamindawa then addressed the council in the name of Pontiac, saying that he regretted what had happened, and requested it should be forgiven, adding that it would give him pleasure to co-operate with the English. He concluded by praying for the success of the Illinois mission, as though he considered it a perilous undertaking. The Hurons, who had been actively engaged in the war, next presented their submission, and affixed to the treaty the emblematic signature of a deer and a cross. A Miami chief, whose signature was a turtle, next presented himself in the name of his nation, to concur in the terms acceded to by the Ottawas and Chippewas. The Pottawattamies and Foxes then affixed their signature by the pictograph of a fox, an eel, and a bear. The Mississagies were represented by Wapacomagot, and signified their acquiescence by tracing the figure of an eagle with a medal round its neck. The entire number of Indians present at the conclusion of the treaty with Colonel Bradstreet, has been estimated at 1930.[1]

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[1] In a manuscript journal of this expedition, written by John M'Kenny, an orderly in the 44th, or Royal Scots, and in our possession, this bay is called Onosodus, which appears to be the aboriginal term.

[2] Mante, p. 509.

[3] Travels of Alexander Henry, p. 160.

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[1] It appears from Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, that this duty was ill performed.

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[1] Mante, p. 526. The warriors present, and their numerical force were as follows:—

Ottowas	220	
Chippewas	300	
Saukies	50	
Hurons	80	
		650
Saganaws, including those of St. Joseph.		
Chippewas	150	
Pottawattamies	450	
		600
Of Sandusky.		
Hurons	200	
Miamies	250	
Weas	230	
		680
Total		1930

CHAPTER VII.

RE-OCCUPATION OF THE LAKE POSTS. THE INDIAN TRADE EXTENDED WESTWARD AND NORTHWARD UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES.

Bradstreet, having successfully closed his negotiations with the Indians, reorganized the militia, and established the civil government in the French settlements on a firm basis, prepared to return to Sandusky, with the view of complying with his instructions from General Gage, directing him to bring the Shawnees and Delawares to terms. On reaching Sandusky, he received letters from General Gage, censuring him for offering terms of peace to the Shawnee and Delaware delegates, and for his general course in concluding treaties of peace with the Indians, without consulting Sir William Johnson, who was the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; and with whom he was directed to put himself in communication. This is the first instance of a collision of authority between the officers of the military and Indian service, of which the entire subsequent history of our Indian affairs affords abundant evidence, down to the present day. Prior to this period, he left a relief of seven companies in the fort at Detroit, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. Two companies, under Captain Howard, together with a detachment of artillery, and two companies of the recently organized militia, were, at the same time, ordered to re-occupy Michilimackinac. To supply the post effectually, a vessel, under command of Lieutenant Sinclair, of the fifteenth regular infantry, was directed to enter Lake Huron. This, it is declared,[1] was the first English vessel that ever attempted the passage,[2] and the voyage appears to have been considered an intrepid feat, from which we may reasonably infer, that the name of the lake and river Sinclair was thus derived.[3] Sinclair, tradition asserts, was the commandant of Michilimackinac, prior to the arrival of Captain Robinson, who held the command on on the island, in 1783,[4] when a façade of its mural precipices fell down.

The post of Michilimackinac was, in 1764, situated on a northern headland of the peninsula of Michigan, jutting into the straits, opposite to, and in sight of the island, and also of Point St. Ignace. This was the point which had been selected by Marquette, as the site of a mission; and to its simple graveyard his remains were conveyed and interred, after his decease at the little river bearing his name, on the east shores of Lake Michigan.[1] By order of General Amherst, the French garrison was relieved, after the capture of Montreal, and the troops sent for that purpose were led by Major Rodgers, of ante-Revolutionary memory, who had been succeeded by Major Ethrington, at the time of the massacre, in 1763.[2] At the date of the massacre, the Indians did not burn the fort, which, as the traders lived within it, would have destroyed their goods; and it was, therefore, reoccupied in 1664, the walls, bastions, and gates remaining entire. Tradition asserts, that this fort was visited and supplied by vessels for seven years subsequently.[3] The alarm produced by the American Revolution appears to have caused the transfer of the fortification to the island, which, tradition affirms, was made about the year 1780.[4] The Michilimackinac of the French was, therefore, located on the apex of the peninsula; that of the English, on the island.

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[1] Mante, p. 516.

[2] It was originally made by the Griffin, under La Salle, in 1678.

[3] The entire river, from Huron to Erie, was called Detroit by the early French writers.

[4] Personal Memoirs, p. 445.

Michilimackinac had, from an unknown period, been regarded by the aborigines as a sacred island, consecrated both by their mythology and history. It was believed to be the local residence of important spirits of their pantheon; and its caverns, as well as its cliffs, were calculated to favor this idea. They landed on it with awe, and its precincts were preserved from the intrusion of European feet. The bones found in its caves, its deep subterranean passages, the regular heaps of superimposed boulders, and the evidences of cultivation, still to be seen in many isolated spots, surrounded with impenetrable foliage, denote that it had not only been occupied from very early times, but that its occupancy was connected with their earliest history, superstitions, and mythology.

Traditions which have been carefully sought out, mention that the English were the first nation who were permitted to occupy its sacred shores with troops,[5] by whom a fort, in the form of a tailus, owing to the shape of the cliff, was placed on its edge. A village was laid out on the narrow gravel plain below. The harbor, though small, possessed a good anchorage, and was sheltered from all winds, except those from the east. Merchants, who supplied the traders to a wide extent of country, east, west, and north, located their places of business on the island. The traders fitted out annually by these merchants held intercourse with the tribes of Lake Superior, Michigan, Green Bay, the Mississippi, and the Illinois. British capital and enterprise established this trade on a new footing, and, from this time forth, it became a centre for a vast country, the

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[1] After their removal to the island, his bones were interred in the Catholic churchyard; but a question of title, originating many years subsequently, caused them to be again disturbed, after which they were re-interred at Point La Crosse, Lake Michigan.

[2] Henry's Travels.

[3] Personal Memoirs of Thirty Years' Residence, p. 445.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 446.

Indians travelling thither, a distance of 1000 miles, in their canoes, bearing with them their weapons and the tokens of their bravery, and decorated with all their feathers and finery. Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Louis, Prairie du Chien, St. Peters, Chegoimegon, the vicinity of the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg, as well as the valley of the Saskatchawin, became but dependencies of the new metropolis of Indian trade, Michilimackinac.

The great object of the campaign of 1764 was, however, not yet accomplished. The north was safe, but, in order to establish a permanent and general peace with the Indians, it was requisite that the war should be vigorously and successfully prosecuted in the south and west. Both the British commanders entrusted with the pacification must be triumphant. They must prove to the Indians, not only the ability of the English to *take,* but also to *hold* Canada. Pontiac was not the only aboriginal chief who had doubted this ability.

CHAPTER VIII.

PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE DELAWARES, SHAWNEES, MIAMIES, WEAS, PIANKASHAWS, AND MINGOES, OR TRANS-OHIO MEMBERS OF THE SIX NATIONS IN THE WEST.

THE plan of Sir Jeffrey Amherst to bring the western Indians to terms, after the final conquest of Canada, was well devised. Had he directed but a single 1764 operation against them, both the southwestern and northwestern tribes would have united to oppose it; but, by sending a respectable and controlling force, under Bradstreet, to the northwest, through the great lakes, to Detroit, and, at the same time, another under Bouquet, from the present site of Pittsburg to the Tuscarawas and the Muskingum, against the tribes of the southwest, he effectually divided their force, and demonstrated to them the power and energy of the government claiming their submission, whose military prowess had caused the time-honored French flag to be struck at Quebec, Montreal, Niagara, and Du Quesne. His successor, General Gage, merely carried out this plan, but, if we may credit the testimony of a cotemporary officer, without much appreciation of the necessary precision in his orders.[1]

The offer of terms of peace, to the Shawnees and other southwestern tribes, dubiously represented in the month of August, 1764, as made by Colonel Bradstreet while on his way to Detroit, was deemed to be a vainglorious assumption of power by the other officers in the field, and an unnecessary interference with the civic duties of Sir William Johnson. But his ardor and promptitude as a commander created a very favorable impression on the Indians in the region of the lakes; and his expedition to that, then remote point, inaugurated one of the soundest features of the British Indian policy.

Bradstreet did not leave Detroit until the 14th of September,[2] and on the 18th he reached Sandusky Bay, where he detached a party with orders to destroy a settlement of Mohicans in that vicinity, under Mohigan John; but the Indians eluded them. Single delegates from the Delawares, Shawnees, and Scioto-Iroquois, accompanied by a Tuscarora Indian, here met him, and made statements which, it is conceived, were not entitled to any weight, but were dictated by the spirit of Indian subtlety, which anticipated coming evil. He then proceeded with his army to Upper Sandusky, where a Wyandot village had been destroyed the previous year by Captain Dalzell. Here he received letters from General Gage, disapproving of his offers of peace to the Delawares and Shawnees. He had been directed to attack the Wyandots of Sandusky, and also the Delawares and Shawnees, then residing on the Muskingum and Scioto. The route to the former river, he was correctly informed, was up the Cuyahoga; and to the latter up the Sandusky. Both the carrying places were stated to be short, and the choice of either was left to him. But on making trial of the Sandusky, the water appeared to be too low, and his guides led him to think that, from the shortness of the portage, his provisions could be transported on men's shoulders. The portage between the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas fork of the Muskingum, was found to be, at that season, equally impracticable. In this dilemma, and to enable him to act as a check on the Delawares and Shawnees, against whom Bouquet was marching, Bradsteet determined to encamp on the Sandusky Portage. He opened a communication with Colonel Bouquet, who was advancing from Pittsburg, at the head of his army; and, by occupying this position he likewise exerted a favorable influence toward concluding a general peace with the western Indians, which effect resulted from that movement. From Indians who visited his camp he learned, that the Delawares and Shawnees were already tired of the war, and sought to make a peace on the best terms they could obtain. They were the more anxious on this point, because of the threat of the Six Nations, who were strongly in the English interest, to make war on them. To them, such a war was far more to be dreaded than the English armies, for they trembled at the very mention of the Iroquois. Everything, indeed, foreshadowed a favorable termination of the war.

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[1] Mante, p. 508.

[2] Ibid, p. 526.

Bouquet, who had attempted, in 1763, "to snatch a grace beyond the reach of art," at Brushy Run, and came near annihilation in the effort, had remained in garrison at Fort Pitt during the autumn and winter of 1763–64, where the Indians did not molest him. But experience had demonstrated that the subtlety and agility of the Indian movements, and their superior knowledge of the topographical features of the wilderness, required a degree of caution, on the march, beyond what would have been necessary in opposing civilized troops. The force destined for Bouquet reached Fort Pitt on the 17th of September, while Bradstreet was on his way from Detroit to Sandusky; but the former did not leave Fort Pitt until the 3d of October. He had under his command 1500 men, furnished with every needful supply. Having become an adept in the use of field maps, guides, and forest arts, he marched slowly and surely, his army covering a large space in the forest, and indicating great strength of purpose, as well as confidence of success. All this was observed and duly reported by Indian spies. The Indians, moreover, were aware that Bradstreet was on the Sandusky, at the head of even a larger force. To employ an Indian simile, these armies appeared like two converging clouds, which must soon overwhelm them.

On the 6th of October the army reached Beaver river, where they found a white man, who had escaped from the Indians. He stated that the latter were in much alarm, and those located along Bouquet's line of march had concealed themselves. On the 8th, the troops crossed the Little Beaver river, and on the 14th, encamped on the Tuscarawas. A competent observer, who visited the country in 1748, reported the number of Indian warriors in the Ohio valley, at 789. Of these there were Senecas, 163; Shawnees, 162; Wyandots, 140; Mohawks, 74; Mohicans, 15; Onondagas, 35; Cayugas, 20; Oneidas, 15; and Delawares, 165.[1] These figures would indicate an aggregate population of a fraction under 4000, and it is not probable that the number had varied much in sixteen years. While encamped on the Tuscarawas, two men arrived who had been sent by Bouquet from Fort Pitt as messengers to Colonel Bradstreet. On their return they had been captured by the Delawares, and conveyed to an Indian village, sixteen miles distant, where they were detained until the news arrived of Bouquet's advance with an army. From information subsequently received through Major Smallwood, one of the captives was finally surrendered by the Indians, a report being circulated that Bouquet was advancing to extirpate them. The effect of this news on the Indians implicated, was to determine them, with the connivance of a low-minded French trader, to massacre all the prisoners in their hands. The two messengers, however, were liberated, and commissioned to tell Colonel Bouquet, that the Shawnees and Delawares would visit him for the purpose of proposing terms of peace. Accordingly, their deputies arrived two days subsequently, and brought information that all their chiefs were assembled at the distance of about eight miles. The following day was appointed for a conference at Colonel Bouquet's tent. The first delegation which advanced comprised twenty Senecas, under the direction of their chief, Kigaschuta; next came twenty Delawares marshalled by Custaloga and Amik; and then six Shawnees, led by Keissnautchta, who appeared as the representative of several tribes. Each chief tendered a belt of wampum, accompanying its presentation by a speech, which embraced the usual subjects of Indian diplomacy; excusing what had been done during the war, placing all the censure on the rashness of their young men, promising to deliver up all their captives, soliciting a cessation of hostilities, and pledging future fidelity to their agreements.

Bouquet realized the advantage of his position, and a future day was appointed for his answer, which, when given, embraced all the points in question. He spoke to them as one having full authority; accused them of perfidy; upbraided them for having pillaged and murdered English traders; and charged them with killing four English messengers who carried a commission from the king. He also spoke to them of the audacity of their course in besieging the king's troops at Fort Pitt. The whole tone of his address was elevated, truthful, and manly. He concluded by informing them that, if they would deliver up to him all the prisoners, men, women, and children, then in their possession, not even excepting those who had married into the tribes, furnish them with clothing, horses, and provisions, and convey them to Fort Pitt, he would grant them peace; but, by no means, on any other terms.

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[1] Vol. IV., p. 605.

He then broke up the conference, and put his army in motion for the Muskingum, it being a more central position, and one from which, if the Indians faltered in carrying out their engagements, he could the more readily direct his operations against them. While the army was encamped on the Tuscarawas, the Delawares brought in eighteen white prisoners, and also eighty small sticks, indicating the number still in their possession. The army broke ground on the Muskingum on the 25th of October, and on the 28th, Cocknawaga Peter arrived, with letters from Colonel Bradstreet. During the ensuing week the camp was a scene of continual arrivals and excitement. During the month of November, the Indians of the various tribes delivered up their captives. Such a scene was, perhaps, never before, and, certainly, has never since, been witnessed. They surrendered, of Virginians, thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children; and of Pennsylvanians, forty-nine men and sixty-seven women and children. Major Smallwood, an officer who had been captured the previous year, near Detroit, by the Wyandots, was likewise restored to his friends. These comprised all who had escaped the war-club, the scalping-knife, and the stake; old and young were indiscriminately mingled together in the area. A solemn council ensued, at which Custaloga represented the Delawares, and Kigashuta the Senecas. The latter began:

"With this belt," (he opened the wampum) "I wipe the tears from your eyes. We deliver you these prisoners, the last of your flesh and blood with us. By this token we assemble and bury the bones of those who have been killed in this unhappy war, which the evil spirit excited us to kindle. We bury these bones deep, never more to be looked or thought on. We cover the place of burial with leaves, that it may not be seen. The Indians have been a long time standing with arms in their hands. The clouds have hung in black above us. The path between us has been shut up. But with this sacred emblem we open the road, clear, that we may travel on as our fathers did. We let in light from above to guide our steps. We hold in our hands a silver chain, which we put into yours, and which will ever remain bright, and preserve our friendship."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the other speakers, and a general cessation of hostilities resulted; the terms of pacification were agreed on, hostages were demanded and furnished, and six deputies appointed to visit Sir William Johnson. On the 18th of October, Bouquet set out on his return to Fort Pitt, which he reached on the 28th. From this point the rescued captives were sent to their respective homes. Bradstreet also returned, by way of Lake Erie, to Fort Niagara and Albany, a part of his army having marched thither by land. An effectual termination was thus put to the hostilities of the Indians against the British government, resulting from the conquest of Canada.

CHAPTER IX.

LORD DUNMORE'S EXPEDITION TO THE SCIOTO AGAINST THE SHAWNEES, DELAWARES, WYANDOTS, AND MINGOES. INCIDENT OF LOGAN.

The peace concluded with the Indians, influenced as they were by the presence of large armies, and compelled thereto by the force of circumstances, 1764 not being consonant to their feelings, exercised only a temporary restraint upon their actions. Canada having submitted to the British arms, they had no longer their ancient ally to rest on, and they had finally submitted, in 1764, to a power they could not continue to oppose; assuming the garb of peace, and breathing words of submission, while their hearts still glowed with their native predilection for war and plunder. The fire was merely smothered. This state of quasi amity and friendship continued for several years subsequent to the expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet. These expeditions had, however, been the means of making geographical explorations, which had developed districts of country so inviting in all their natural characteristics, the alluvions, called "bottoms," possessing a deep and fertile soil, surrounded by sylvan scenery of an enchanting character, that the desire for their acquisition by an agricultural people, became equally ardent and absorbing. The Indians were very soon regarded as a mere incumbrance on the land, and life was freely ventured in its acquisition.

The project for the settlement of Kentucky originated in 1773. A resolution was formed to make the attempt early the following spring, notwithstanding it was occupied by Indians, who had committed some mischief, and were suspected of hostile intentions. The mouth of the Little Kenawha was selected as the place of rendezvous. Reports of a very alarming nature deterred several persons from joining in the attempt. About eighty or ninety fearless and enterprising men met at the rendezvous, amongst whom was George Rodgers Clarke, the future conqueror of Illinois. The explorers remained encamped at this point for several days, during which time, a small party of hunters, who had gone out to obtain supplies of meat for the camp, were fired on, at a point on the Ohio below their camp. This act betokened a state of hostile feeling among the Indians. It being deemed necessary to select a commander, Captain Michael Cresap was chosen, who had acquired a reputation the previous year, and who was known to be then on the Ohio, above, with a party. They had purposed attacking a Shawnee town, located on the Scioto river, at a place called Horsehead Bottom; but Cresap opposed it, on the ground that, although appearances on the part of the Indians were very suspicious, there was no open war, and that, being yet early in the spring, it was most prudent to await further developements. This advice was followed, and the whole party accompanied him up the river to Wheeling,[1] at which place they established their headquarters. The numbers of the armed explorers were quickly augmented by the surrounding settlers; a fort was erected, and, after some negotiations with the commander, at Pittsburg, acting under the authority of Lord Dunmore, the existence of a state of war was publicly announced.

This period of Indian history requires a moment's further attention, as a war with the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingoes was on the point of commencing. A foul deed was committed a few days subsequently, by some reckless and unprincipled traders, or vandal scouts, who, according to Colonel Sparks,[2] unknown to Cresap, stole on Logan's lodge, and cruelly murdered his family. This crime introduced on the scene of action the celebrated chieftain, Logan, whose misfortunes have excited wide-spread sympathy, and whose simple eloquence has electrified the world.

Logan was born at Shamokên, on the Susquehanna, a spot whose precincts have been hallowed by the good deeds of the benevolent Count Zinzendorf and his followers, who there founded the mission of Bethlehem.[3] Logan's father, whose name was Shikelimo, was an Iroquois, of the Cayuga tribe.[4] The murder of his family and his relations, on the Ohio, in 1774, was not the result of the expedition from Virginia, which has just been described, but was attributable to the inordinate desire for acquisition, on the one part, and of exasperation of the races on the other, which has so long characterized the Indian trade on remote sections of the frontiers. The event occurred two days after the final decision at Wheeling,[5] and at a time when uncommonly great excitement existed between the Indians and the whites. Two canoes from the west bank of the Ohio stopped at a trader's station, at the mouth of Yellow river, some twenty miles below Wheeling. There is no evidence that the armed frontiersmen at the station knew that either Logan's wife, sister, or any relative of his, was among the number of these trading visitors, and the atrocious act must be regarded as a result of the then prevalent and rancorous hatred of the Indian race. The victims were shot down in their canoes, while crossing the Ohio, not because they were obnoxious as individuals; not because they were of the family of Logan; but simply on account of their affinity with the wild Turanian race.[6] Such is the generally acknowledged version of this base transaction. Colonel Sparks, while exonerating Cresap from complicity in this dark transaction, either personally, or through any orders or permission given to his men, reveals an entirely new feature in the case. No member of Logan's family was in the two canoes which stopped at Baker's Bottom; but they were killed in Logan's own lodge, on Mingo Bottom, during his absence on a hunting excursion. The cowardly deed was done by some of Cresap's men, who had stolen away from his camp, contrary to his wishes, while he was journeying from Wheeling to Pittsburg, and against his express orders, which were, to respect Logan's residence, and not to attack it. Not only was this so, but, when Cresap heard the firing, he immediately ran in the direction whence the sounds proceeded, and interposed his authority to stop the massacre.[1] There is also another misstatement which requires correction. The pusillanimous attack on the canoes at Yellow Creek was not committed by the men of Cresap's command, then on the Ohio, far less by Cresap himself, or by his orders. On the contrary, not only was Cresap a brave and worthy man, distinguished for his services in the Indian wars of that period, as well as during that of the Revolution, which succeeded it,[2] but he was also a friend of Logan, and, according to George Rodgers Clarke, opposed an attack on Logan's house, at Mingo Bottom.[3] In this exoneration of Cresap, Colonel Sparks, who was a private in Lord Dunmore's army, at the date of the delivery of Logan's speech, in Camp Charlotte, on the Scioto, concurs.[4]

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[1] This Indian (Delaware) name is a derivative from *weel*, a human head, and *ing*, a place; there being a tradition that the Indians had fixed a human head on a pole at this place.

[2] Vol. VI., p. 614.

[3] Logan had married a Shawnee wife, spoke that language, lived with the tribe, and was frequently regarded as a Shawnee.

[4] Vol. IV. p. 616.

[5] De Hass., p. 149.

[6] Vide Bunsen's Philosophy of Universal History, p. 111, Vol. II.: London, 1854.

The force congregated at Wheeling soon became engaged in a struggle with the Indians. A day or two after their arrival at that place, some canoes containing Indians were discovered descending the river, under shelter of the island. They were pursued for fifteen miles, when a battle ensued, in which a few men were killed and wounded on each side. Hostilities having thus commenced, the entire country soon swarmed with armed Indians; and the settlers, to ensure their own safety, were compelled to huddle together in block houses.

An express was despatched to Governor Dunmore, at Williamsburg, with information as to the position of affairs on the frontiers. The legislature being then in session, measures were at once adopted for repelling the Indians. Early in the month of June, a force of 400 men, collected in eastern Virginia, reached Wheeling, whence they descended the river to the Indian town of Wappatomica, but without effecting anything, as the town was deserted, and the Indians had fled. In this expedition, the men suffered much for want of food; the Indians were not intimidated. After various manoeuverings, and much countermarching, during which several Indian towns were burned, and a few men killed, Indian subtlety proving more than a match for English discipline and rash confidence, the army returned to Wheeling, and was disbanded.

A more formidable expedition, however, was organized at the seat of the Virginia government, of which Governor Dunmore announced his determination to assume the command. By the 1st of September, a force, numbering from 1000 to 1200 men, was organized, under the immediate command of General Andrew Lewis. After marching nineteen days through the wilderness, General Lewis reached Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, where he was to have been joined by Dunmore; but, instead thereof, he received despatches from him, changing the plan of operations, and directing him to proceed to the Scioto river. While preparing to comply with this order, his camp was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a body of Shawnees and their allies, led on by the Shawnee chief, Monusk, or Cornstalk, and a fiercely-contested battle ensued. The Indians exhibited great daring, rushing to the encounter with a boldness and fury which has seldom been equalled, and accompanying their onslaught with tremendous noise and shouting. Colonels Lewis and Fleming were killed, and the troops were obliged to give ground for a time; but a reinforcement being ordered up, the Indians were, in turn, compelled to fall back. The battle raged from eleven o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, when the natives retreated. The Indians engaged were Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Mingoes.[1] Among the leaders of the latter was the celebrated Tah-ga-yu-ta, or Logan, whose eloquence has thrilled so many hearts. The Virginians acknowledge a loss of 150 men, and the Indians are estimated to have lost 200 warriors. Indian history nowhere records such an obstinately contested battle. The loss of the Virginians would have been much greater, had they not adopted the system of the natives, darting from tree to tree with the spring of a cougar, and taking aim with the precision of woodsmen and hunters.

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[1] Vol. IV., p. 623.

[2] Brantz Mayer, before the Maryland Historical Society.

[3] De Hass., p. 149.

[4] Vol. IV., p. 627–29.

Having properly interred the dead, and erected and garrisoned a temporary fort, General Lewis moved forward to the Scioto; but, in the meantime, Lord Dunmore had reached that stream by way of Pittsburg, and had established a camp, which he called Charlotte, at the mouth of a small stream, known as the Sippi.[2] At this camp, the Indians were collected, and a treaty of amity was concluded. In the council, Cornstalk spoke with a manly tone and demeanor, which excited remark; all the tribes which had been engaged in the battle, were there represented, except the Mingoes.[3] The latter, being under the influence of Logan, who had entered into this war with the most revengeful feelings, were restrained by him from coming forward. Lord Dunmore sent for the chief; but he declined attending, and transmitted to him the noted speech,[4] which has given to his name a literary immortality.

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[1] The Iroquois of the Ohio were thus named.

[2] *Sippi* is the Shawnee name for a creek.

[3] American archives, 4th Series, Vol. I., p. 1170.

[4] Vol. IV., p. 615.

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIAN TRADE UNDER BRITISH RULE.

THE subjugation of the Indians being at length effected, from this period we may trace the progress of the British toward a monopoly of the Indian trade, which 1765 tremendous engine of power was destined ultimately to operate in elevating or depressing the tribes, in accordance with the will of those who directed its movements. The trade with the Indians was a boon at which commerce clutched with an eager hand. To secure the coveted prize, no hardship was considered too severe, no labor too onerous; dangers and difficulties were laughed at, and life itself regarded as of little value. The Indians were incited to new exertions in pursuing the chase, little heeding that they were, in reality, destroying their main resource for the sustenance of life; for, when the fur-bearing animals were annihilated, their lands became in a great measure valueless to them. In the hands of the English, Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and the Mississippi towns, not only equalled their progress under the French, but became still greater centres of trade. Though New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston contributed their capital to the extension of this trade, yet the above-named original interior towns of the traders still held their prominent position. The tribes, scattered over the continent, felt most severely the effects of this ever-extending empire of trade; they were literally driven from the face of the earth, by the rabid and uncontrolled pursuit of wealth, through the medium of the fur trade, which so long promised riches to those who engaged in it.

Sir William Johnson, who had been during forty years the Mæcenas of the Indians, and knew the disastrous effects which unlicensed trade would have on Indian society, early saw the importance of so systematizing and controlling it, that it might become an element, not only of power, but of prosperity to the colonies and to the Indians. His letters and memoirs on this subject,[1] furnish abundant proof of his comprehensive views and of his integrity of character. Indeed, his activity during his entire management of Indian affairs, gave evidence that he shrank from no duty. In 1761 he visited Detroit, for the purpose of placing matters there on a proper basis, and his agents[2] had, for years, traversed the Ohio, the Scioto, the Maumee, and other districts of the west, collecting information, and transmitting to him the details of every occurrence. To him the British government owes a heavy debt of gratitude.

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[1] Doc. Col. History, Vol. VII.

[2] Vide Croghan's Reports, Vol. VII., N. Y. Col. Doc.

Nothing was more important in the re-adjustment of Indian affairs, and for securing their good will, than a proper organization of the fur trade. Prior to the conquest of Canada, the English traders had been principally confined to the sources of the streams flowing into the Atlantic; but after this era their operations were extended indefinitely, west and north. Under the French authority, a variety of regulations and limitations had been enforced, extraordinary privileges, and monopolies of particular districts having been specially granted. Something of the same kind was attempted at the commencement of the English domination, after the fall of Canada; the power of granting licenses to trade on the frontiers, having been at first exercised by the commanding officers of posts. From the time of the capture of Quebec, the Indian trade had been in a state of confusion, and, before the final surrender of the remote districts, the Indians had been prevented from obtaining their regular supplies of goods, wares, and merchandise, which had now become necessary to their comfort. They had long previously lost their old arts, and had become familiarized to the use of metallic cooking vessels, woollens, arms, and ammunition.

The several memoirs and letters which Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, addressed to the Lords of Trade,[1] on the subject before referred to, are good indications of the importance he attached to the correction of irregularities in the fur trade, of his care in placing before them the elements on which an equable system could be established, and of his solicitude for its early formation. When the Canadas were added to the area of his jurisdiction, it required some time to establish, on a proper footing, the new relations with all the distant tribes, which the occasion required. His great object was to secure political influence with the tribes, and for this purpose he had personally visited Detroit, Oswego, and Niagara. He kept in pay three deputies, who traversed a great part of the West, reporting to him the result of their observations and inquiries; and in the New York publications now before us, there is abundant evidence that he omitted no occasion of keeping the government advised concerning the true position of Indian affairs. It was not until after the return of the successful armies of Bradstreet and Bouquet, in the autumn of 1764, that an Englishman could, with any safety, carry goods into the newly-conquered districts. The very appellation, "English trader," was detested by the northern tribes, and instances occurred where Englishmen were obliged to conduct their operations in the names of the Canadian guides and interpreters in their employ.[2] Even the mere uniform of an English officer or soldier was loathed by them. "Why," said Pontiac, in 1763, "do you suffer those dogs in red clothing to remain on your land."[3]

We are told that trade at Michilimackinac began in 1766.[4] In 1765, Alexander

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[1] N. Y. Col. Hist. Doc., Vol. VII.

[2] Henry's Travels.

[3] Hist. and Scientific Sketches of Michigan.

[4] Ibid.

Henry, who had escaped the massacre at Michilimackinac, obtained a license granting him the monopoly of the trade on Lake Superior, and, after one year's sojourn there, returned, bringing with him 150 packs of beaver, each weighing 100 pounds, besides other furs.[1] Mr. J. Carver, on his arrival there, in 1766, found this place to be the great centre of the English trade.[2] At first it was limited to Chegoimegon and Comenistequoia on Lake Superior, until Thomas Curry, obtaining guides and interpreters, penetrated as far as Fort Bourbon, on the Saskatchewine, and returned the following year with his canoes so amply filled with fine furs, that he was enabled to retire from the business. James Finley followed his track, the next year, to Nipawee, reaping equal profits, and was succeeded in the enterprise by Joseph Frobisher.[3] The way being thus opened, others recklessly braved the attendant dangers and hardships, and ardently pursued the business. Thus was inaugurated the North-west trade, which, during half a century has proved of more real value than any gold mines. It is no marvel that every toil was encountered in its pursuit, and health, as well as life itself, freely sacrificed to it.

The fur trade in the West also vigorously commenced about this period. It had been carried on, by the aid of pack-horses, across the Alleghanies, from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Fort Pitt, from the period of its capture; but, until after the return of the expedition of Bouquet in 1764, the territory beyond the Ohio could not be penetrated without incurring the greatest risks. At length, under the treaty of Versailles, British authority was established on the Mississippi, and, in September, 1765, Captain Sterling left Fort Pitt for the Illinois, with 100 men of the 42d regiment, in boats, and relieved the French garrison of Fort Chartres. The trading posts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and Peoria, were thus brought within the defined limits for trading operations. The following year, Matthew Clarkson, whose journal is contained in a former volume of this work, opened a trading station at Fort Chartres, under the auspices of a mercantile house in Philadelphia.[4]

A line of British posts at this period extended from Fort Chartres, in Illinois, by way of Pittsburg to Niagara, Oswego, and Fort Stanwix, and thence, pursuing the line of trade, up the lake to Detroit and Michilimackinac. The tribes being thus restrained, made no further efforts to originate hostile combinations. They had lost many men in the war which began in 1755; they had been foiled in all their schemes, from South Carolina to the Straits of Michigan; and, although they had evinced great energy and activity under the direction of Pontiac, their efforts invariably resulted in defeat. Such evidences of the possession of power on the part of the British were also developed, as to prove to them that, though slow in action, and sometimes erring in their movements, yet the latter had perseverance, energy, and ability, sufficient to baffle all their efforts. The Indians had likewise suffered greatly, within a few years, in their trade, which had been purposely interrupted.

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[1] Henry's Travels, p. 404.

[2] Carver's Travels.

[3] Mackenzie.

[4] Vol. IV.

CHAPTER XI.

CENSUS OF THE NUMBERS, NAMES, AND POSITION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES, TAKEN AFTER THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

Having conquered Canada, one of the first things necessary for the management of Indian affairs by Great Britain was, to ascertain the names and numerical strength of the Indians who had been transferred to her jurisdiction; which task was undertaken by Sir William Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs. As a central point, he began with the population of the Iroquois, who were then, and had long been, the objects of his special care. In a census table prepared by him, in 1763,[1] for the Lords of Trade, he represents the number of men capable of bearing arms among the Mohawks, at 160; the Oneidas, at 250; the Onondagas, at 150; the Cayugas, at 200; the Senecas, at 1050; and the Tuscaroras, at 140. He places the outlying band of Oswegachys (Ogdensburg), at 80, and the Caghnawagas (St. Regis), at 300; making a total of 2330 warriors, who, agreeably to the usual rules of computation, would represent an aggregate population of 11,650 souls. He computes that, of Conoys, Tuteloes, Saponeys, Nanticokes, and other conquered and dismembered tribes, then living in the Iroquois country, agreeably to their policy, there were, at that period, 200 men, or 1000 souls.

After leaving the area of New York, there is less reliance to be placed on the census, which was made up, not from actual enumeration, but from the reports of persons journeying amongst, or trading with, the tribes, and from the statements of parties supposed to be best informed on the subject. Sir William Johnson estimates the Algonquins, or Adirondaks, at 150 men, or 750 souls; the Abinakies, at 100 men, or 500 souls; and the various tribes of Hurons, or Wyandots, of Canada, at 240 men, representing a population of 1200 souls. This enumeration would allow to the Indians of Canada below Lake Ontario, and to the Iroquois of New York, including the nations conquered by them, and residing among them, 2820 fighting men, or 14,100 souls, a total which is believed to be a little above the actual numbers.

But, if the population of the region with which Sir William was least acquainted, namely, the lower St. Lawrence valley, was sometimes over-estimated by his informants, that of the great west, beyond the Alleghanies and along the upper lakes, if we except errors of synonymes, is conceived to have been returned with excellent judgment.

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[1] Documentary History of the State of New York, Vol. I., p. 26: Albany, 1850.

The attempt to estimate the numerical force of the Pontiac confederacy, during that year, must be considered to have been made under great disadvantages. The Baronet had himself visited Detroit, the seat of this confederacy, in 1761, and gathered the elements of his estimates from persons resident there.

The Wyandots, or Hurons, of Michigan, are rated at 250 men, or 1250 souls; the Ottawas, dispersed in various localities, at 700 men, or 3500 souls; the Chippewas, among whom are included the Mississagies, of the region of Detroit, at 320 men; and those of Michilimackinac, at 400 men, together making an aggregate of 8350. The Pottawattamies of Detroit are set down as comprising 150 warriors, and those of St. Joseph, 200; both, conjoined, representing a population of 1750 persons.

In the valley of the Ohio, and the region of country immediately west of it, the means for making an enumeration were more ample and reliable.

The Shawnees are estimated, with apparently good judgment, at 300 men, or 1500 souls; and the Delawares, with nearly the same probable accuracy, at 3000 persons, which would give them 600 fighting men.

The Miamies of the Wabash valley, under their Iroquois name of Twightwees, are numbered at 230 men; the Piankashaws, at 100 men; and the Weas, at 200 men, making 2650 souls. In the same general district, there are enumerated 180 Kickapoos, and 90 Mascoutins, a tribe of prairie Indians, who appear in all the earliest estimates, but who have since lost that designation. The name would indicate that they were Algonquins. These add to the estimate 1350 persons.

In the region of Green Bay, comprising the present area of Wisconsin, the Monomonies are computed at 110 men, or 550 souls. This estimate is duplicated under their French synonyme of Folsavoins. But, irrespective of this mistake, the number of Monomonies, at that time, would not seem to have been overrated at 1100 souls. The Winnebagoes, called by the French, Puanis, are rated at 360 men, or an aggregate of 1750 individuals, which is not excessive. The Sauks are enumerated as having 300 fighting men, or a population of 1500 souls, a probable excess; and the Outagamies, or Foxes, 320 warriors, or 1600 souls. These two tribes had united their fortunes, after their unsuccessful attack, in 1712, on the fort of Detroit, which act procured them the hatred of the French.

The aggregate of these enumerations and estimates of the western and northern tribes, reaches 24,050 individuals. Add to this the 14,100 of the eastern or home table of Sir William's superintendency, and there is presented a gross population of 38,150 souls. This does not include the southern tribes, or those residing on the west banks of the Mississippi, both of which groups of tribes were beyond his jurisdiction, and, also, outside of the limits of the territory ceded by the treaty of Versailles, concluded February 10th, 1763.

Means for testing this estimate were furnished by the respective expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet, in 1764. The estimate of the former, as given by Major Mante, p. 526, only related to the tribes assembled at, or living within, a circle of five or six days' march from his camp. This computation furnished data for an aboriginal population of some 9500 persons, of which number, 1930 are set down as warriors.

The statistics of the Indian population collected by Colonel Bouquet, and published at Philadelphia, in 1766, proceed to the other extreme, and, instead of confining the enumeration to tribes which were visited, contiguous, or known, he not only extended it to tribes residing beyond the region, and outside of the limits of the British territory, but, also, frequently, under various synonymes, or soubriquets, duplicated or triplicated the same tribes.

After discarding these redundancies, limiting the estimate of the tribes to the ratio of that of Sir William, and correcting the evident confusion existing between the number of fighting men and the gross population of the tribes, as in the note,[1] the table of Bouquet does not exhibit, on the same area, a gross variance from the corresponding parts of the Superintendent's list. He does not show that the entire Indian force in the west, residing east of the Mississippi river, numbered over 30,950 souls, or 6210 fighting men. To these he has added (see note below) 11,350 southern Indians, comprising the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the small tribes of the Catabas and Natchez,

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[1] Table of comparisons between Bouquet and Sir William Johnson.

	Bouquet.	Johnson.	
		Warriors.	Men, &c.
Nipising	400	300	1500
Algonquins	300		
Wyandots	300	300	1500
Chippewas	5000	1000	5000
Ottawas	900	900	4500
Mississagies	2000	400	2000
Pottawattamies	350 men.	850	1750
Puans	750	150	750
Mascoudins	500	100	500
Sauks	400	150	750
Miamies	350 men.	350	1750
Delawares	600 "	600	3000
Shawnees	500 "	500	2500
Kickapoos	300 "	300	1500
Weas	400	400	2000
Piankashaws	250	250	1250
Kaskaskias	600	120	600
Catabas	150	100	500
Cherokees	2500 souls.	500	2500
Chickasaws	750 men.	750	3750
Natchez	150 "	100	500
Choctaws	4500 souls.	900	4500

who are estimated at 2250 warriors. As if to evidence the peril from which he had escaped, or to show the force that could be brought against the British frontiers, the Sioux, Kansas, and wild prairie tribes of upper Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, are introduced into the estimates. Thus, the entire number of fighting men in his estimates is set down at 56,500, which, by the data he furnishes, would indicate a gross population of 283,000 souls, a most extravagant computation.[1]

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[1] Vol. III., p. 559.

SECTION THIRTEENTH.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN FORCE TO BE ENCOUNTERED.

OHIO was the first of those talismanic names which, dating back as early as 1750, in the days of Franklin and Washington, influenced the spread of the American population over the entire West. But the country so attractive to a civilized people was in possession of fierce savage tribes, who flitted through the wilderness like the genii of Arabic fable, acknowledging neither the laws of God, nor those of man. England was the first to teach to such of these western tribes as hovered around her colonies, the principles of industry, arts, and letters, and the incalculable advantages of the habits of civilization over barbarism. She was the first also, by the aid of her fleets and armies, to bring these savage hordes to effectual terms; and, adopting their own figurative style, to make them aware that the plow was superior to the tomahawk. She exercised a just supervision over a wide and exposed frontier, through the medium of lines of forts and agencies, and re-established, on better principles, the fur trade, that powerful stimulus to energetic action among the Indians, which has had a much greater influence on the early and middle ages of their history, than anything else. But, after effecting this object by a lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, and after having compelled the savages to acknowledge the British sway, this power would seem to have only been acquired by Britain, and strengthened, that it might be wielded against the Americans; for, after controlling this Indian influence during the brief period of fifteen years, it was directed against the colonies by the mother country, and proved, if not one of the most potent, at least one of the most inhuman and cruel auxiliaries of a despotic government, in its efforts to coerce and crush a brave and liberty-loving people.

To ascertain the precise strength of this Indian force, had been an object with the British government after the conquest of Canada, and it also became a point of much moment to the colonies on the breaking out of the Revolution. The results of the efforts made by the British authorities to determine their numbers, have just been stated. The first reliable estimates obtained by the colonies, were made under the auspices of the War Department, while the government was located at Philadelphia. The elements of the following schedule are extant in the handwriting of Mr. Madison.[1]

FORCE OF THE INDIAN NATIONS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Gross Pop.	Locality.
I. Iroquois.			
Mohawks	100	500	Mohawk Valley.
Oneidas and Tuscaroras	400	2000	Oneida County, western New York.
Onondagas	230	1150	Onondaga Castle, &c., " "
Cayugas	220	1100	Cayuga Lake, &c., " "
Senecas	650	3250	Seneca Lake to Niagara, "
	1600	8000	
II. Iroquois of the West.			
Wyandots	180	900	Detroit and Sandusky.
III. Algonquins.			
Ottowas	450	2250	Miami river to Michilimackinac.
Chippewas	5000	25,000	Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior.
Mississagies	250	1250	North of lakes.
Pottawattamies	450	2250	Detroit, St. Joseph's, and Wabash.
Miamies	300	1500	St. Joseph's of Miami, &c.
Piankashaws, Weas, under the name of Musketoons, &c.	800	4000	Wabash river, &c.
Monomonies	2000	10,000	West of Lake Michigan, &c.
Shawnees	300	1500	Ohio, &c., have been exceedingly active.
Delawares, Munsees	600	3000	Muskingum, &c.
	10,150	50,750	
IV. Dakotas.			
Sioux	500	2500	Upper Mississippi.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 560.

V. Appalachians.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Gross Pop.	Authorities.
Cherokees	500	2500	Hutchins, Vol. III., p. 555.
Chickasaws	150	750	" " "
Choctaws	900	4500	Smith, " "
Catawbas	150	750	Hutchins " "
Natchez	150	750	" " "
Muscogees { Alabamas	600	3000	" " "
Muscogees { Cowetas	700	3500	" " "
	3150	15,750	

Recapitulation.

	Warriors.	Gross Population.
1. Iroquois of New York	1600	8000
2. Iroquois of the West	180	900
3. Algonquins	10,150	50,750
4. Dakotahs	500	2500
5. Appalachians, southern tribes	3150	15,750
	15,580	77,900

It is evident, from scanning these details, that access had been obtained to persons conversant with the locations and population of the Indian tribes. Compared to the wild general estimates of Bouquet, made in 1764, they present a schedule evincing judgment and a commendable approach to accuracy. If the strength of some tribes is overrated, others are correspondingly underrated, leaving the average of the Indian force that could, by any probability, be brought into the field, very near the true standard. The Sioux, for instance, might, with a much nearer approach to accuracy, have been rated at 10,000, but there was no probability that more than 500 warriors could, under the most favorable circumstances, have been brought into action. In fact, it is believed that not a man of that stock ever drew a bow against the Americans, unless it be possible that one or two stray warriors of their ethnological connection, the Winnebagoes, can be conjectured to have wandered to Wyoming, or Stanwix. The Iroquois Six Nations are enumerated as having 350 warriors less than they are rated in the estimate of Sir William Johnson, made in 1763, which probably a little more than underrates their actual decline in thirteen years, under the combined influence of trade and alcohol. The Chippewas are over-estimated at 5000 men, on a limited area, and without tracing their scattered bands over a very wide and remote field. The enumeration of the Menomonies, who occupied the present area of Wisconsin, is also, under any circumstances, in excess; but this very nomadic people were in the habit of hunting over an extended territory on the upper Mississippi, where they were accompanied by their intimate associates, the Sauks, who have no place in the estimate. The Foxes, the Kickapoos, and their allies, the Mascotins, the aggregate population of which three tribes is computed at 2950, in Johnson's tables, are also entirely left out in this estimate, so that what was overrated on the one hand, was, with a considerable approach to accuracy, counterbalanced on the other. Nor is it probable, as Mr.

Madison has stated, in a note attached to the estimate,[1] that his aggregate of 12,430 warriors was above the truth, or that this force was employed in the contest. It has been estimated that the number of fighting men employed by Great Britain during the war, was 770.[2]

Congress, after its primary organization, placed the subject of the Indian intercourse in the hands of commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War. The trust was an arduous one, perpetually fluctuating in its aspects, and requiring great knowledge of the Indian character, as well as an accurate conception of the geographical features and natural resources of the country. It was evident, from the first, that the Six Nations would side with the mother country, from whom it was earnestly desired to detach them, and to persuade them to remain neuter in the contest. This was the policy prescribed by Washington, and was urged upon them by Mr. Samuel Kirkland, who resided among the Oneidas. He was charged personally by the President, to impress upon them the importance of pursuing a neutral line of policy; for then, no matter which party proved triumphant, the Indian interests would not receive injury; but if they were involved in the struggle, their interests would be likely to suffer. This reasoning prevailed with the Oneidas and Christian Indians under the energetic and popular chief, Skenandoah. A part of the Tuscaroras also sided with the Americans.

The ancient tribe of Mohicans of the Housatonic, whose history has been impressed upon popular memory by their long residence at Stockbridge, Mass., had been for a long period classed among the followers of the gospel; but, as the martial spirit of the era aroused all their warrior feelings, they enlisted themselves on the side of the colonies, and furnished an efficient company of spies and flankers for the American army. Directing the view to the west, there was but little encouragement in the prospect. The Delawares, who had finally abandoned central Pennsylvania, in 1749, influenced thereto partially by annoyance at the continued encroachments of the settlers, but more by fear of the Iroquois tomahawk,[3] were arrayed in opposition to the colonies.

The Shawnees, who claim a remote southern origin, appear to have divided in their primary emigration to the north; a part of the tribe pursuing the route within the range of the Alleghanies, to the territory of the Lenno Lenapi, or Delawares, directly north, and a part descending the Kenawha, to the Ohio valley, whence they ascended the Scioto river to Chillicothe, which became their western centre. Others located themselves a little below the influx of the Wabash, at a spot hence called Shawneetown.

There is a circumstance of much interest connected with the history of this tribe. According to the account of the Mohican chief, Metoxon,[4] that tribe was originally connected with the Delawares, but being a restless and quarrelsome people, had involved themselves in inextricable troubles while in the south, and, in the chief's language, had returned to sit again between the feet of their grandfather.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 561. [2] Ibid. [3] Lancaster Conference of 1744: vide Colden [4] Oneota, p. 105.

Those of the tribe who had reached their closely ethnological affiliated relatives, the Delawares, had either preceded the latter, or accompanied them, across the Alleghanies.

That portion of the Senecas, and of other tribes of the Iroquois, who had emigrated west, or who possibly held a footing there from remote times, were called Mingoes.[1] They were regarded as generally taking part with the western Indians in their hostilities. When Washington visited their chief, Tanacharisson, at Logstown, in 1753, this sachem expressed himself as being friendly to the Virginians; and it is believed that this particular branch of them were not included among those who formed the ambuscade against General Braddock, three years subsequently.

Of the Chippewas, Ottowas, Mississagies, and other Algonquin nations, embraced in the preceding estimate, it is not known, or believed, that any of them were friendly to the American cause. They had been firm friends of the French, but, after the offence which has been mentioned, they transferred their allegiance to the British. It requires to be noticed, however, that, being more remote from the scene of conflict than any other tribe, if we except the Mississagies of Canada, there was only one point from which they might or could have been employed against the Americans, viz: from the central location of Fort Niagara, which was officially visited by the western tribes, even from Michilimackinac and Lake Superior.[2] Sir William Johnson died in 1774, about the time of the occurrence of the tea riot in Boston. The title and office descended to his son John, whose hall, at Johnstown, having been taken during the following year by the revolutionists, and himself placed on his parole, he fled to Canada, carrying with him the Mohawk tribe. Subsequently, Fort Niagara became the seat of the royal influence, where marauding, plundering, and scalping-parties were organized, and, to use the expressive epithet of Sir John's father, "painted and feathered" for war.[3]

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[1] Mr. Heckewelder informs us that this term is derived from Mengwe, the Delaware name for the Six Nations, and that the Dutch term Maaqua is derived from the same source.—Phil. Trans., Vol. I., *Hist. Ind.*

[2] Henry's Travels.

[3] N. Y. Hist. Doc., Vol. VII.

CHAPTER II.

UNFRIENDLY STATE OF FEELING, AND ERRONEOUS OPINIONS OF THE TRIBES, DURING THE CONTEST.

The 770 tomahawks, and the like number of scalping-knives, which, agreeably to the estimate,[1] the British Indians could wield, in this war with the colonies, were actively employed on the frontier settlers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The savages were incited to greater activity in their bloody deeds by rewards paid for the scalps of the unfortunate victims, thus establishing a certain relation between dollars and blood. For a handful of energetic but undisciplined militia to oppose a powerful nation on the seaboard, possessing, as she did, every means of offence that ships and armies could furnish, was a great and hazardous undertaking; but to encounter the Indians at the same time, on the frontiers, required a skilful policy. There was a two-fold enemy to cope with. It had occupied England, with all her influence and political tact, backed by all her means, a period of fifteen years to wean the affections of the tribes from the French, and to attach them to the British crown. All this the colonies now attempted to undo. The Indians were told that the colonies had taken up the mace, and had begun to wield the sovereignty against the mother country; that it was a contest of son against father. By the British party, the Americans were represented as being weak in numbers, as well as impoverished in finances, and that their generals and leaders were destined to pay the forfeit of their rebellion on the gallows. The Indian, being no casuist, no statesman, no judge of the justice, or of the rights of nations, thought that the oldest, the strongest, and the wisest, should prevail; and, therefore, he resolved to fight on the side of Britain. Fifteen years had elapsed, after the fall of Canada, before the English were enabled to secure the friendship of the Indians, and to cement their interests: it was, consequently, impossible to effect a sudden rupture between them. They neither understood nor appreciated the principles involved in the contest, which was represented to them, by those whose interest it was to do so, as a family quarrel between a father and a son; and, so far as we can collate their expressed opinions, they contended that the father was in the right. But, whether in the right or wrong, they believed the British to be the strongest, the most wealthy, and the most willing and able to benefit them. The Americans, it was urged, would be very likely to trench upon their rights by locating themselves upon their lands; though the Indians had need of but little for the purpose of cultivation, which they regarded as one of the heresies of civilization. They merely required the domain, that on it might be raised deer, bears, and beaver, which animals the migrations from the Atlantic shores, already beginning to cross the Alleghanies, would drive away. They lived on the flesh of these animals, and, by the sale of the skins and furs, they procured all else that was necessary to their subsistence. This was a popular strain, on which their speakers could dilate. They had frequently spoken to Warrahiagey on the subject,[1] and opposed the concessions of lands on the banks of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic, made to the colonists by the British governors. They asserted that these patented lands were theirs, and had never been sold.[2] It was an old theme, which had now been invested with renewed vitality.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 561.

The Indian mode of warfare gives them an advantage over mercenary troops, as their fierce and loud screams and whoops seem to presage immediate destruction. But this is a delusion; a hundred Indians, scattered through a forest, might, by their noise, be thought a thousand, such is the celerity of their movements, and the piercing shrillness of their screams and *sassaquons*.[3] To a people in the habit of making use of similes, they appear to partake of the character of the wolves of their own forest and prairie; for they not only intimidate by their howls, but, no matter who starts and wounds the animal, they all come in for a share of the spoils, and riot on the plunder of the weak, the exhausted, and the defenceless. Though they occasionally commit murder only for the purpose of securing success in an assault, yet they seem to gather rage in proportion as the prey is weak, when they rival their prototypes in wild cruelty, and in their appetite for blood. Such were their distinguishing traits at Ulster, at Oriskany, at Cherry Valley, and Wyoming.

To conciliate the tribes, therefore, became the cherished policy of the revolted Colonies. The Americans represented to them that they were not parties to the contest, and that, no matter who succeeded, they could only be subordinates. They were, therefore, counselled to neutrality, which, however, required a stretch of ratiocination beyond their ability. The Indian character is formed by war; war is the high path to honor and renown; and, even those tribes which had professed their belief in the truths of Christianity, could not be restrained, or but partially, from taking up the tomahawk.

The Mohicans, of Stockbridge, ranged themselves on the side of the Americans, and performed good service, as scouts, throughout the contest. The Oneidas did the same. The voice of the popular chief, Skenandoah,[4] was heard in favor of the rising colonies; and the watchful attention and quick eye of Attatea, known as Colonel Louis, carefully noted the approach of evil footsteps during the great struggle of 1777, and gave every day the most reliable information of the march and position of the enemy.[1] The residue of the Six Nations acted the part of fierce foes along the frontiers. The Shawnees and Delawares were also cruel enemies. Their fealty to the British cause it was asserted, was further cemented by a promise, that their allies would stand by them, and never consent to a peace which did not make the Ohio river the boundary of the colonies.

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[1] New York Hist. Doc., Vol. VII. [2] Ibid. [3] War cry.

[4] For a sketch of this man's life, see Vol. V., p. 509.

Fortunately for the cause of humanity, the great battles of the Revolution were fought on the open plains and cultivated parts of the country, which, being denuded of forests, were unfavorable to the employment of Indian auxiliaries. The battles of Concord and Bunker Hill, Guilford, Long Island, White Plains, Saratoga, Monmouth, Trenton, Camden, King's Mountain, the Cowpens, Brandywine, Germantown, and Yorktown, were the great features of the conflict. But, wherever a detached column was marched through forests, or occupied an isolated fort, the war-cry resounded, and the details of the war give evidence that there were other and more dreaded enemies to be encountered than the sword and the bayonet, the cannon and the bomb.

The superior military skill and success of the Iroquois gave them a prominent position in Indian warfare. At the period of the Revolution, circumstances had placed them under the sway of the noted and energetic chief, Thyendanagea, more familiarly known as Joseph Brant. We have perused the speculations of an ingenuous and ready writer,[2] who labors to prove that Brant was, by the regular line of descent, a Mohawk chieftain. It is, however, undoubted, that he was not the son of a chief, and that, agreeably to the Iroquois laws of descent, he could not be a chief if the son of a chief, the right of inheritance being exclusively vested in the female line.[3] Brant was, in fact, a self-made man, owing his position to his own native energy, talents, and education. The Mohawks had lost their last and greatest sachem, Soiengarahta, called King Hendrick, in 1755, at the battle of Lake George. Little Abraham, who succeeded him in authority, was a man of excellent sense and fine talents, but exclusively a civilian, and possessing no reputation as a warrior. The institutions of the Iroquois were guarded by many rules and regulations, prescribed by their councils and customs; but they were, nevertheless, of a democratic character, and, under the sway of popular opinion, recognised and rewarded great talent and bravery. In 1776, no one could compete with Brant in these qualifications. In addition to his natural physical and mental energy, he had been well educated in early life, could read fluently, and was a ready writer. Raised within the purlieus of the Hall of Sir William Johnson, he never dreamed of questioning the fact, that Great Britain was, beyond all other nations, powerful, strong, and wise, and must prevail.

Brant's hatred of the Americans assimilated to that of Attila for the Romans.

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[1] Schoolcraft's Lecture before the New York Hist. Soc. on the Siege of Fort Stanwix.

[2] William Stone: Life of Brant, Vol. I.

[3] Louis Morgan's League of the Iroquois, p. 83.

CHAPTER III.

CONTESTS IN WHICH THE INDIAN FORCE WAS ENGAGED. INVASION OF ST. LEGER, WITH THE COMBINED IROQUOIS.

1776 Sir William Johnson died suddenly, from the effects of an attack of apoplexy, in the year 1774, at a time when reflecting minds deemed a speedy rupture between the colonies and the British crown inevitable. This gentleman had been forty years in rising to that position in Indian affairs which left him no rival or peer in America. During about twenty years of this period, he had been the official head of that department in America, so commissioned by the crown, and acknowledged by all the commanding generals. Intimately acquainted with the mental characteristics, the wants, the wishes, and the fears of the Indians, he had, as it were, with one hand wielded the power of government, in keeping them in order and subjection to the laws, and, with the other, exercised the duties of a Mentor, in teaching them how to promote their own best interests. No man, in the whole scope of our colonial history, can be at all compared to him. He had a presentiment of his death.[1] He disappeared from the scene of action at a critical period, when, to employ an Indian allegory, two thunder-clouds, black with anger, seemed rushing into conflict, leaving no one of sufficient capacity to cope with or control the storm. Great Britain had lavished on him the highest honors, and he was held in the highest respect by the Indians.

Those who have investigated the proceedings and the character of Sir John Johnson, of Guy Johnson, his deputy, of Colonel Claus, and of the various subordinates, who thenceforth controlled the direction of Indian affairs, have arrived at the conclusion, that this important interest was managed in a bad way, if their object was to serve the crown. The encouragement of murders and massacres was well calculated to arouse the deepest hostility of the colonists, and to cement them in the closest bonds of unity against the oppression of the British yoke. Numbers of persons, previously lukewarm in their cause, were driven to take an active part in the contest by deeds of blood and Indian atrocity. The several conferences, held in the office of the British Indian Department, during the years '75 and '76, proved the incapacity of Sir William's successors to control great events. The Six Nations were, as a body, the friends of the British, and did not like to see their officials, in public councils, and by public letters to committees and corporations, palliating or denying acts which they had secretly approved, and had stimulated them to perform.

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[1] Campbell's Annals of Tryon county.

When, in the year 1776, Sir John's residence, at Johnstown, was surrounded and captured by the militia, under General Schuyler, the Highlanders disarmed, and himself liberated on parole, he manifested his lack of honorable principles by breaking his parole, and fleeing to Canada. Guy Johnson, the Deputy Superintendent, and his subordinates, tampered with the authorities, and became involved in inextricable difficulties, thereby evincing more confidence in the justice of the contest than sound discretion or devotion to the best interests of the Mohawks. The jarring elements of that period could not be pacified by duplicity, and Sir John fled with the Indians, first to Fort Stanwix, then to Oswego, and, finally, to Niagara, which became the active headquarters of the Indian superintendency, and the rendezvous for their marauding and scalping parties.

The colonial public was, at this time, in a furor of excitement, the people impelling their local governments to vigorous action. The error of the British government, from first to last, was its rigid adherence to the rights of sovereignty, conceding nothing itself, but demanding from the colonies the most unqualified submission. It was ready to forgive and pardon; but never to redress grievances while possessing the power to coerce. The policy adopted at St. James's palace, was carried out at Johnson Hall, and at every intermediate point; the British maxim being, that the weak must submit to the strong, and that might makes right. No sooner had the Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Cayugas migrated to western New York with the fugitive Indian Department, and rallied, with the powerful Senecas, around their superintendent, in Fort Niagara, than efforts were made to induce the Iroquois to attack the border settlements. During a conference with the Indians at Oswego, Guy Johnson had excited them to take up the hatchet against the Americans, by inviting them to come and drink the blood of an American, and feast on his roasted body. This, although but an Indian figure of speech for an invitation to a feast of an ordinary character, furnished a formidable weapon to the Revolutionists, who construed its meaning literally, and represented that functionary as a monster of cruelty, in thus rousing these savages to action.[1]

The first incursion of this kind was, the expedition of Colonel St. Leger against the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley. It is not our purpose to notice all the occurrences of a long and bloody war, extending through a period of seven years, in which the Indians were employed; or even to describe at length the principal events. The objects of this rapid survey do not admit of it. But we may infer, from the circumstances previously mentioned, what was the character of the contest then impending.

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[1] Stone's Life of Brant, Vol. I., p. 88.

The year 1777 has been made ever memorable by the expedition of General Burgoyne, whose coming was heralded by a threat to march through the country, and crush it at a blow. A fine and well-appointed army of 10,000 men, indeed, appeared to be sufficient to make the people quail; but it was accompanied by hordes of the long-separated, but now reconciled, Algonquins and Iroquois, who ranged over the country, not as auxiliaries on the field of battle, but to destroy the quiet of domestic life by their devastations, and to chill the heart's blood of the colonists by their atrocities. The fate of Miss Jane M'Crea may serve as an incident to illustrate the singular barbarity of this warfare, and its effects on the popular mind.

Simultaneously with the invasion of the north-eastern borders of New York by Burgoyne, St. Leger, accompanied by a compact body of regulars, a park of artillery, and a large number of Indians, under Sir John Johnson, entered it from the west. He left Oswego with a total force of 1700 men, Indians included; the latter consisting chiefly of Senecas, Tuscaroras, Mississagies, an Algonquin tribe, nearly identical with the Chippewas, from the northern end of Lake Ontario, and of fugitive Mohawks, from the Mohawk valley, under Thyendanagea, or Brant, who now began to take a more active part in the contest. In his youth he had been a pupil at Dr. Wheelock's school, was employed as an interpreter and translator at the missionary station at Fort Hunter, and also as an under-secretary at Johnson Hall. As the active and influential brother of the Indian wife of Sir William, he had been constantly rising in the esteem of his people, until he assumed the position of popular leader; he must thenceforth be considered as the hero of the Iroquois. He combined, with great personal activity and a fine manly figure, a good common education, undoubted bravery, and an intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of civilization; and, what was of still more importance to his success, he possessed a thorough knowledge of the geographical features, and population of the Mohawk valley and its environs, together with a good idea of their power, disposition and resources. He was thus by no means a feeble enemy. Although lacking that comprehensive judgment which was necessary to form an estimate of the true character of the contest, and the unflinching nerve and decision requisite for the control of events, yet he was, after the death of Sir William, fully equal in these particulars to Sir John Johnson, and the other managers of British Indian affairs. But he possessed, in perfection, all the subtlety, subterfuge, art, and, when he grasped the tomahawk in active war, all the cruelty, of the forest savage.

St. Leger pursued his route up the Oswego river to the junction of the Seneca and Oneida, at Three River Point; thence up the Oneida river, through the lake of that name, along Wood Creek and across the portage, to Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk.

As he progressed, his forces were augmented by the Cayugas and the Onondagas. Fort Stanwix was the only point at which there was any probability this invading force would be stopped; and this fortification was not only in a dilapidated condition, but was garrisoned by only 400 State troops, which force was subsequently increased to some 700. The enemy entertained no doubt that the fort would surrender at discretion, and, as the formal array deployed before the eyes of the garrison, column after column, with banners flashing in the sun, followed by battalions of light artillery, and hordes of Indians, the Americans experienced a feeling similar to that which moved David, when he laid aside his armor and stepped down into the valley to meet Goliah.

"The 3d of August was a day of deep scenic interest, and revealed a military pageant, which made a striking impression. It was a calm and beautiful morning when the enemy took up their line of march from Wood Creek. The intervening ground was an open plain of wide extent, most elevated towards its central and southern edge. Gansevoort's men were paraded on the ramparts looking in the direction whence the Oneida sachem had told them the enemy would appear. Music soon was heard; the scarlet color of their uniforms next showed itself. They had taken their standards from their cases that morning, and as color after color came into view, and they unfurled them to the breeze, an intense degree of interest was felt, but scarcely a word uttered. To many of the men who had newly enlisted, the scene was novel. Some of them had served the year before under Montgomery; others in the movements at Ticonderoga and Crown Point under St. Clair. Some veterans dated their service in prior wars, under Sir William Johnson, Prideaux, and Bradstreet; there were others who were mere lads of seventeen. The Indians, spreading out on the flanks, gave the scene an air of Asiatic gorgeousness, mixed with terror; for their loud yells were heard above the British drum and bugle. The whole display, the exactitude of the order of march, the glitter of banners, the numbers present, and the impending danger of the contest, were designed for effect upon the American garrison. Not a gun was, however, fired; the panorama was gazed at in silence."[1]

Never was an investment more complete. The artillery deployed on the south, and took up their position within cannon-shot. The Royal Greens and Loyalists, under Sir John, lined one bank of the Mohawk, the shores and woods being occupied by Brant and his myrmidons. Every avenue was watched by the Indians. Death was the penalty of every attempt to venture a distance of over 200 yards from the works. Many atrocities were committed by the Indians on officers, men, and even on children, who were captured outside the pickets. The sentinels soon became expert in watching for every cannon fired, and by a warning cry announced the coming of shot or shell. It became evident that the calibre of the enemy's guns was too light to make an impression on the fort, but they made up in diligence what they lacked in power. Sometimes a shell exploded in the hospital, scattering destruction around; and occasionally a man was shot down on the ramparts, or on the esplanade. The garrison had not sufficient ammunition to return a brisk fire; but there was one thing they never lacked — a heroic determination to defend the work at all hazards. The striped flag, which had been hastily made, partly out of a camblet cloak,[1] was duly hoisted and lowered every morning and evening, with the firing of the gun that marked the reveille and the close of day. There was not a heart that quailed; they well knew that, in addition to the ordinary casualties of war, if the garrison was taken, the Indians would perpetrate the most inhuman massacre. The fort was bravely defended by Colonel Gansevoort, with a corps of new recruits and militia, veterans, whose intrepidity, firmness, and military endurance had been previously tested.

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[1] Lecture on the Siege of Fort Stanwix.—*N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1846.

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[1] Lecture on the Siege of Fort Stanwix.

CHAPTER IV.

AMBUSCADE AND BATTLE OF ORISKANY.

THE siege of Fort Stanwix had continued but three or four days, when
an American scout entered it, with the intelligence that General Herkimer, at 1777
the head of an army of militia, was on his way to relieve it.

Consternation had paralyzed the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley while the danger was yet distant, but the peril seemed to diminish the moment it came near. A desire for security compelled men to take up arms. If Fort Stanwix fell, the Mohawk valley would be swept with fire and sword; and General Herkimer, who commanded the militia, issued his proclamation, summoning them to arms. Three regiments, the entire strength of the valley, promptly responding, followed that determined prototype of Blucher to Oriskany, which was distant but a few miles from the fort.

Brant, who figured as the leader of the Iroquois, had called into requisition all his local knowledge of the route, and all the peculiar art of the Indians in war, that he might decoy General Herkimer and his army into an ambuscade. The system of tactics pursued by the Indians is, not to engage in a battle in compact ranks, but to seek to screen themselves, either under the darkness of night, or through the intervention of forests; and if in this way a good assault can be made, their courage sometimes becomes equal to a contest in very open order, or even to a charge on the field of battle.[1] But, in this instance, the chief evidently only sought to serve on the flanks, and to fall on the Americans unawares, or at a disadvantage. Such is the Indian idea of military triumph. General Herkimer reached the valley of the Oriskany, August 6, at ten o'clock in the morning. The crossing at this stream was surrounded by low grounds, traversed by a causeway, and beyond it were elevated plateaus, covered with forests, which overlooked it. The Americans saw nothing to excite suspicion. Herkimer had entered this pass, and two regiments had descended into the valley, but his vanguard had not reached the opposite elevation, when a heavy fire was suddenly poured in from all sides, accompanied by horrid yells, and the pass in his rear was immediately closed by the enemy. He was completely entrapped in an ambuscade, and for a few moments there was nothing but confusion and panic; the men fell thickly, and the army was threatened with utter annihilation; but they flew to the encounter like tigers; patriot and tory grappled with each other in deadly struggle. The dark eye of the Indian flashed with delight at the prospect of revelling in human blood, and the tory sought to immolate his late neighbor, who had espoused the hated cause of the Revolution. General Herkimer was wounded, and fell from his horse early in the action; a ball had pierced his leg below the knee, and killed his horse under him. His men were falling thickly around him; Colonel Cox was killed, and the yells of the savages resounded in every direction; but yet the firmness and composure of the General were undisturbed. His saddle was placed near a tree, and he was seated on it, his back being supported by the tree. Here he issued his orders; and drawing from his pocket his tobacco-box, and lighting his pipe, he smoked calmly while the battle raged around. After some forty-five minutes had elapsed, the men began to fight in small circles—a movement worthy of notice, since it was the only mode of contending successfully with the surrounding enemy. From this time, the Americans gained ground. A slight cessation in the firing was taken advantage of by the enemy, who ordered a charge. Bayonets were crossed, and a desperate struggle ensued, which was arrested by a sudden and heavy shower of rain, which fell in a massive sheet during one entire hour. The combatants were thus separated. Herkimer's men then, under his direction, chose a more advantageous position, and formed in a large circle. They were, from the first, as expert as the Indians in firing from behind trees; but the latter, as soon as they saw the smoke of the discharge, ran up and tomahawked the soldier before he could reload. The Americans then placed two men behind each tree, and after one fired, the other was ready to shoot down the advancing savage. The fire of the militia becoming more effective, the enemy began to give way, when Major Watts came on the ground, with another detachment of the Royal Greens, chiefly composed of fugitive tories, and the fight was renewed with greater vigor than before. The contending parties sprang at each other from the lines with the fury of enraged tigers, charging with bayonets, and striking at each other with clubbed muskets.

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[1] The Cherokees captured Fort Loudon, in Virginia, in 1787; but, violating the terms of the capitulation, they massacred the prisoners after they had marched a distance of thirty miles from the fort. There are instances in which the Indians have acted without allies. In 1755, at the battle of Lake George, the Mohawks fought bravely and fearlessly under King Hendrick, in the engagement which resulted in the defeat of Deiskau; but they had, however, a contiguous force of regular troops as a nucleus.

In 1763, Pontiac completely defeated Captain Dalzell, at the battle of Bloody Bridge; killing him, and driving his strong detachment into the fort. Harmer and St. Clair were disastrously defeated by them in 1791 and 1792.

A diversion was now made which became the turning point in the contest. One of Herkimer's scouts having reached the fort with the news of his position, its commander immediately resolved to make a sally for the relief of the army. The troops were paraded in a square, and the intelligence communicated to them. Colonel Willett then descended to the esplanade and addressed the men in a patriotic manner, concluding with the words: "As many of you as feel willing to follow me in an attack, and are not afraid to die for liberty, will shoulder your arms, and step out ONE PACE in front."[1] Two hundred men volunteered almost at the same moment; and fifty more, with a three-pounder, were soon after added to the force. The rain storm, which came up suddenly, hindered their immediate march, but as soon as it ceased they issued from the sally-port at a brisk pace, and, rushing down upon the camp of Sir John, carried it at the point of the bayonet, drove the enemy through the Mohawk, and captured all their camp equipage and public stores, at the same time killing a large number. Colonel Willett then turned his arms against the Mohawk camp, and swept through it. The sound of this rapid and severe firing arrested the attention of the belligerants, after the cessation of the rain. By a change of caps with a company of men, whose dress in this respect resembled that of the Americans, Major Watts attempted to palm off on the patriots a detachment of his troops as an American reinforcement; but the subterfuge being quickly discovered, the fight was resumed with bitter enmity. The Indian exclamation of *Oonah!* was at length heard, and the enemy retired, leaving Herkimer in possession of the field. Those who have most minutely described this battle, relate instances of personal heroism which would not disgrace the Iliad.[2]

The Indians, who had suffered severely, fought with great desperation. One hundred of their number lay dead, thirty-six of whom, comprising several chiefs, were Senecas,[3] who had been present in the greatest numbers. The fighting had become desultory, when suddenly the Senecas, who feared the arrival of American reinforcements, shouted their word for retreat, and commenced to move off, followed by the loyalists; whilst the reviving shouts, and more spirited firing of Herkimer's men, resounded in every direction. Thus ended one of the most severely-contested battles of the Revolution. It was, in reality, a victory for the Americans, and not a defeat, as it has been usually called, for they were left in undisputed possession of the field, which was not visited again by the enemy, either white or red. The victors constructed forty or fifty litters, on which they conveyed the wounded to their homes. Among the number was General Herkimer, who reached in safety his own house, where he died, about ten days after the battle, from the result of an unskilful amputation of his leg.

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[1] Verbal account of the late Colonel Lawrence Schoolcraft, one of this number.

[2] Governeur Morris, before the New York Historical Society. Campbell's Annals of Tryon County. Stone's Life of Brant.

[3] Stone, p. 244

CHAPTER V.

TERMINATION OF THE SIEGE OF FORT STANWIX.

The siege of Fort Stanwix was prosecuted during sixteen days after the 1777 battle of Oriskany. There appearing to be no further prospect of relief from the militia, it was resolved to send information of the condition of the fortress to the commandant of the army at Saratoga. Colonel Willet volunteered, with a single companion, to undertake this perilous duty. Creeping through the closely-guarded Indian lines, at night, he picked his way through woods and unfrequented paths to Fort Dayton (now Herkimer), whence he proceeded to Saratoga. General Schuyler immediately ordered Arnold, with a detachment of 900 men, and two pieces of artillery, to march to its relief. But before this force reached its destination, an apparently trivial circumstance caused St. Leger to break up his encampment, and suddenly retreat. Among a company of tories who had been captured, one night, in an unlawful assembly at Little Falls, was one Hon Yost, a Mohawk half-breed, who had, with others, including the noted Butler, been condemned to death by a court-martial. When Arnold arrived at Fort Dayton, the mother of this man, who was a simpleton, but on this account regarded with more favor by the Indians, besought him, with piteous supplications, to avert his doom. Arnold was at first inexorable; but eventually said, that if Hon Yost would, in glowing terms, announce his approach, in St. Leger's camp before Fort Stanwix, he would grant him a reprieve from the gallows. The event proved Arnold's sagacity. Hon Yost represented to St. Leger that he had narrowly escaped, and had been hotly pursued; in proof of which assertion he exhibited his coat, that he had hung up, fired at, and perforated with bullet-holes. He exaggerated the force of Arnold's detachment in every particular, and, as he spoke Mohawk fluently, he advised the whole Indian force to fly instantly. A perfect panic prevailed. The morning after his arrival, which was the 22d of August, the men on the ramparts of the fort beheld, with surprise, a sudden movement in the enemy's camp. Not only were the Indians in full retreat, but also St. Leger, Sir John Johnson, and Brant, with all their host of Indians and tories. The tents were left standing, and the whole train of artillery, including the mortars, was abandoned. The following day General Arnold marched into the fort, with General Larned of the Massachusetts line, and was received with salutes and huzzas. During twenty-one days had the siege been closely maintained, and as closely contested. The firmness and endurance of the garrison excited admiration throughout the country, and imparted new spirits to the friends of the Revolution, who had been so recently depressed by Burgoyne's invasion. It was the first of a series of victories, beginning in the most gloomy period of the contest, the year 1777. When the smoke of the Revolution cleared away, and memory reverted back to the times that tried men's souls, the site of this fort was named, and has since been called, ROME,[1] in allusion to the bravery of its defence.

This triumph was followed, in October, by the surrender of Burgoyne. Early the following year, on the 6th of February, France joined the colonies, entering into a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance with them, and, from this moment, the success of the patriots was no longer problematical.

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[1] Oneida County, New York.

CHAPTER VI.

POLICY OF EMPLOYING THE INDIANS IN WAR.

No contest which occurred during the struggle of the Revolution, was of so much importance to a wide extent of country, as that of Fort Stanwix, in which the Indians were relied on by the British as auxiliaries, and possessed in reality so much power to control the result. It is doubtful if, of the 1700 men, announced at Oswego as comprising the besieging force, more than 1000 were regular troops. Of these, the royalists, commanded by Sir John Johnson, formed one regiment; while the Senecas, the Mississagies, from the northern shores of Lake Ontario, the fugitive Mohawks, under Brant, and the Cayugas and Onondagas, should not be estimated at less than 700 warriors. A patriot, present at that siege, who was likewise a close observer on the frontiers throughout the war, has asserted that, in rancor and cruelty, a rabid royalist was equal to two ordinary Indians; for, while he was actuated by the same general spirit of revenge, he possessed an intimate knowledge of neighborhoods and families, which he attacked in the assumed guise of a savage.

The policy of employing savages at all in war, admits of no defence. The act of scalping, depicted in the plate presented herewith,[1] and the indiscriminate slaughter of both sexes, are the most horrid traits of savage life. None but a weak and bigoted prince, counselled by a short-sighted and narrow-minded premier,[2] would have adopted this system as a part of the extraneous means of reducing the colonies to subjection. The Indians could never be relied on by British generals, or employed for any other purpose than that of covering their flanks, and imparting to the contest a more bitter and vindictive character. If the latter was the object sought, the end was fully answered. The men of the present generation have not forgotten the acts of fiendish cruelty perpetrated by the class of Revolutionary tories.

It is not designed to enter into a minute detail of the occasions, other than the one just described, when the Indians were employed, either as flankers of their armies, in separate expeditions, or, as the accompaniment of a small nucleus of British or royalist provincial troops.

From the beginning of the contest, Congress had made strenuous efforts to persuade the Indian tribes to remain neutral. Commissioners were entrusted with the management of Indian affairs in the North and South. Active and influential men were delegated to visit the savages in their own country, and instructed to reason with them on the subject. These visits were repeated in the years SEVENTY-FIVE, SEVENTY-SIX, and SEVENTY-SEVEN, with what partial effects has been seen; the Oneidas and their guests and allies, the Tuscaroras and Mohicans, who had long previously acknowledged the good results of Christian teaching, being the only tribes which acquiesced. There was some reason to expect that the Shawnees and Delawares would preserve a neutral position; the object was not one to be relinquished, so long as a hope of success remained. The defeat the Indians had suffered at Fort Stanwix, appeared to open the way for another formal conciliatory effort. With this view, on the 3d of December,[1] the Committee on Indian Affairs reported the following address, which, while couched in terms suited to the comprehension of the Indians, at the same time, appeals to their ancient pride and best interests, reviewing the grounds of controversy between the two powers; and presenting, in a proper light, the principles by which they should be guided:

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[1] Vol. II., Plate X., p. 60.

[2] Lord North.

"BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS: The great council of the United States now call for your attention. Open your ears that you may hear, and your hearts that you may understand.

"When the people on the other side of the great water, without any cause, sought our destruction, and sent over their ships and their warriors to fight against us, and to take away our possessions, you might reasonably have expected us to ask for your assistance. If we are enslaved, you cannot be free. For our strength is greater than yours. If they would not spare their brothers, of the same flesh and blood, would they spare you? If they burn our houses, and ravage our lands, could yours be secure?

"But we acted on very different principles. Far from desiring you to hazard your lives in our quarrel, we advised you to remain still in ease, and at peace. We even entreated you to remain neuter: and, under the shade of your trees, and by the side of your streams, to smoke your pipe in safety and contentment. Though pressed by our enemies, and when their ships obstructed our supplies of arms, and powder, and clothing, we were not unmindful of your wants. Of what was necessary for our own use, we cheerfully spared you a part. More we should have done, had it been in our power.

"CAYUGAS, SENECAS, TUSCARORAS, AND MOHAWKS: Open your ears and hear our complaints. Why have you listened to the voice of our enemies? Why have you suffered Sir John Johnson and Butler to mislead you? Why have you assisted General St. Leger and his warriors from the other side of the great waters, by giving them a free passage through your country to annoy us; which both you and we solemnly promised should not be defiled with blood? Why have you suffered so many of your nations to join them in their cruel purpose? Is this a suitable return for our love and kindness, or did you suspect that we were too weak or too cowardly to defend our country, and join our enemies that you might come in for a share of the plunder? What has been gained by this unprovoked treachery? what but shame and disgrace! Your foolish warriors and their new allies have been defeated and driven back in every quarter; and many of them justly paid the price of their rashness with their lives. Sorry are we to find that our ancient chain of union, heretofore so strong and bright, should be broken by such poor and weak instruments as Sir John Johnson and Butler, who dare not show their faces among their countrymen; and by St. Leger, a stranger, whom you never knew! What has become of the spirit, the wisdom, and the justice of your nations? Is it possible that you should barter away your ancient glory, and break through the most solemn treaties for a few blankets, or a little rum or powder? That trifles such as these should prove any temptation to you to cut down the strong tree of friendship, by our common ancestors planted in the deep bowels of the earth, at Onondaga, your central council-fire! That tree which has been watered and nourished by their children until the branches had almost reached the skies! As well might we have expected that the mole should overturn the vast mountains of the Alleghany, or that the birds of the air should drink up the waters of Ontario!

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[1] 1777.

"CAYUGAS, SENECAS, ONONDAGAS, AND MOHAWKS: Look into your hearts, and be attentive. Much are you to blame, and greatly have you wronged us. Be wise in time. Be sorry, and mend your faults. The great council, though the blood of our friends, who fell by your tomahawks at the German Flatts, cries aloud against you, will yet be patient. We do not desire to destroy you. Long have we been at peace; and it is still our wish to bury the hatchet, and wipe away the blood which some of you have so unjustly shed. Till time should be no more, we wish to smoke with you the calumet of friendship around your central fire at Onondaga. But, Brothers, mark well what we now tell you. Let it sink deep as the bottom of the sea, and never be forgotten by you or your children. If ever again you take up the hatchet to strike us—if you join our enemies in battle or council—if you give them intelligence, or encourage or permit them to pass through your country, to molest or hurt any of our people—we shall look on you as our enemies, and treat you as the worst of enemies, who, under a cloak of friendship, cover your bad designs, and, like the concealed adder, only wait for an opportunity to wound us when we are most unprepared.

"BROTHERS: Believe us who never deceive. If, after all our good counsel, and all our care to prevent it, we must take up the hatchet, the blood to be shed will lie heavy on your heads. The hand of the thirteen United States is not short. It will reach to the farthest extent of the country of the Six Nations; and, while we have right on our side, the good Spirit, whom we serve, will enable us to punish you, and put it out of your power to do us farther mischief.

"ONEIDAS AND TUSCARORAS: Hearken to what we have to say to you in particular. It rejoices our hearts that we have no reason to reproach you in common with the rest of the Six Nations. We have experienced your love, strong as the oak, and your fidelity, unchangeable as truth. You have kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain, and preserved it free from rust and decay, and bright as silver. Like brave men, for glory you despised danger; you stood forth in the cause of your friends, and ventured your lives in our battles. While the sun and moon continue to give light to the world, we shall love and respect you. As our trusty friends, we shall protect you, and shall, at all times, consider your welfare as our own.

"BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS: Open your ears, and listen attentively. It is long ago that we explained to you our quarrel with the people on the other side of the great water. Remember that our cause is just; you and your forefathers have long seen us allied to those people in friendship. By our labor and industry, they flourished like the trees of the forest, and became exceedingly rich and proud. At length, nothing would satisfy them, unless, like slaves, we would give them the power over our whole substance. Because we would not yield to such shameful bondage, they took up the hatchet. You have seen them covering our coasts with their ships, and a part of our country with their warriors; but you have not seen us dismayed; on the contrary, you know that we have stood firm, like rocks, and fought like men who deserved to be free. You know that we have defeated St. Leger, and conquered Burgoyne and all their warriors. Our chief men and our warriors are now fighting against the rest of our enemies, and we trust that the Great Spirit will soon put them in our power, or enable us to drive them all far beyond the great waters.

"BROTHERS: Believe us, that they feel their own weakness, and that they are unable to subdue the thirteen United States. Else, why have they not left our Indian brethren in peace, as they first promised and we wished to have done? Why have they endeavored, by cunning speeches, by falsehood and misrepresentations, by strong drink and presents, to embitter the minds and darken the understandings of all our Indian friends on this great continent, from the north to the south, and to engage them to take up the hatchet against us without any provocation? The Cherokees, like some of you, were prevailed upon to strike our people. We carried the war into their country, and fought them. They saw their error, they repented, and we forgave them. The United States are kind and merciful, and wish for peace with all the world. We have, therefore, renewed our ancient covenant chain with their nation.

"BROTHERS: The Shawanese and Delawares give us daily proofs of their good disposition and their attachment to us, and are ready to assist us against all our enemies. The Chickasaws are among the number of our faithful friends. And the Choctaws, though remote from us, have refused to listen to the persuasions of our enemies, rejected all their offers of corruption, and continue peaceable. The Creeks are also our steady friends. Oboylaco, their great chief, and the rest of their sachems and warriors, as the strongest mark of their sincere friendship, have presented the great council with an emblem of peace. They have desired that these tokens might be shown to the Six Nations and their allies, to convince them that the Creeks are at peace with the United States. We have therefore directed our commissioners to deliver them into your hands. Let them be seen by all the nations in your alliance, and preserved in your central council-house at Onondaga.

"BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS: Hearken to our counsel. Let us who are born on the same great continent love one another. Our interest is the same, and we ought to be one people, always ready to assist and serve each other. What are the people who belong to the other side of the great waters to either of us? They never come here for our sakes, but to gratify their own pride and avarice. Their business now is to kill and destroy our inhabitants, to lay waste our houses and farms. The day, we trust, will soon arrive, when we shall be rid of them forever. Now is the time to hasten and secure this happy event. Let us, then, from this moment, join hand and heart in the defence of our common country. Let us rise as one man, and drive away our cruel oppressors. Henceforward let none be able to separate us. If any of our people injure you, acquaint us of it, and you may depend upon full satisfaction. If any of yours hurt us, be you ready to repair the wrong or punish the aggressor. Above all, shut your ears against liars and deceivers, who, like false meteors, strive to lead you astray, and to set us at variance. Believe no evil of us till you have taken pains to discover the truth. Our council-fire always burns clear and bright in Pennsylvania.[1] Our commissioners and agents are near your country. We shall not be blinded by false reports or false appearances."[2]

This overture produced no change in the policy of the Indians; in public councils, as well as in private, their ears were filled with reasonings and persuasions of a very different character. Ever judging from mere appearances, and from what was tangible and visible, they were impressed with the power, means, and ability of the British Government to subdue the colonies. They contrasted their resources with those of the Thirteen States, struggling, as it were, in the grasp of a giant; and from that comparison, drew the conclusion that, however courageous and resolute the colonists were in battle, they were few in numbers, and lacking in means. It being a cardinal principle with the Indians to adhere to the strongest party, they remained unmoved by arguments which they hardly understood, and refused to believe.

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[1] Then the seat of Government.

[2] Journal of Congress.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION, AS AFFECTED BY THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES. MASSACRES OF WYOMING, CHERRY VALLEY, AND ULSTER.

It does not coincide with the plan of the present work, to describe in detail the scenes of Indian outrage and massacre which marked the Revolutionary 1778 contest; the object being, to present a condensation of facts. The character of the Indians did not appear in any new light; as the war advanced, they swept over the country like a pestilence; frequently, like infuriated tigers, springing across the borders, and spreading death and devastation where domestic happiness had previously reigned. Any hope that might have been entertained of mollifying their hatred, proved to be a delusion. The Iroquois, who were the principal actors in this murderous warfare, were, in nearly every instance, led on by their hero chieftain, Brant. Sometimes, however, parties of the various tribes of Algonquin lineage, from the West, were in the practice of visiting the then temporary headquarters of the British Indian Department at Fort Niagara. At this place, most of the war-parties were formed, supplied, and equipped. Thither they also returned to report their success; bringing their prisoners with them, to pass through the terrible ordeal of the gauntlet; and there, likewise, they received the rewards for the scalps they had taken.

It was at Niagara that the plan of the incursion into the Valley of Wyoming originated. Towards the close of June,[1] Colonel John Butler, the commanding officer of that post, ordered 300 men, principally loyalists, to set out on an expedition to the Susquehanna, accompanied by a body of about 500 Indians, of diverse tribes. Arriving at Tioga point, they embarked in floats, or on rafts, and reached the scene of conflict on the first day of July. After much countermarching and manœuvring, they succeeded in surrounding and defeating a body of 400 militia, of whom only 60 escaped the rifle, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife. The following day, this marauding force appeared before Fort Wyoming, then containing only a small garrison, but crowded with fugitive women and children. The American commandant agreed to the prescribed terms of a capitulation; but, either because he could not, or did not, comply with them, they were basely violated. It was then believed, and it has since been frequently asserted, that Brant led the Indians on this occasion; but it is doubtful whether he was actually present, though he probably approved of the movement, if he was not the original instigator of it.[1] This chief was known to cherish such a deadly hatred of the revolutionists, and had been so frequently connected with the incursions, and midnight massacres perpetrated on the frontiers, that, in the popular estimation, no injustice has been done to his bad reputation, in the use which has been made of his name by the poet, Campbell.[2] A melancholy catalogue, indeed, would be a detail of the enterprises in which Brant was the leader and principal actor. Though the voice of cotemporary history might be stifled, regarding his conduct as the leader of the massacre in Cherry Valley, yet his sanguinary attacks upon Saratoga, German Flatts, Unadilla, and Schoharie, as well as the murder of the wounded Colonel Wisner,[3] and the inhuman butchery of the wounded at Ulster, will, during all future time, serve to prove that he hovered around the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, like the genius of Evil, with the enraged Acwinoshioni[4] in his train. If the responsibility for acts committed depends upon the cultivated moral perceptions of the individual, then the great partisan Mohawk will have much more to answer for than his kindred generally, as he not only received a scholastic and religious education, but was for a long time domiciliated in the family of Sir William Johnson, in which he officiated as an assistant-secretary,[5] and there became familiar with the maxims and usages of refined society in the colonies.

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[1] 1778.

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[1] Vide Asher Tyler's statement, Vol. IV., p. 345.

[2] Vide Gertrude of Wyoming.

[3] Stone's Life of Brant, Vol. I., p. 418–420.

[4] The Indian term for the Six Nations.

[5] New York Hist. Doc., Vol. VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONGRESS AUTHORIZES MOVEMENTS TO CHECK THE HOSTILITY OF THE WESTERN INDIANS.

1778

Although the Iroquois formed, as it were, the "tenth legion," of the hostile Indians employed in the war, yet the western savages had, from the beginning, evinced their hostility, and were implicated, to a greater or less extent, in the contest against the colonies. This was more especially the position of the important tribes of the Delawares and Shawnees, then occupying the present area of the State of Ohio. These tribes had originally emigrated west of the Alleghanies with embittered feelings against the English colonists generally. They had accepted the treaty of peace offered them, in rather a vaunting spirit, by Colonel Bradstreet, on Lake Erie, in 1764; but subsequently renewed their hostile inroads, and, in the autumn of the same year, on the banks of the Muskingum, again submitted to the army under Colonel Bouquet, delivering up, as a test of their sincerity, a very large number of prisoners, men, women, and children.[1]

The Delawares had not held a definite political position for a long period, even from the middle of the eighteenth century. They were supposed to be in league with the French, and it was an erroneous policy in Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren, not to set the colonies right on this subject, laboring, as they did, from their advent in 1740, for the benefit of the Delawares, and knowing that there was a suspicion resting on them of being favorable to the French interests. This was the cause of the expulsion of this tribe from Chicomico, in southern New York, in 1744,[2] and of their removal to the Susquehanna. It was likewise the occasion of their ultimate flight westward to the banks of the Muskingum, and of the unfortunate massacre of their people at Gnadenhutten. But though the proclivities of the Delawares were uncertain, those of the Shawnees were not; they assumed an openly hostile attitude. The latter tribe had, at an early period, been inimical to the English colonies; but, being vanquished, they had transferred their hatred to the Americans the moment the revolutionary contest commenced. In 1755,[3] they were the most bitter assailants of Braddock; in

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[1] The surrender of these prisoners forms the most remarkable instance of the kind on record, both on account of the number of persons liberated, and the affecting circumstances attending it.

[2] Vol. V., p. 680.

[3] History of Braddock's Expedition: Phil., 1855.

1758,[1] they massacred the garrison of Sybert's fort on the Potomac; they had, from the year 1763, most strenuously opposed the settlement of Kentucky; they had, in 1764, taken the most prominent part in resisting the expedition of Lord Dunmore; and, according to the best local authorities,[2] between the years 1770 and 1779, the activity and bitter hostility of this celebrated tribe converted the left banks of the Ohio, along the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, into an aceldema. Brave and dauntless, but vacillating, their ruling passion was a love of war, blood, and plunder. Tradition affirms that, in ancient times, they had fought their way from Florida to Lake Erie, and desperately did they oppose the advance of the Anglo-Saxon race into the Ohio valley. Their central location was at Chillicothe, on the Scioto river—which appears to have been, from a period long antecedent, a metropolis of Indian power. Their influence controlled the entire valley, and they lived on strict terms of amity with the Delawares, the Mingoes, or Ohio Iroquois, the Hurons, Ottowas, Chippewas, and Miamies.

The Ohio valley, with its beautiful scenery, its genial climate, and its exuberant fertility, had been, from its earliest discovery, a subject of contention between the Indians and the white race. Red men had, originally, fought for it, as is proved by its antiquities, and the whites succeeded to the controversy. The feet of Washington trod its soil as early as 1753, when the charter of George II. was granted for its occupancy. Although the primary object of its exploration, and of the commissioners and armies which crossed the Alleghanies, and entered its borders, was the furtherance of governmental policy, yet it is very evident that there were aboriginal minds of sufficient penetration to foresee, that the acquisition of the territory, and the spread of the arts and commerce of civilized life, were the ultimate ends in view. This may readily be perceived in the harangues of Pontiac to the tribes of the north-west, in the year 1763; of Tenuskund, at Wyoming, and of Buckangaheela, at Kaskaskia. Every movement of the whites towards the west was regarded, by thinking Indian minds, as having the same object in view.

Prior to the expedition of M'Intosh, a friendly Delaware chief, Koquathaheelon, or White Eyes, had used his influence to prevent the tribes from raising the hatchet; but an opposite influence was exercised by Captain Pipe, and the nation became divided. Such was the state of affairs among the Delawares, in the spring of 1778. About this time, three noted loyalists, M'Kee, Elliot, and Girty, fled from Fort Pitt to the Delawares, and used their utmost efforts against the American cause. Captain Pipe was so much influenced by their counsel, that, in a large assemblage of warriors, he concluded a harangue by declaring "every one an enemy who refused to fight the Americans, and that all such ought to be put to death." Koquathaheelon boldly opposed him, denounced the policy, and sent a formal message to the Scioto, warning the Indians against the counsels of the fugitives, Girty and M'Kee. This, for a while, had the effect of keeping the Delawares neutral; but the tribe finally decided to raise the hatchet against the struggling colonies.

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[1] De Hass' History of Western Virginia, 1851, p. 208.

[2] Doddridge, Withers, De Hass.

Both the Delawares and Shawnees were greatly influenced in their councils by the Wyandots of Sandusky, a reflective, clear-minded people, who had once been at the head of the Iroquois, while that nation resided on the Kanawaga,[1] and still held a kind of umpirage in western Indian councils. It was against the local residence of this tribe, at Sandusky, that General M'Intosh was directed to proceed. He had, during the spring, with a small force of regulars and militia, descended the Ohio, from Fort Pitt to the Beaver river, where he erected, on a commanding position, a fort called M'Intosh. It intercepted Indians ascending or descending the Ohio, as well as interior marauding parties, who reached the river at this point. The force assigned him foı the expedition against Sandusky was 1000 men. But, such were the delays in organizing it, and in marching through a wilderness to the Tuscarawas, that, after reaching its banks, he there constructed a fort, called Laurens, and, garrisoning it, returned to Fort Pitt.

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[1] Le Jeune.

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA SENDS AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE WESTERN INDIANS, AND CONQUERS SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

THE erection of Forts M'Intosh and Laurens, on the banks of the Beaver 1778 and the Tuscarawas rivers, demonstrated to the Indians that they would be held accountable for their actions. But a more important military movement, one which has had a permanent and predominant influence on the history of the West, was originated in the year 1778. Western Virginia having suffered dreadfully from the inroads of the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingoes, General George Rogers Clarke was commissioned by the State authorities to invade the country of the Illinois. His enterprise, courage, and tact, would not have been derogatory to a Hannibal. He descended the western slope of the Alleghanies by the River Kenawha, which was his point of rendezvous, with a force not exceeding 200 men. The fort, at this point, was then invested by Indians, whom he successfully routed, with the loss of only one man. His next object of attack was Kaskaskia, from which he was separated by a wilderness of 1000 miles in extent. But he had a force of picked men, whom no lack of means could discourage, and whose heroic ardor no opposition of natural impediments could dampen. Descending the Ohio to its falls, he erected a small fort on Corn Island, in their vicinity, which he garrisoned with a few men, and then continued his course down the river to within sixty miles of its mouth, where he landed his men, and, with only four days' provisions, commenced his march across the wilderness to the Illinois country. He was six days in reaching Kaskaskia, during two of which his little army was destitute of provisions. Reaching the town at midnight, and finding the garrison and inhabitants asleep, he carried it by surprise, taking the commandant, Rocheblave, prisoner, whom he immediately sent under guard to Richmond, together with important letters and papers, implicating persons in power. The fort was found to be sufficiently strong to have been defended against a force of one thousand men. The following day, finding horses in the vicinity, General Clarke mounted about thirty of his men, under Captain Bowman, and sent them against the upper towns on the banks of the Mississippi. They took possession of the French towns and villages, as high up as Cahokia; and, in the course of three days thereafter, no less than 300 of the French inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the American government. Leaving a garrison at Kaskaskia, General Clarke then proceeded across the country to Vincennes, on the Wabash, which he also surprised and captured. This post was in the heart of the Miami country, which had been the seat of French trade, and had, according to Mr. Law,[1] been established as a mission in 1710. Its importance was so much felt by Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, that he suddenly mustered a force, and recaptured the place. General Clarke, who was at Point Pleasant, on hearing of this, although it was then winter, determined to retake the post, and, with a resolute party of men, who, during their march, frequently waded through water breast high, executed his purpose; also making Hamilton prisoner. This man was a rough, bad-tempered, and cruel officer, who had excited the ire of the Indians by his malignancy.[2]

The effect of these movements on the mass of the Indians was more important in a political view than it appeared to be. Kaskaskia and Vincennes had been mere outposts to Detroit, which was a depot for the prisoners taken by the Indians, and where they received the rewards for the scalps they brought in.

The effect upon the Delaware Nation of the operations during this year, of which Fort Pitt was the centre, was to promote the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which was signed, on the 17th of September, 1778,[3] by the chiefs Koquathaheelon, or White Eyes, Pipe, and Kellbuck, before Generals Andrew and Thomas Lewis. This was the first of a long list of treaties with the Indian tribes, in which the nations, when pressed by war, sometimes made a virtue of necessity, and conceded points which, on some occasions, the want of popular support, and again, the lack of power in their governments, did not enable them to comply with, although the aboriginal delegates who gave their assent to them did so with full integrity of purpose. It is certain that the Delaware Nation was soon after engaged in hostilities against the United States; for, besides the recognition of this fact by the treaty of Fort M'Intosh, dated June 21st, 1785,[4] a supplementary article to that treaty provided that the chiefs Kelelamand, White Eyes, and one or two other persons of note, who took up the hatchet for the United States, should be received back into the Delaware Nation, and reinstated in all their original rights, without any prejudice.

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[1] Discourse before the Hist. Soc. of Indiana, at Vincennes.

[2] Stone, Vol. I., p. 399.

[3] Treaties between the United States and the Indians, p. 1: Washington, 1837.

[4] Ibid, p. 6.

CHAPTER X.

SUBTLETY OF THE INDIANS INVESTING FORT LAURENS.

Fort Laurens, erected on the Tuscarawas in 1778, by General M'Intosh, 1779 at the terminus of his march against Sandusky, was left in command of Colonel Gibson, with a garrison of 150 men. It was the custom of the garrison to put bells on their horses, and send them out to graze in the vicinity, where they were visited and looked after. This being observed by the Indians who infested the surrounding forests, they stole all the animals, first removing the bells from their necks, which they retained. Selecting a spot suitable for an ambuscade, the bells were tied to the stalks of stout weeds, or flexible twigs, and the Indians, lying down on the ground, carefully shook them, so as to simulate the noise they would make while the horses were cropping grass. The ruse succeeded. Of a party of sixteen men, sent to catch the animals, which were supposed to have strayed, fourteen were shot dead, and the other two taken prisoners; one of whom returned after the termination of the war, but his comrade was never more heard of. Flushed with the success of this manœuvre, the entire body of Indians, towards evening, marched across the prairie, in full view of the garrison, but at a safe distance Eight hundred and forty warriors were counted from one of the bastions, painted and feathered for war, and appearing to make this display as a challenge to combat. They then crossed the Tuscarawas, and encamped on an elevated site, within view of the fort, where they remained for several weeks, watching the garrison. While located at this spot, they affected to keep up a good understanding with the officers of the fort, through one of those speaking go-betweens, whom we shall call Hi-ok-a-to, who have been so fruitful of mischief in our military history. At length, their resources failing, they sent word that, if a barrel of flour was supplied to them, they would, on the following day, submit proposals of peace. The flour being duly delivered, the whole gang immediately decamped, removing to some part of the forest where so considerable a body could readily obtain subsistence.

It has ever been a fatal mistake, to put trust in Indian fidelity under such circumstances. A party of spies were left by the Indians in the woods. As the supplies of the garrison began to diminish, the invalids, amounting to ten or a dozen men, were sent to Fort M'Intosh, under an escort of fifteen men, commanded by Colonel Clark, of the line. This party had proceeded but two miles, when they were suddenly surrounded by the Indians, and all killed except four; one of whom, a captain, succeeded in effecting his escape to the fort.

The garrison now experienced severe suffering from hunger, the fort being in a remote position, which could be supplied only by the aid of trains of pack-horses, convoyed through the wilderness by expensive escorts. Fortunately, General M'Intosh arrived with supplies, and 700 men; but the joy produced by his arrival well nigh proved a fatal misfortune, as the salute of musketry fired from the ramparts caused a stampede among the horses of the pack-trains, which, running affrighted through the forest, scattered their burdens, of provisions and flour, on the ground. When M'Intosh departed from the fort, he left Major Vernon in command, who, being finally reduced to great straits, and finding himself surrounded by a powerful and treacherous enemy, and occupying a post which could not be maintained, abandoned the fort, and returned with his command to Fort M'Intosh. These transactions furnish material for a good commentary on the treaty of Fort Pitt, concluded on the 17th of the preceding September. The Delawares, who signed this treaty, occupied the entire Muskingum valley, of which the Tuscarawas is a branch, and, being generally under the sway of the Wyandots of Sandusky, had, in fact, no power to carry out, even if they possessed the authority to conclude, such a treaty.

The erection of Fort Laurens was, in truth, a monument of the failure of the military expedition against Detroit, projected with so much ceremony at that time; and its abandonment may be regarded as an admission of the uselessness of the position as a check upon the Indians.

While these movements were going forward on the Tuscarawas, and in the forests surrounding Fort Laurens, the Indians perpetrated a series of most heart-rending murders along the borders of the Monongahela.[1] A recital of these atrocities would only serve to prove that no trust could be placed in any public avowal of friendship by the savages, whether professed in conferences or by formal treaties.

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[1] De Hass' History of Western Virginia, p. 208: Wheeling, 1851. Chronicles of Border Warfare: Clarksburg, Virginia, 1831. It appears from this author that not less than fifteen persons in Western Virginia, of the name of Schoolcraft (connections of the writer), were killed, or carried into captivity, by the Shawnees, during this period.

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF MINNISINK.

1779 The frequency and severity of the attacks made by the Iroquois on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, induced the Americans to make a sudden descent, during this year, on the Onondagas. The execution of this enterprise was committed to Colonel Van Schaick, by General James Clinton, the commanding officer in that district. Five hundred and fifty-eight men, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, and furnished with every necessary supply, embarked in thirty batteaux, on Wood Creek, west of the Fort Stanwix summit, and passing rapidly through Oneida lake and river, landed, during the night, at the site of old Fort Brewington, whence they pressed swiftly forward, using every precaution to prevent an alarm. The surprise would have been complete, but for the capture of a warrior near the castle. As it was, however, thirty-three warriors were killed, and the rest fled in the utmost consternation, leaving behind them all their stores, arms, and provisions. The castle and village were burned, and the country devastated within a circuit of ten miles. The army then returned to Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, without the loss of a man.

It is doubtful whether such retributive measures are attended by any resulting advantages. The Onondagas determining to retaliate, Brant placed himself at the head of 300 warriors of that, and other tribes, who attacked Schoharie and its environs, which had so frequently, since the commencement of the Revolution, been the scene of every species of Indian outrage;—the property of the inhabitants plundered, their houses burned, and themselves murdered and scalped. It appeared as if the Mohawk Indians, and their beau ideal, Brant, could never forgive the sturdy patriotism of the people of that valley.

Palatine, in the Mohawk valley, was, at the same time, attacked by parties of Indians from the Canada border, and many persons killed; but no event which occurred during this year, made so deep an impression on the public mind, as the battle and massacre at Minnisink, a fertile island in the Delaware river, which had long been the camping and council-ground of the Lenapi, and of the southern Indians, in their progress to the Hudson valley, by way of the Wallkill. Few places have better claims to antiquity, than the town of Minnisink, or "The Place of the Island."

Having reached the vicinity of this town on the night of July 19, with sixty warriors and twenty-seven tories, disguised as Indians, Brant attacked it while the inhabitants were asleep, burned two dwelling-houses, twelve barns, a small stockade-fort, and two mills, killed several of the inhabitants, took others prisoners, and then ravaged the surrounding farms, driving off the cattle and horses. When intelligence of this outrage reached Goshen, the excitement became intense. A militia force of 149 men instantly marched from Orange county, in pursuit, and overtook the enemy on the second day. The advantage was on the side of Brant, who, by marching through a narrow ravine, placed his force in a strong position. The contest was long and desperately maintained, during which Brant received a ball through his girdle. The battle raged from eleven o'clock in the morning until sunset, when the ammunition of the Orange county men failed. They had lost 102 men; and seventeen, who were wounded, were placed under the care of a surgeon, behind a rocky point. The Indians rushed upon these unfortunate men like infuriated tigers, and tomahawked them all, notwithstanding their appeals for mercy. Brant, himself, "the monster, Brant,"[1] sunk his tomahawk in the head of Colonel Wisner, one of the wounded. Only thirty men escaped to relate the fate of their comrades.

It is probable that this atrocity was one of the immediate causes of the expedition under General Sullivan, which marched against the Iroquois cantons during the following year.

While these events were occurring in New York, a body of 200 Indians and 100 refugee royalists, under the command of M'Donald, appeared on the borders of Northampton county, Pennsylvania, where they burned many houses, and committed several murders. A few days subsequently, they invested Freeland's fort, on the Susquehanna, the garrison of which was too weak to defend the works, which had served principally as a shelter for women and children, while the men were attending to the duties which they owed their country. Captain Hawkins Boon, who, with thirty men, was stationed in the vicinity, marched to the relief of the fort; but, finding that it had been surrendered, he valiantly attacked the besiegers, and was killed, together with eighteen of his men. This affair happened about the same time as the tragic events of Minnisink.

There were some contemporaneous movements in the West, which deserve attention. The feud between the Virginians and Shawnees still raged as fiercely as ever. In July, Colonel Bowman, who had served under Clark, led a force of 160 men against the Shawnees at Chillicothe. Although he took them by surprise, they fought bravely during several hours, and finally compelled him to retreat. The Shawnees pursued him thirty miles, with augmented numbers, and forced him to a second engagement. This fight having continued two hours with no advantage to the patriots, Colonel Harrod proposed to mount a number of men on horses, and make a cavalry charge. The suggestion was adopted, and succeeded admirably. The Indians fought with great desperation; but, being finally routed, they fled.

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[1] Gertrude of Wyoming.

CHAPTER XII.

FORMAL EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS CANTONS.

1779 THE war had now continued nearly five years, and the operations of the British army during that period, north, south, east, and west, had proved a severe tax on the military resources and strength of the country. But these sacrifices to patriotism and high principles were considered as nothing, compared to the sufferings caused by the savage auxiliaries of the British armies, who were utter strangers to the laws of humanity. The Americans bitterly reproached their foes for paying their Indian allies a price for the scalps they took; but whether the censure was most justly deserved by the employer or the employee, is a question for casuists to decide. Whether the coveted prize, for which the savage watched around private dwellings night and day, was the bleeding scalp, torn from the head of the infant in its cradle, of the wife in her chamber, of the sire in his closet of prayer, or of the laborer in the field, was not the question; that which produced a thrill of horror in the hearts of a civilized people, was the fact that these bleeding trophies of savage atrocity were made an article of merchandise. The scalp had been, in primeval periods, an Indian's glory; and the test of his bravery and prowess had now, as with the touch of Midas, turned into gold.[1]

It was the opinion of Washington, that the cheapest and most effectual mode of opposing the Indians, was to carry the war into their country.[2] These tribes, nurtured in the secret recesses of the forest, were thoroughly acquainted with every avenue through their depths, and thence pounced upon the unguarded settlements when least expected; but, like the nimble fox, they fled back to their lairs in the wilderness before an effective military force could be concentrated to pursue them. By these inroads, Washington observes, the Indians had everything to gain, and but very little to lose; whereas the very reverse would be the case, if their towns and retreats were visited with the calamities of war.

Conformably to these views, the year 1779 witnessed the march of the well-organized army of General Sullivan into the heart of the country occupied by the Iroquois confederacy. Sullivan had gallantly aided Washington in the capture of Trenton, and was selected for this service after mature consideration.[1] His entire force consisted of two divisions, one of which, under General James Clinton, marched from central New York northwardly through the Mohawk valley, and the other, from Pennsylvania, ascended the Susquehanna. Clinton, with five brigades, proceeded with great rapidity across the country from Canajoharie, his point d'appui on the Mohawk, to Otsego lake, carrying with him 220 batteaux, all his stores, artillery, and a full supply of provisions. From this point, he followed the outlet of the lake into the Susquehanna, joining General Sullivan and the Pennsylvania troops at Tioga Point. Their total force amounted to 5000 men. After the delays incident to the collection and regulation of such a body of troops, the army proceeded up the river, late in August, and ascended the Chemung branch to Newtown, at present called Elmira. The enemy, anticipating the movement, had prepared to oppose the army by erecting a breastwork across a peninsula, in front of the place of landing, thus occupying a formidable position. Brant commanded the Iroquois, mustering 550 warriors, who were supported by 200 regular British troops and rangers, under Colonel John Butler, Sir John Johnson, and some of the other noted royalist commanders of that period. This force was so disposed among the adjoining hills, and screened by brush, thickets and logs, as to be entirely concealed. The army landed on the 29th of August, and the enemy's position was discovered by the advance guard, under Colonel Poor, at eleven o'clock in the morning. General Hand immediately formed the light infantry in a wood, within 400 yards of the Indian breastwork, where he remained until the rest of the troops came up. While these movements were in progress, small parties of Indians sallied from their entrenchments, and began a desultory firing, as suddenly retreating when attacked, and making the woods resound with their savage yells. Their intention evidently was, to induce the belief that they were present in very great numbers, and were the only force to be encountered. Judging truly that the hill on his right was occupied by the Indians, Sullivan ordered Colonel Poor, with his brigade, to attempt its ascent, and to endeavor to turn the enemy's left flank, while the artillery, supported by the main body of the army, attacked them in front. Both orders were promptly executed. The ascent being gained, the Americans poured in their fire, while the enemy, for two hours, withstood a heavy fire directly in front. Both the Indians and their allies fought manfully; but the Americans pressed on with great determination. Every tree, rock, and thicket sheltered an enemy, who sent forth his deadly messengers. The Indians yielded slowly, and, as it were, inch by inch; being frequently driven from their shelter at the point of the bayonet. Such obstinacy had not been paralleled since the battle of Oriskany. Brant, the moving and animating spirit of the Indians, urged on the warriors with his voice; and their incessant yells almost drowned the noise of the conflict, until the quickly-succeeding and regular reverberations of the artillery overpowered all other sounds. It was remarked by an officer, who was present, that the roar of this cannonade was most commanding and "elegant." The Indians still maintained their ground in front, though the tremendous fire from Colonel Poor's brigade had so terribly thinned their flank, that a reinforcement of a battalion of rangers was ordered up to sustain it. In vain did the enemy contest the ground from point to point, endeavoring to maintain a position; this officer at length ascended the hill, and attacked them in flank, which decided the fortunes of the day. Observing that they were in danger of being surrounded, the yell of retreat was sounded by the Indians, and red and white men, impelled by one impulse, precipitately fled across the Chemung river, abandoning their works, their packs, provisions, and a quantity of arms. The action had been protracted, and, on their part, sanguinary. Contrary to the Indian custom, some of their warriors who had fallen were left on the battle-field, and others were found hastily buried by the way. The American loss was but six killed and fifty wounded.

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[1] Vol. II., Plate X., p. 60.

[2] Letter to Congress, January 12th, 1779.

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[1] Gates had been, at first, proposed.

This battle, as subsequent events proved, decided the result of the campaign. It vindicated the opinion of Washington, that the Indians must be encountered in their own country; and, as aboriginal history proves, it effectually destroyed the Iroquois confederacy.

The results of the campaign may be easily demonstrated. The Indians, having fled in a panic, never stopped until they reached the head of Seneca Lake; whence they scattered to their respective villages. They did not rally, as they might have done, and oppose Sullivan's forces at defiles on the route. The American army pursued them vigorously, with four brass three-pounders and their entire disposable force. They encamped at Catherine's Town on the 2d of September, and began to burn and destroy villages, corn-fields, and orchards in the surrounding country, continuing their devastations through the Genesee country and the Genesee valley. On the 7th of the month, the army crossed the outlet of Seneca Lake, and moved forward to the capital of that tribe, Kanadaseagea, now Geneva.[1] This place contained about sixty houses, surrounded with gardens, orchards of apple and peach trees, and luxuriant corn-fields. Butler, the commandant of the defeated rangers, had endeavored to induce the Senecas to rally here, but in vain. They fled, abandoning everything; and the torch and destroying axe of their foes were employed to level every tenement and living fruit-tree to the ground.

From this point the army proceeded to Canandaigua, where they found twenty-three large and "elegant" houses, mostly frame, together with very extensive fields of corn, all of which were destroyed. The next point of note in the march was Honeoye, a village containing ten houses, which were burnt. Here a small post was established, as a depot. As General Sullivan advanced towards the valley of the Genesee, the Indians determined again to oppose him; and having organized their forces, presented themselves in battle array between Honeoye and Canesus Lake. They attacked the advance-guard in mistake, supposing it to be the entire force; but having seen it fall back on the main army, they did not await the approach of the latter. In this affray they took a friendly Oneida prisoner, who was inhumanly butchered by a malignant chief, named Little Beard. At this time, also, occurred the dreadful tragedy which befell Lieutenant Boyd, who, going out with twenty-six men, to reconnoitre Little Beard's town, was captured, and most inhumanly tortured, notwithstanding his appeal to Brant as a Masonic brother.[1]

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[1] Ontario county, New York.

The army moved forward to the flats of the Genesee, where the Indians made a show of resistance. General Clinton immediately prepared to attack and surround them, by extending his flanks; but, observing the object of his movement, they retreated. The army then crossed the Genesee, to the principal town of the Indians, containing 128 houses, which were burned, and the surrounding fields destroyed. It was these fertile fields which had furnished the savages with the means of carrying on their predatory and murderous expeditions. General Sullivan had been instructed to make them feel the strength of the American arms, with the bitterness of domestic desolation; for which purpose, detachments were sent out at every suitable point, to lay waste their fields, cut down their orchards, destroy their villages, and cripple them in their means. In carrying out these orders, not less than forty Indian towns were burned; and the tourist, who, after the lapse of seventy years, visits the ruins caused by these acts of military vengeance, is forcibly reminded of the spirit of destruction which descended upon the Indian villages and orchards. Having accomplished the object of the expedition, the army recrossed the Genesee on the 16th of September, passed the outlet of the Seneca Lake on the 20th, reached the original rendezvous at Tioga on the 30th, and within a fortnight returned to their respective points of departure.

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[1] Stone, Vol. II., p. 31.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIANS CONTINUE THEIR INROADS ON THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN FRONTIERS.

1779 Toward the close of this year, a detachment of seventy men from the Kentucky district of Virginia, under Major Rodgers, was surprised by the Shawnees, while ascending the Ohio river. On approaching the mouth of the Licking river, they discovered a few hostile Indians standing on a sand-bar, whilst a canoe was being propelled towards them, as if its occupants desired to hold friendly intercourse. Rodgers, who was on the alert, immediately made his boat fast to the shore, and went in pursuit of the Indians he had seen. They proved to be only a decoy to lead him into an ambuscade. The moment he landed and commenced an assault on the small party, an overwhelming number of the enemy issued from their concealment, poured in a heavy and deadly fire, and then rushed forward with their tomahawks, instantly killing Rodgers and forty-five of his men. The remainder fled towards the boat, but the Indians had anticipated them by its capture. Retreat being thus cut off, they faced the foe, and fought desperately as long as daylight lasted, when a small number succeeded in escaping, and finally reached Harrisburg. The details of the escape of Benham, who was shot through the hips on this occasion, possess a thrillingly romantic interest.[1]

1780 The expedition of Sullivan against the Iroquois proved so destructive to them, that they were compelled to seek food and shelter from the British authorities at Niagara. The adherence to the American cause, of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, living on their lands, had occasioned ill feelings to be entertained by the Iroquois against them. Every persuasion had been used in vain to induce them to join the royal standard. Their conduct at Oriskany, and their hospitality to the missionary Kirkland, had been the subject of sharp remonstrances by Guy Johnson, who peremptorily ordered Kirkland to leave the country. Although but few of these tribes joined General Clinton's division in the Genesee campaign, and those only as guides, yet, when the Senecas captured the faithful guide, Honyerry, at Boyd's defeat, in their rage they literally hewed him in pieces. General Haldiman, of Canada, had, in

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[1] Stone, Vol. II., p. 50.

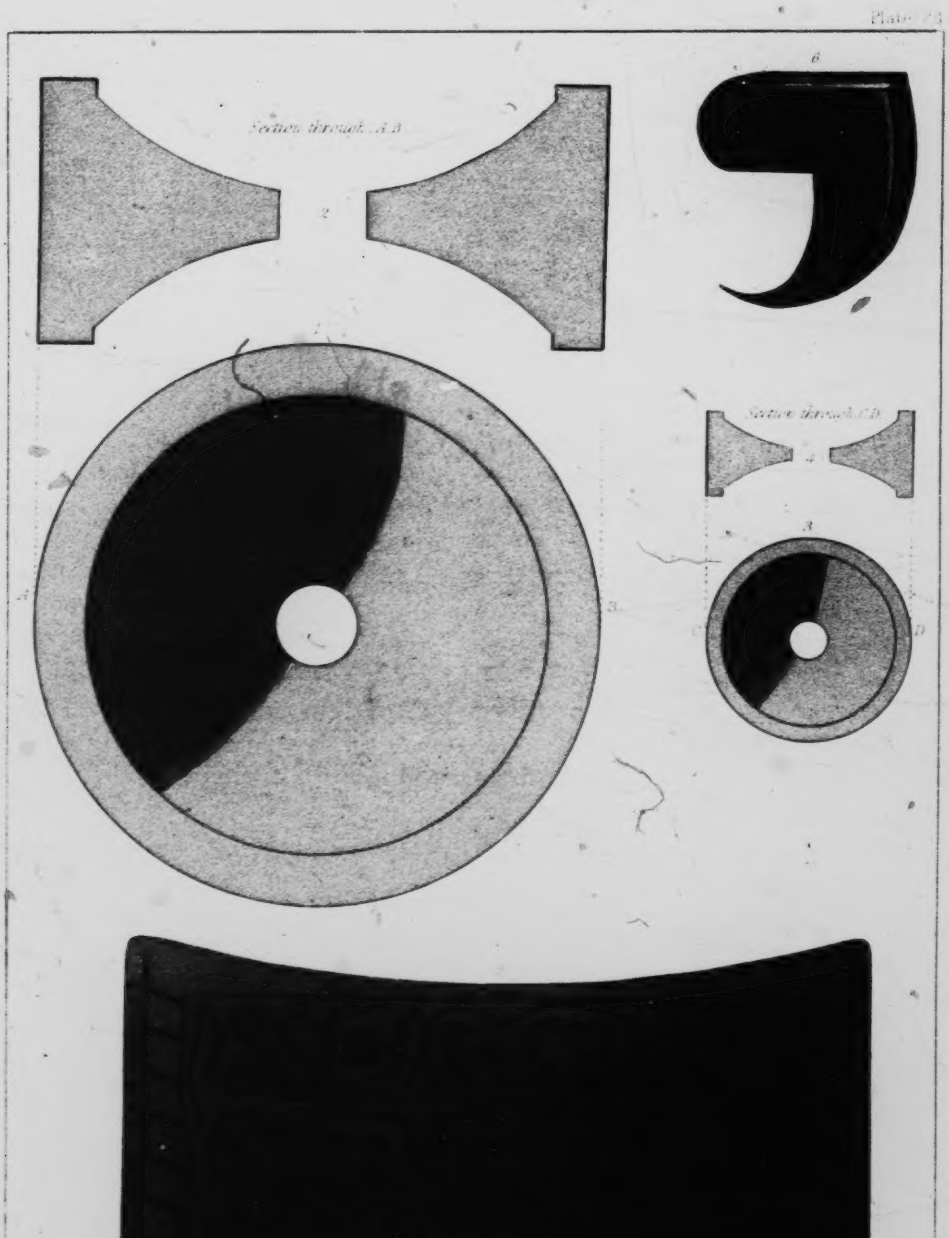
Plate 75

Drawn by Captⁿ S. Eastman U.S.A.

Eng^d by J. C. M^cRae

OHIO RIVER FROM THE SUMMIT OF GRAVE CREEK MOUND.

Plate [illegible]



a special, written message, threatened vengeance on the Oneida tribes for deserting, as he termed it, the British cause, and thus forgetting the wise counsels of their old and respected, but deceased friend, Sir William Johnson.[1] This purpose, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, he executed, with the assistance of Brant and a force of tories. Suddenly attacking the village of Oneida castle, they drove the Indians from this ancient seat, burned their dwellings, their church, and their school-house, and destroyed their corn, as well as every means of subsistence. The Oneidas fled to the Lower Mohawk, where they were protected and supported during the rest of the war.

In the month of May, Sir John Johnson entered Johnstown, with 500 regulars, a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Greens, and about 200 Indians and tories. Marching from the direction of Crown Point, through the woods to the Sacandaga, they entered the valley of the Mohawk at midnight, entirely unheralded. This foray was one of the most indefensible and shocking transactions of the whole war. The Indians roved from house to house, murdering the inhabitants, plundering, destroying, and burning their property. Among the number of those slain by the savages were four octogenarians, whose locks were silvered by age, including the patriot Fonda, of the Mohawk valley. Cattle and sheep were driven off, and horses stolen from their stalls. Sir John recovered the plate which had been buried in his cellars in 1776, and then retraced his steps to Canada, after having left a lasting mark of his vengeance on the home and familiar scenes of his childhood, and the country of his youth, notwithstanding his father had there risen to power and greatness from an obscure original, and that his bones were there buried. The Mohawk valley had been subjected to the two-fold vengeance of the Indians and the tories, who rivalled each other in their deeds of cruelty and vandalism, until it presented as denuded an appearance as a swept threshing-floor. The flail of warfare had beaten out everything but that sturdy patriotism, which increased in strength in proportion to the magnitude of its trials. This attack was conducted in a stealthy and silent manner. No patriotic drum had sounded the call to arms. The enemy advanced with the noiseless tread of the tiger, and returned to their haunts with the tiger's reward — blood and plunder.

Some allowance must be made for the complicity of the aborigines in this predatory warfare, on account of their ignorance, and their natural lack of 1780 humane feelings. This will not, however, apply to men educated in the principles of civilization. Even Thyendanagea, the typhon of the Revolution, found industrious apologists for the greatest of his enormities;[2] and we have, certainly, high authority for the palliation of crime in those who know not what they do. But nothing can excuse the conduct of those who perpetrate crimes, with a clear moral perception of the enormity of their deeds.

Scarcely had Sir John Johnson and his myrmidons returned in safety to Canada, than the nefarious business of plunder, murder, and arson, was resumed in the Schoharie valley, which had ever been deemed one of the richest agricultural regions in the vicinity of the Mohawk. From the year 1712, the period of its first settlement by Europeans, it had been celebrated for the beauty and fertility of its lands, and the rich abundance of its cereals; the crops of which, during the year 1780, had been more than ordinarily profuse.

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[1] Stone, Vol. II., p. 8.

[2] Ibid., Vols. I. and II.

The troops designed for this foray, and collected at La Chine, were landed at Oswego, and marched across the country to the Susquehanna. They consisted of three companies of Royal Greens, 200 rangers, a company of yagers, armed with short rifles, and the effective force of the Mohawks. They were joined at Tioga by the Senecas, under Cornplanter. The whole force has been estimated to number from 800 to 1500 men, with three pieces of artillery; each man was supplied with eighty rounds of ammunition. Sir John commanded the regulars, and Brant the Iroquois. Their appearance in the Schoharie valley was heralded by the smoke of burning dwellings, barns, and haystacks, and by the wild tumult of savage warfare. Three small stockaded forts were erected in the valley, which were but feebly garrisoned, and rather destitute of ammunition. The principal attack was made on the central fort, but the resolution of its garrison, weak though it was, supplied the place of military skill. A flag of truce, sent forward by the enemy, with a summons to surrender, was fired upon; which act appeared to be conclusive evidence to the marauders that every preparation had been made to give them a warm reception. The enemy ravaged the entire valley with fire and sword. Families were murdered; the houses, barns, and church burned; cattle and horses[1] driven off; while the air resounded with the screams and war-whoops of the savages. Of wheat alone, 80,000 bushels were estimated to have been destroyed;[2] 100 persons were killed, some of them in the most cruel manner; and many were carried into captivity. Brant was the ruling spirit among the Indians. The enemy, after committing all the devastation possible, sped on to the Mohawk valley, where his operations embraced a still wider range. On reaching their destination, the forces of Sir John were augmented by trained parties of loyalists; and the march through the valley became a scene of rapine and plunder, the forces being divided, one portion taking the north, and the other the south side of the river, thus leaving no part of the doomed section unvisited, or free from the ruthless inroads of the Indians.

While the northern Indians were thus kept employed in plundering and destroying the frontier settlements, those at the south also required to be restrained. In 1781, the Cherokees again became restive, and made incursions into South Carolina. General

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[1] While these devastations were still progressing, Lawrence Schoolcraft, a young minute-man in the fort, having a fine horse in a neighboring field, went out to look after him. He observed an Indian, mounted on the animal, riding towards him. Crouching behind a clump of bushes, he fired at the savage, who fell from horse, which the young man then rode back to the fort in triumph.

[2] Stone, Vol. II., p. 111.

Pickens mustered a body of 400 horsemen, advanced rapidly into their country, sword in hand, killed forty Indians, and destroyed thirteen of their towns. Even the speed and decision of Montgomery was excelled. The Indians could not withstand the terrible onset of the cavalry, who charged them with their sabres, but fled in consternation, and immediately sued for peace.

The years 1780 and 1781 were characterized by these inroads, which could always be traced to the machinations of the tories, whose chief object was to make the patriots of the Revolution suffer, not only all the evils of civilized, but also all the horrors of savage, warfare. But the Revolution could not be suppressed by acts of savage vengeance, to which the barbarian allies of British despotism were impelled by the Indian prophet at his midnight orgies, by unwise counsels in high places, or by the desire of winning the price offered for deeds of blood and cruelty. Civilization might assume the garb of barbarism, and urge on savage minds, really less cruel than their own, to the commission of horrible atrocities; but every act of this kind only incited the colonies to make a more protracted and effective resistance. The motives for entering into this contest were well-grounded, and the people had a firm and true appreciation of its cost and consequences. Every patriot who fell, whether by the scalping-knife, or by the sword, was but an additional evidence of that strength of purpose and devotion to liberty, which could not be subdued. His demise, it is true, abstracted one from the numerical force; but this loss resulted in a gain of two to the principles avowed by his compatriots.

CHAPTER XIV.

FATE OF THE DELAWARES WHO ADOPTED THE MORAVIAN FAITH, AND EMIGRATED WEST.

1781 BEFORE the close of this year, it became evident to every one except the Indians, who neither understood nor studied cause and effect, that the chances of ultimate success preponderated in favor of the colonies; but, after the surrender of Cornwallis, this surmise became an absolute certainty. To every one but this infatuated race, it was apparent that the struggle had been maintained at the cost of national exertions, which even the British crown could not maintain; and the words of Lord Chatham were regarded in England as but little less than the words of inspiration.

While the negotiations preliminary to the formation of a treaty of peace were in progress, there existed a state of Indian excitement on the frontiers, which made it the duty of every settler to deem his log-cabin a castle, and constitute his wife and children the custodians of an armory. The Lowlands of Scotland were never more completely devastated by the raids of their fierce neighbors, the Celts, than were the unfortunate frontiers of Virginia by the tomahawk.[1] These details are, however, the appropriate theme of local history: our attention is required by another topic.

The Mohicans, and their relatives, the Delawares, were at an early period benefited by the benevolent labors of the Moravian Brethren. Unfortunately, as we have previously mentioned, this excellent society, even for twenty years before the conquest of Canada, had held the reputation of being politically identified with the French; and still more unfortunately for the peace of the Delawares, this preference was alleged to have been transferred to the British crown after the conquest. There does not appear to be a particle of reliable evidence of either the former or the latter preference; but the populace had formed this opinion while the Delawares lived east of the Alleghanies, and the impression became still stronger after they migrated to the Ohio valley. Although these Delaware converts resided permanently in towns located on the Muskingum, they were peremptorily ordered, by the Indians in the British interest, encouraged thereto by the local authorities, to abandon their habitations, and remove to

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[1] De Haas' History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia: Philadelphia and Wheeling, 1 vol. 8vo., p. 416. 1851.

Sandusky and Detroit; under the evident apprehension that these converts would imbibe American sentiments. It was very manifest that they neither engaged in war nor were ever encouraged thereto by their teachers; but expressly the contrary.[1] The Munsees, a Delaware tribe, however, took refuge on the River Thames, in Canada, and the so called "Christian Indians," pure Delawares, of the Moravian persuasion, did the same. This appears to have been the result of political necessity; and if originally at the solicitation, or through the counsel of men in authority, that motive soon ceased to have much effect. In 1735, the "Christian Indians" migrated through the Straits of Michilimackinac, to rejoin their parental tribe in the West.[2] Some of the Munsees had previously united with the Stockbridges at Green Bay, in Wisconsin, and others followed them. The majority of the Delawares in the West were enemies to the Americans; which made it the more easy to convey the impression that the Muskingum Delawares were also inimical.

But, however the question of political preference of the Moravian Delawares may be decided, it is certain that, in 1782, the common opinion among the people of western Virginia and Pennsylvania was, that they were strongly in the British interest. Nothing short of this could have justified — if anything could be alleged, even at that excited period, in palliation of that action — the expedition of Williamson against the Muskingum towns. It was to no purpose that the hardy forester was told that these Delawares were taught and professed the Christian doctrine of non-resistance, and peace toward all men. A majority of them had no faith in such a doctrine, and the rest could not realize the fact that an Indian, whose natural element was war, whose very nature was subterfuge, subtlety, and duplicity, could subscribe to the doctrines of peace and good-will, without danger of relapsing into his original condition at the sight of blood, or the sound of a rifle.

It happened that some hostile Indians from Sandusky made an incursion into the settlements on the Monongahela, committing a series of most shocking murders. Infuriated at these outrages, a body of 100 or 200 men, all mounted and equipped, set out from the Monongahela, under command of Colonel D. Williamson, in quest of the murderers. They directed their march to the settlements of Salem and Gnadenhutten, on the Muskingum. The vicinity of the latter place was reached after two days' march; and on the morning of the following day, the party divided into three sections, entering the town simultaneously at different points. They found the Indians laboring peaceably and unsuspiciously in the fields, gathering up their bundles preparatory to their return to Sandusky. A message from the commander at Pittsburg had apprized them of the march of Williamson's force, and warned them to be on their guard; but, conscious of their innocence, no alarm had been excited by this intelligence. Williamson approached the settlement with friendly professions, proposed to the Indians a plan of deliverance from their oppressors, the Wyandots, of Sandusky, and induced them to deliver up their arms, axes, and working implements, as well as to collect at a place of rendezvous, preparatory to a proposed march to Pittsburg. At this rendezvous they found themselves completely in the power of their enemies, who began to treat them roughly; but resistance or flight were now alike impossible. They were next accused of horse-stealing, and other acts of which they were entirely guiltless. It was then determined, in a council composed of Williamson's followers, to decide their fate. He paraded his men in line, and then put the question, "Whether they should be sent to Pittsburg, or shot," requesting those who were in favor of their removal to step in front. The majority condemned them to death: sixteen or eighteen decided in favor of mercy. The Delawares, whose fate had thus been summarily decided, knelt down, prayed, and sung a hymn, whilst a consultation was being held as to the mode of putting them to death. Not an imploring word was uttered, nor a tear shed. They submitted silently to their fate, and were successively struck down with a mallet. Ninety unarmed Indians were thus slain. Sixty-two of the number were adults, one of them a woman, and the remaining thirty-four children. The demoniacal troop then returned to their homes, giving plausible but false reasons for the atrocities committed, which were inserted in the newspapers.[1]

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[1] Heckewelder's Moravian Missions.

[2] Personal Memoirs of Thirty Years' Residence in the West: Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co., 1852, 1 vol. 8vo.

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[1] Heckewelder's Narrative of the Moravian Missions.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CREEKS MAKE A MIDNIGHT ATTACK ON THE AMERICAN CAMP, NEAR SAVANNAH, UNDER COMMAND OF GENERAL WAYNE.

THE last blow which the Indians inflicted upon the regular troops of the colonies, was dealt by the Creeks of Georgia. As the contest was progressing 1782
to its close, the troops of both parties moved towards the South. During the occupation of Savannah, General Wayne was encamped with an army about five miles from that city, engaged in watching the motions of the enemy. Guristersigo, a distinguished Creek leader of western Georgia, projected a secret expedition against the resolute hero of Stony Point, who anticipated no danger from an Indian foe, distant from him nearly the entire breadth of Georgia. The Indian chief, undiscovered, reached a point near the object of attack before daybreak, on the 24th of June.

General Wayne, who was a cautious and watchful officer, had been on the alert against the enemy from Savannah, whence he expected an attack; and his men, who had been harassed by severe duty, slept on their arms on the night of the 23d, so as to be ready for action. They were suddenly aroused at midnight by the war-whoop, and the warriors of Guristersigo attacked them with such fury, and in such numbers, that the troops seemed to be unable to withstand their onset. General Wayne and Colonel Posey, who had lain down in the General's tent, instantly arose, and proceeded to the scene; the latter leading his regiment of infantry to the charge, thereby restoring confidence and order in the line. General Wayne, at the same time, charged at the head of the cavalry, who cut down the naked warriors with their broadswords, and, by turning their flank, put them to flight. The Creeks fought with desperation, and none with greater courage than Guristersigo, who, by his voice and example, gave animation to his men, seventeen of whom fell around him. He continued to fight with heroic desperation, until he finally fell, pierced with two bayonet wounds, and one from the thrust of an esponton. Many of the Indians were killed by the bayonets of the troops, and the loss on both sides was very considerable. The Creeks never rallied after the fall of their chief, and gave the army no further trouble.[1]

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[1] Life of General Thomas Posey, p. 381. Sparks' Biography, Vol. XIX.

SECTION FOURTEENTH.

EVENTS FROM THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE, IN 1783, TO THE SURRENDER OF THE LAKE POSTS BY THE BRITISH, IN 1796, AND THE CLOSE OF WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN POLICY.

A DEFINITIVE treaty of peace was signed at Versailles, January 14th, 1783. 1783 As the Indians had fought for no national object, they received no consideration in this instrument. It contained no provision for their welfare, a fact of which they had been forewarned by the Americans; as it would have contravened the policy of Europe to have recognised the national character of a people, whom they had so long regarded as mere savages. The Americans, who succeeded to their guardianship, treated them as quasi nationalities, devoid of sovereignty, but having an absolute possessory right to the soil, and to its usufruct; power to cede this right, to make peace, and to regulate the boundaries to their lands, by which the aboriginal hunting-grounds were so defined, that they could readily be distinguished from the districts ceded. Thus was at once laid the foundation of that long list of Indian treaties, which form a perfect record of our Indian history, and accurately mark the progress of our settlements between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Under this policy commenced that system of annuities by which, as their exhausted hunting-grounds were ceded, they were supplied with the means of subsistence; and this system promoted their gradual advance in agriculture and arts, as well as their improvement in manners, morals, education, and civilization.

The proper management of Indian affairs had been an object of deep and constant concern to Congress, and, North and South, the duty was, for many years, entrusted to a board of commissioners, composed of men of the highest experience, judgment, and wisdom. Nor were the means of the provisional government lightly tasked for the accomplishment of this object. By reference to the records of the treasury department, during this time, we have ascertained that, between the period of the Declaration of Independence and the 4th of March, 1789, embracing the era of the Revolution, $580,103·41 were disbursed on account of the expenses of treaties with, and of presents to, the Indian tribes;[1] and this was done while, during part of the time, the army had neither shoes nor clothing. There was then no means of obtaining an accurate account of their numbers; but an estimate, prepared by Mr. Madison, rates their total force during the contest at 12,430 fighting men,[2] a very large part of whom were under British influence. This estimate may, as the author says, have been above the truth; but it was far more reliable than the exaggerated enumeration, published only ten or eleven years previous, by Colonel Bouquet, who reported the warriors at 56,500.[3]

The policy to be pursued with tribes who contemned all the maxims and principles of civilized life, was a question presenting many difficulties. History had demonstrated the instability, cruelty, and treachery of their character. Ever subject to be influenced by those whose interest it was to mislead them; to mistake their rights and true position; and to be turned aside from the pursuit of noble and permanent objects, to those that were temporary and illusive; civilization itself appeared to them as one of the most intolerable evils; and they were as much opposed to the labors of the plow and the loom, as they were to the science of letters and the doctrines of Christianity. The instructions of an Eliot, an Edwards, a Brainard, and a Kirkland, were distasteful to the Indian masses; nay, ten times more so than the most elaborate lessons in arts, commerce, and agriculture; and there existed not a tribe which, as such, through all the long period of our history, had sufficient moral firmness to exalt itself above the slavery of the intoxicating bowl.

Although the task was difficult, it was neither hopeless nor discouraging, and whether pleasant, or otherwise, it became one of the earliest subjects for the exercise of governmental powers. The true principles of the fundamental policy were at once adopted. To acknowledge their sovereignty in the vast territories over which they roamed, rather than occupied, would have been simply ridiculous; but the recognition of their inchoate right to the soil, replaced in their hands the means of advancing to prosperity and happiness, after the game, its only worth to them, had failed. As this would be a gradual process, supplying, from decade to decade, the loss suffered from the depreciation in value of their hunting-grounds, by the resources arising from their voluntary cession, the system was one suited to their wants, and to secure permanent peace on the frontiers. The principal, and, indeed, the only real difficulty encountered, was in the adjustment of its details; and this difficulty was complicated by the removals of the tribes; by infelicity of situation, owing to advancing settlements; and by the temptations to indulgence in idleness, dissipation, and savage manners and customs. Frequently the very accumulation of their annuities became the means of their depression, and of accumulated perplexities. Civilization has ever been regarded as an intrusive element by the Indians, and they have fled to the West to avoid its importunities. It is perceived, by scanning the statistics of the tribes in the West, that the members of many of those tribes which possess the largest funds in government securities, and particularly of those small tribes which receive, per capita, the largest annuities in coin, are the most idle, intemperate, and demoralized.

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[1] Vol. IV., Statistics, p. 669.
[2] Vol. III., p. 560.
[3] Vol. III., p. 559.

CHAPTER II.

CHANGE OF POSITION OF THE IROQUOIS. CESSIONS OF TERRITORY BY THEM TO THE STATE OF NEW YORK. TREATY OF CANANDAIGUA.

THE treaty of Versailles having ignored the national existence of the Indians, they were compelled to negotiate directly with the Republic. The 1784 Iroquois, or Six Nations, who had been the most determined enemies of the Americans, made the first treaty in which the question of territory was mooted, which was concluded and signed at Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784, in presence of the commissioners, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee. By the terms of this instrument they ceded a strip of land, beginning at the mouth of Oyonwaye creek on Lake Ontario, four miles south of the Niagara portage path, and running southerly to the mouth of the Tehosaroro, or Buffalo creek, thence to the Pennsylvania line, and along its north and south boundary, to the Ohio river. They relinquished any claim by right of conquest, to the Indian country west of that boundary. Their right of property in the territory situate in the State of New York, eastward of the Oyonwaye line, embracing the fertile region of western New York, remained unaffected, and the territory of the Oneidas was guaranteed to them. By this treaty, the tribes who had fought against the colonies covenanted to deliver up all prisoners, white and black, taken during the war; and as a guaranty that this should be done, six chiefs were held as hostages. This treaty was finally confirmed by all the Iroquois sachems in a council held by General St. Clair, at Fort Harmer, on the Ohio, January 9, 1789.[1]

New York had been the arena of the entire Iroquois development. According to the earliest traditions,[2] they entered it in trans-historical times, by way of the Oswego river, and assumed separate names and tribal distinctions after their geographical dispersion over it. Their confederation, under the title of Akquinashioni, is by far the most interesting problem in the history of the Vesperic[3] groups of the North American tribes. This combination enabled them to attain the prominent position, as military tribes, which they held when the country was discovered. By it they had maintained the integrity of their territory against the persevering attempts of the French, after the settlement of Canada, to encroach upon their rights; and hence they united the more readily with the English in the Revolutionary struggle.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 20.

[2] Cusic, Vol. V., p. 636.

[3] A term exactly coincident with the geographical area of the United States.

It is here necessary to notice the treaties concluded with the State of New York by the Iroquois, as communicated by General George Clinton.[1] The revolutionary war, having, in effect, dissolved the confederation, left the sovereignty of the individual States intact, therefore, to New York alone could cessions of territory be rightfully made. These cessions began shortly after the negotiation of the initial national treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1784. On the 28th of June, 1785, at a convocation of the chiefs and sachems, held at Herkimer, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, in consideration of the payment in hand of a sum of money and goods, ceded a tract of land on the New York side of the Susquehanna river, including Unadilla.[2]

At a council, held with the Onondaga sachems, by George Clinton, Esq., and his associate commissioners, September 12th, 1788, the Onondaga tribe ceded all their lands within the State, making such reservations as covered their castle and residences. By a separate article of this treaty, they ceded to the State the salt spring tract. Large payments were made in coin and goods, and a perpetual annuity of $500 in silver granted.

By the terms of a treaty, concluded with the Oneida sachems, at Fort Stanwix, before the same commissioner, September 22d, 1788, the Oneidas ceded all their lands within the State, with the exception of ample reservations for their own use, and the right to lease part of the same. Five thousand dollars, in money, goods, and provisions were then paid to them, and a perpetual annuity of $600 granted.[3]

This treaty with the Oneidas contained an important provision, sanctioning the arrangements previously made by them in behalf of the expatriated Indians of New England, and others of the Algonquin group, who had been allowed to settle on their lands. The title to a tract of land, two miles in breadth, and three in length, in the Oriskany valley, was confirmed to the tribes which assumed the name of Brothertons, and were under the care of Rev. Samson Occum.[4] Another tract, six miles square, located in the Oneida creek valley, was confirmed to the Mohicans of the Housatonic, bearing the name of Stockbridges, who were under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant.

On the 25th of February, 1789, the Cayuga sachems assembled at Albany, and ceded all their lands within the State, with the exception of one hundred square miles, exclusive of the area of Cayuga lake, a reserve of a fishing site at Scayes, and one mile square at Cayuga ferry. One mile square was granted to the Cayuga chief, Oojaugenta, or Fish Carrier. Two limited annuities, amounting to $500 and $625, respectively, and a permanent annuity of $500, were granted by the State.[5]

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 40.

[2] Ibid., p. 41.

[3] Ibid., p. 44.

[4] Vide Vol. V., Biography, p. 518.

[5] U. S. Treaties, p. 47.

Evidence exists[1] that these agreements to pay the tribes, in coin, goods, and provisions, were scrupulously complied with, and have been continued to the present day; every attention and respect having been manifested by New York for the habits and wants of the Indians, who have, likewise, received special gratuities. These transactions constituted the first practical lesson in civil polity, and the details of public business, which the Iroquois received. The respect paid to their sachems; the care and accuracy with which the titles of the respective tribes to their lands were inquired into; and the good faith with which the State at all times fulfilled its engagements, rendering and requiring even-handed justice, formed an example which was not lost on a people, celebrated, from early days, for their political position and influence. Civil life was regarded by them with greater respect than heretofore, and its influence caused them to act with a stricter sense of responsibility than they had done in past times. 1794

Hitherto, their chiefs and sachems had, as independent representatives of free and proud tribes, visited the social districts of eastern and southern New York, either for political or commercial purposes, without paying much regard to a state of society which did not suit their preconceived ideas. But, from this period, the aspect of things changed. They resided exclusively on small reservations, which were soon surrounded by farmers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and professional men, who presented to them, daily and hourly, an example of the beneficial effects of thrift, and demonstrated that only the idle and vicious lagged behind in the general race to the goal of prosperity. Private rights were strictly protected, and those over whom the ægis of the law was extended were taxed for its support. The debtor had his choice, either to meet his obligations, or be placed in durance until his creditor was satisfied. There was but one rule and one law for all. Little attention was given to the Indians. Wise in their own conceits, regarding proficiency and excellence in the arts of war and hunting as the limit of all attainments, they hated education, deemed voluntary labor as equivalent to slavery, and despised morality, as well as the teachings of the gospel. If such a people rapidly disappeared, the magistrates felt but little or no sympathy for their fate; the merchants merely sold them what they could pay for, and the majority of the citizens, who remembered their cruel and treacherous conduct during the Revolution, were glad to see them pass away, and give place to a superior race.

The public functionaries of the State Government, however, regarded their condition from a higher point of view. They were deemed an unfortunate, yet not criminal people, who had been misled, but could not be condemned, for lacking political or moral wisdom. Their title to the territories was undisputed, and was freely, as well as fully, acknowledged and respected by all. Another aspect of the position of the Iroquois after the Revolution might likewise be presented. That contest had produced a disastrous effect on them; having, by means of its continual alarms and excitements, diverted their attention for an extended period from their usual pursuits. They had so long waylaid the farmer at his plow, and the planter in his field, that their cornfields were, in retaliation, devastated, their orchards felled to the ground, their villages burned, and themselves often reduced to extreme poverty and destitution. The State authorities, however, interfered in their behalf, and, under the treaties just mentioned, rescued them from want, by the payment to them of annuities in money and goods.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 48.

The General Government also took this view, and a commissioner of high standing[1] was appointed to meet the tribes, during the autumn of 1794, at Canandaigua, in western New York. This convocation was numerously attended by all the tribes who had been actors in the war (except the Mohawks), including the Stockbridges. The noted Oneida chief, Skenandoa, attended, with a delegation of his people. The war chief, Little Beard, or Sequidongquee, marked for his cruelties during Sullivan's campaign, represented the Genesee Senecas.[2] The celebrated orator, Assoggoyawauthau, or Red Jacket, first distinguished himself at this council. Honayawus, or Farmer's Brother, represented the central Niagara Indians, and Kiantwauka, or the Cornplanter, those of the upper Alleghany. The Tuscaroras sent the Indian annalist, Nicolas Cusic; the Housatonics, Hendric Aupumut.

The treaty was concluded, November 11,[3] and recognised the principles of all prior treaties. It provided for the payment of a gratuity of $10,000 in money and goods, which were delivered on the ground. A permanent annuity of $4500, payable in coin, clothes, cattle, implements of husbandry, and in the services of artificers, was likewise stipulated for. All the attendant circumstances of this convocation were imposing, and its results auspicious, being marked by the development of a kindly feeling for the Union by the Indians.

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[1] Timothy Pickering, Esq.

[2] The word Seneka, or Seneca, has been a puzzle to inquirers. How a Roman proper name should have become the distinctive cognomen for a tribe of American Indians, it is not easy to say. The French, who first encountered them in western New York, termed them, agreeably to their system of bestowing nicknames, Tsonontowans; that is, Rattlesnakes. Being one of the members of the Five Nations, they, like all the others, bore the generic name of Iroquois. The Dutch, who recognised them in the trade established on the site of Albany, as early as 1614, appear to have introduced the term, as the catch-word of trade, from which the word is derived. This numerous and warlike tribe appears to have had a partiality for the use of vermillion, as a war paint. This article is called, by the Dutch, cinnabar (vide Niew Zak Woorden Boek: Dortrecht, 1831). From some notices of the early times, we learn that the pronunciation of the letter *b*, in this word, was changed to that of *k* or *g*, from which, it may be inferred, they were named *Sin-ne-kars*. In one of the oldest maps, published at Amsterdam, the word is written *Sen-ne-caas*. The double *a* in this language assumes the sound of *a* in *make*, and *ai* in *a*[illegible]; which is precisely the sound still retained. All the early New England writers consulted, adopted this sound, with little variation.

In "Lawson's Travels in the Carolinas in 1700," he calls them "*Sin-ne-gars*," and sometimes "*Janitos*," and identifies them as a tribe of the Iroquois. The Senecas call themselves Nundowa, or "People of the Hill," from an eminence at the head of Canandaigua Lake, which is the locality of a popular allegory, related by Mr. Bradford in Vol. III., p. 382.

[3] U. S. Treaties; Six Nations, p 48

CHAPTER III.

TREATIES WITH THE WYANDOTS, DELAWARES, CHIPPEWAS, AND OTTOWAS.

THE organization of a territorial government north-west of the Ohio, exercised a favorable influence on Indian affairs. The majority of the tribes 1785 on that border were tired of war, having lost as many warriors by disease, as by casualties in battle. The marching of armies had frightened away the large game, and disorganized the Indian trade. They had been fighting, also, as they now began to see, for a phantom; for, granting that they imagined themselves to have been engaged in preventing the colonies from progressing beyond the Ohio (an early device of foreign traders, whose interests in the West would have suffered by the extension of the settlements), they could not fail to understand that it had never constituted an object with the British Government, as it received no consideration in the treaty concluded at Versailles. The Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottowas, were the first of the western tribes to express sentiments of peace. They united in a treaty concluded with the commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, at Fort M'Intosh, on the Ohio, January 21, 1785.[1] This treaty was important, principally, as inaugurating a system of dealing with the tribes by written contracts; evincing the disposition of the Government to treat them with friendly consideration, and at the same time demonstrating that it possessed the means of enforcing its mandates. Boundaries were established between the Wyandots and Delawares, who designated the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas as the division line, thus giving them an idea of the necessity of establishing and respecting geographical locations and limitations.

None of the southern tribes had been so much involved in the hostile proceedings of the western Indians, as the Cherokees, who resided nearest the scene of conflict, and had participated in some of the forays and outrages committed on the Ohio. They, also, at an early period, expressed a desire for peace.

On the 25th of November, 1785, a treaty was concluded with them at Hopewell, on the Keowa fork of the Savannah. The commissioners were Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin. By this treaty a firm friendship was established, the surrender of prisoners and negroes stipulated for, and a definite boundary line established, within which the fur trade should be conducted, exclusively under an American system of license, or authority.[1] A similar policy governed the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The former tribe entered into negotiations with the same commissioners, on the 3d of January, 1786,[2] and the latter on the 10th of the same month.[3] The southwestern frontiers were thus placed in a condition of security, by the proceedings of a commission composed of active and energetic men, well acquainted with the character of the Indians, by whom they were held in great respect.

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[1] U. S. Indian Treaties, A. D. 1837, p. 4.

There was still another tribe which had been the scourge of the frontiers; no one organization having evinced such unmitigated hatred, and unrelenting cruelty as the Shawnees. Bearing a name indicating a southern origin, they had, from the first, resisted with desperate fury all attempts of the frontiersmen of North Carolina and Virginia, to extend their settlements beyond the Ohio river. With the agility and subtlety of the panther, they crept stealthily through the forests, and sprang suddenly on their victims. They fought at the battle of Kenawha with an intrepidity previously unknown in Indian warfare; though Virginia had, in every decade of her existence as a colony, successfully repelled their incursions. After the lapse of twelve years from the conclusion of their treaty with Lord Dunmore, on the Scioto, in 1774, their chiefs assembled at the mouth of the Great Miami, signified their submission, and, January 31, 1786,[4] signed a treaty of peace. By its terms they stipulated to surrender all the prisoners in their possession, and were assigned a territorial position south of the line fixed for the Wyandots and Delawares, by the treaty of Fort M'Intosh, of January 21, 1785.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

HOSTILITIES IN THE WEST. WAR WITH THE MIAMIES AND THEIR CONFEDERATES.

1789.
WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT.

ONE of the earliest objects of attention on the part of the Government, under the old articles of confederation, had been the incorporation of the Indian territory northwest of the Ohio. No sooner had the war terminated, than all eyes began to be directed to that quarter, as the future land of promise to the Union; which expectations have been most amply fulfilled; for it has been, emphatically, the Mother of States, the most prominent among them being the stalwart commonwealths of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. General Arthur St. Clair was appointed by Washington the first governor of the territory. The most important topic which called for his attention was the state of the Indian tribes, which question he found to be surrounded with peculiar difficulties. None of the tribes had suffered so little by the war as the Miamies, Weas, and Piankashaws, of the Wabash. On the tribes who had signed treaties of amity, but little reliance could be placed. For several years the Indians exceeded in numbers the settlers, who were located at prominent points, and, consequently, these frontier settlements were entirely at the mercy of the savages. It was, therefore, necessary to strengthen the bonds of amity with the Indians by treaty stipulations. Treaties furnish the very highest evidence of civilization among intellectual and polished nations; and, when the system was introduced in negotiations with the Indian tribes, who could neither read nor write, an expectation of security and advantage from such instruments was indulged, far beyond what the moral character of the aborigines, and their actual political appreciation of them, justified. Still, this system promised the surest means of attaining success. From the earliest traditionary times, it had been the custom of the Indians to hold formal meetings of their chiefs, for the purpose of adjusting their affairs, to which the greatest ceremony and solemnity was given, by smoking the sacred weed, and by the exchange of wampum belts. The like ceremony and solemnity was used by the commissioners and commanders, to whom these negotiations were entrusted, on concluding the treaties, by exchanging the *muzziniegun*s,[1] on which the verbal agreements had been written. To renew and extend these obligations was, according to Indian phraseology, to tighten the chain of friendship.

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[1] Meaning treaties, or graphic papers.

On the 9th of January, 1789, nearly three months before the adoption of the present constitution, General St. Clair concluded a treaty with a large delegation of the Six Nations, assembled at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum. The chief object of this treaty was to renew and confirm that entered into at Fort Stanwix, in 1784. To secure order, a body of United States troops was encamped there, under Colonel Harmer, and the treaty of Fort M'Intosh, of January 21st, 1785, was re-confirmed by the original parties to it, to whom was added a delegation from the Pottawattamies and Sacs.

From an explanatory article appended to this treaty, it appears that the Wyandots accused the Shawnees of having laid claim to lands that did not belong to them; these lands being a part of the Wyandot domain. The respected Wyandot chief, **Tarhe**, was present at the negotiation of this treaty. It was affirmed by the Wyandots, that the Shawnees, who signed the treaty of peace concluded at the Miami, had been guilty of injustice; and they further averred, that "the Shawnees have been so restless, and caused so much trouble, both to them and the United States, that if they will not now be at peace, they (the Wyandots) will dispossess them, and take the country into their own hands; for that the country is theirs of right, and the Shawnees are only living upon it by their permission."[1]

In 1789, General St. Clair also negotiated a treaty with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs, and Pottawattamies, through the chiefs assembled at Fort Harmer.[2] This treaty has been called "a piece of Indian diplomacy, saying the Indians never intended to abide by it any longer than suited their convenience."[3] These assemblages, however, were convened in pursuance of the pacific policy of Washington, and had their effect.

1790 The position of the Indian relations was at this time very critical. Emigration flowed over the Alleghanies with great rapidity, and the lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished were daily filling up. The nucleus of the future State of Ohio had been established at Marietta, in 1788. Collision could not be avoided between two races so antagonistic in habits and feelings as the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian. Murders were committed, which were retaliated by similar outrages. It became evident that an open Indian war must speedily ensue. The Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots having measured swords, to their cost, with the British, as also with the colonies, it was clear that the issue would not be with either of these tribes. Hostile demonstrations were apprehended from the Miamies, and their co-tribes, the Weas and Piankashaws. The residence of this tribe was located in the Wabash valley, one of the most favorable and genial regions in the West. Possessing an extraordinarily fertile soil, which yielded large quantities of corn, grain, and fruit, an exuberant forest, abounding in deer, bears, and other animals, their population was remarkably vigorous, while their insolence knew no bounds. Colonel Harmer was directed to advance into their country, and endeavor to bring them to terms. Such a march, encumbered with stores and supplies, through a wilderness destitute of roads, was, in itself, an arduous undertaking. The pioneer work of an army has always been one of the severest duties of a western campaign; it is the toil and the triumph of the quartermaster's department. Roads must be made, bridges built, provisions packed, arms and ammunition carried; every delay must be endured, every difficulty overcome. Colonel Harmer reached the eligible and elevated grounds, forming the present site of Fort Wayne, which are washed by the River Miami, of the Lakes, whose swift, but shallow rapids, are easily forded. Observations, made on the rising grounds beyond the stream, detected the presence of the enemy, whose demonstrations were intended to convey the idea that they were in force in that quarter. But this proved to be only a decoy; they had crouched down in the thick undergrowth and weeds, and were concealed along the western shore. The army was directed to cross the stream at this rapid, but had not proceeded far, when a heavy fire of musketry was poured in, accompanied by the most frightful cries. The men were rallied by spirited officers; Major Wyllis, and other brave officers, being killed in this effort. The Indian fire was continued, and well sustained, they being plentifully supplied with guns and ammunition. The line having faltered, and fallen back, the retreating columns were marched to an elevated position, where they were reorganized. The loss among the regular troops amounted to 75 killed, and three wounded. Of the militia, 108 were killed, and 28 wounded.[1] So severe a defeat could not be repaired without a reinforcement; and Harmer determined to return to the banks of the Ohio, which he did without further molestation from the Indians.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 28.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

[3] American Pioneer, Vol. I., p. 28

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[1] Metcalf's Collection of Narratives of Indian Warfare in the West: Lexington, Kentucky, 1821, 1 vol. 8vo., p. 109.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUSCOGEES, OR CREEKS, NEGOTIATE A TREATY OF PEACE.

1789.
WASHINGTON,
PRESIDENT.

Two disturbing elements exercised an influence on the powerful Creek nation during the entire Revolutionary contest; and, after pursuing a fluctuating policy, requiring perpetual vigilance on the part of the authorities of Georgia and South Carolina, their hostility was finally evinced by the formidable night attack, made, under Guristersigo, on the camp of General Wayne, near Savannah, in 1782. The disturbing causes alluded to, were, the influence of the Spanish in Florida, and of the French in Louisiana. But, when the issue of the Revolutionary contest became a fixed fact, they expressed a wish to enter into friendly relations with the Union. For this purpose, in the year 1790, a delegation, comprising twenty-four of their most distinguished chiefs, visited the seat of government, then located at the city of New York. This delegation represented all the principal towns and septs, from the Coosahatchee and Chattahooche to the sources of the Altamaha; it also embraced a delegation of the Seminoles, and was headed by Alexander M'Gillevray, who had, during many years, exercised a controlling influence over this nation. The distinctions of Upper, Middle, and Lower Creeks, were insisted on, they being regarded as so many septs. General Washington received the delegates with comity, and deputed General Knox, Secretary of War, to treat with them. After a full discussion of all the questions involved, the terms were agreed on, and the treaty signed, August 7, 1790.[1] The most important of its provisions was the establishment of boundaries. It contained the usual professions of amity, and stipulated for the surrender of prisoners taken during the war, whites and negroes, many of the latter being refugees.[2] To induce them to make greater advances toward civilization, a clause was inserted, providing that they should be furnished, from time to time, with cattle and agricultural implements. In that genial climate, where cattle, horses, and sheep require neither feeding nor housing, this wise provision has rendered the nation wealthy in animals and stock; thus enabling them to make further progress in the social scale.

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[1] United States Indian Treaties, p. 29.

[2] These refugees in the Indian territories, furnished the nucleus of slavery among the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. The Africans were not adopted as members of the tribes, but held as persons in servitude; and, by performing the field-labor, enabled these tribes to pursue agriculture without being themselves compelled to engage in manual labor; thus producing the relation, continued to this day, of master and slave. For a census of the Creek slaves, see Vol. IV., Statistics, p. 575, *et seq.*

After all the negotiations were concluded, the Government appointed a special agent to accompany the delegates to their homes, and report on their condition. This agent performed his task skilfully, being a cautious and shrewd observer; and, after his return, he communicated to General Knox a valuable report, accompanied by a map of the country, a detailed account of their principal places of residence, and a carefully prepared and comprehensive view of their manners and customs.[2] He gave the names and designated the locations of fifty-two towns,[3] which were estimated to contain from 25,000 to 30,000 souls. Of these, between 5000 and 6000 were reported to be gun-men, or warriors. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the confederacy of the Creeks is well deserving of study, as an element of Indian history.

By some of the older writers, they are called Muscogulges,[4] a term which has, apparently, been shortened to Muscogees; the English appellation of Creeks having been derived from a geographical feature of the country, which is remarkable for its numerous streams.[5] The appellations of Alabama and Okechoyatte, have been borne by them[6] at an early period. Their language[7] is one of the most musical of the Indian tongues, but agrees with the other languages in its principles of synthesis, its coalescence of the pronoun with the noun, and its power of combination.

Politically speaking, they possess a standing and influence second to none of the other tribes, being one of the most strongly characterized families of the aboriginal race, and one from whom we may expect great development.

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[1] Vol. V., p. 253.

[2] For this report, by Major Caleb Swan, and its accompaniments, vide Vol. I., Topical History, p. 251.

[3] Vol. V., p. 262.

[4] Bartram, p. 281, &c., A.D. 1773.

[5] Hawkins.

[6] Vol. I., Tribal Organization, p. 266.

[7] Vol. IV., Language, p. 416.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPEDITIONS OF GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT, OF KENTUCKY, AND OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR, AGAINST THE WESTERN INDIANS.

1791 But three tribes aided the colonies in the revolutionary contest: the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Mohicans. Thus far, treaties of peace had been concluded with the recreant Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, in the north; the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, in the south; and with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Chippewas, Ottowas, Pottawattamies, and Sacs, in the west; but the seven latter, who bore a very questionable character, could not be relied on, while the Miamies, Weas, and Piankashaws of the Wabash, were in open hostility. They had, during the previous year, defeated Harmer, at the joint sources of the Great Miami of the Ohio and the Miami of the Lakes. The River Miami of the Lakes formed the grand medium of northern Indian communication with the Ottowas of the lower part of that valley, the Wyandots of Sandusky, and eastern Michigan, and the Chippewas of Detroit, as well as other lake Algonquin tribes, who were in the practice of joining the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawnees, in their inroads on the Ohio frontiers.

The Miamies were an active, bold, and numerous race, who, under the name of Tweetwees, had been the objects of special attack by the Iroquois, ever since the era of the French occupancy. They had been driven by them to more southerly and westerly locations than those which they had formerly inhabited, and were now the undisputed masters of the Wabash valley. During the fierce and sanguinary warfare of 1782, when so many expeditions were sent against the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares, the Miamies received no specific notice, but appear to have been included in the widely-diffused Ottowa and Chippewa race, whom they resemble in features, manners, customs, and language. General James Clinton, during the campaign against the Six Nations, in 1778, observed that the sympathy existing between the races, even where they were placed in antagonistic positions, was so great that but little reliance could be placed on them in exigencies.[1] When war broke out, it required close observation to discriminate very particularly between the grades of hostility, if there was any at all, existing among the different members of affiliated tribes. Nor did the Indians make any distinction between the various races of the whites. It was, in truth, a war of races; an attempt, if we may so term it, of the descendants of Japhet to shackle the wild sons of Shem, and to "dwell in his tents."[1]

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[1] Stone's Brant, Vol. II.

The earliest movement of any note, in the campaign of 1791, against the Wabash Indians and their allies, was made by the expedition entrusted to General Charles Scott, of Kentucky. On the 23d of May in that year, General Scott set out from the banks of the Ohio, with a total force of 850 men, a part of whom were regulars, under command of Colonel James Wilkinson; but far the largest part of his army consisted of brave and experienced mounted volunteers. The month of June was passed in traversing the vast extent of exuberant forest watered by the tributaries of the Wabash river. On the 1st of August, he reached the vicinity of Ouiattonon, the largest of the Miami towns. This place was promptly attacked, several warriors killed, and the Indians, under a severe fire from the riflemen, were driven across the Wabash, their landing being covered by the warriors belonging to a village of Kickapoos, who maintained a constant fire. A detachment, under Colonel Hardin, having been ordered to cross the river at a point lower down, did so unobserved by the Indians, and stormed the Kickapoo town, killing six warriors, and taking fifty-two prisoners. The following morning, 500 men were directed to capture and destroy the important town of Kithlipecanuk, located on the west banks of the Wabash, at the mouth of Eel river, a distance of eighteen miles from the camp. After demolishing the Indian towns and villages, devastating their cornfields and gardens, and killing thirty-two warriors, beside taking fifty-eight prisoners, General Scott returned to the Ohio, which he reached on August 14th, without the loss of one man, and with but five wounded.[2]

This detail is but a necessary preface to what follows. The Indians being a people of imperturbable character, are not much affected by those lessons of military warfare which are not fraught with calamities of a continuous character. They dexterously avoid the danger they cannot resist, and, when no longer threatened, they as quickly return to their former acts of pillage and atrocity. Some more formidable and permanent efforts were evidently necessary to bring the tribes to terms. For this purpose, Arthur St. Clair was commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States, early in March, 1791.[3] General Washington was very anxious on the subject, and urged on the veteran General the importance of proceeding with all practicable promptitude.[4]

St. Clair was a disciplined soldier, who, having served under Wolfe, Monckton, and Murray,[5] enjoyed the confidence of Washington, as a man of undoubted bravery and prudence. On the 15th of May,[1] he reached Fort Washington, now the site of Cincinnati. The delays attending the arrival of troops and supplies, and the organization of the army, gave rise to complaints, the whole summer being passed away in this manner. Fort Hamilton, the point of support on the Great Miami, was not completed until the 13th of September, and the month of October had arrived before the different corps of troops and levies were all mustered into service. On the 13th of October, the army had advanced forty-four miles from Fort Hamilton, and encamped on an eligible spot, where St. Clair built Fort Jefferson. Then advancing with caution and order, on the 3d of November he arrived at the St. Mary's river, a stream twelve yards in width, one of the principal sources of the Miami of the Lakes. It being four o'clock in the afternoon when the army reached this stream, St. Clair proceeded up its banks nine miles, and encamped on an eligible piece of ground, in military order. He had designed constructing a breastwork at this place, for the security of his baggage; but, before he could effect this purpose, the Indians, at half an hour before sunrise the following morning (4th), made a furious attack on his lines. They were in great force, consequent upon the slowness of St. Clair's march up the Maumee, thus allowing them an opportunity to concentrate all the forces of their allies. Unfortunately, the Indians, who were led into action by the valiant Wapacomegat,[2] a Mississagie,[3] first encountered the militia and raw troops, who immediately fled through the line, pursued by the Indians, thus producing the most irremediable confusion. The Indians were checked, however, by a spirited fire from the front line; but, in a few moments, that and the second line were vigorously attacked, and the soldiers of the artillery corps, who formed the centre, shot down at their guns. The slaughter was terrific on every side, and the confusion extended to the centre. At this moment, St. Clair ordered the second line to charge, which they did very gallantly, under the command of Colonel Darke. The Indians fled several hundred yards, but again rallied when the troops returned to their position. At this time, the second line also charged with effect; but the fire of the Indians was very galling, and produced greater confusion, because of the large number of officers killed and wounded. General St. Clair attributes much of the disorder to this fact. The artillery were silenced, all the officers being killed but one, and he was wounded. The Indians simultaneously attacked front, flanks, and rear. General Butler, the second in command, was killed, as also Colonel Oldham, and Majors Hart, Ferguson, and Clarke. General St. Clair attempted to mount three different horses, which were shot before he could do so.[4] More than one-half the rank and file of the army were killed,[5] and the extermination of the rest seemed inevitable.

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[1] Genesis ix. 27.

[2] Metcalf's Wars, p. 115.

[3] A Narrative of a Campaign against the Indians, under the command of Major-General St. Clair: Philadelphia, 1812, p. 1.

[4] Ibid., p. 5-25.

[5] Ibid., p. 39.

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[1] Narrative of St. Clair's Campaign, p. 4.

[2] This man had attended the general peace convention, and submitted to the British, under General Bradstreet, in 1764. Vide Mante.

[3] Metcalf, p. 138.

[4] Narrative, p. 51.

[5] Ibid., p. 50-51.

The combat had lasted from about 6 o'clock to 9, A. M.,[1] when General St. Clair led a charge through the Indian line in the rear, under cover of which the remains of the army retreated in disorder, until they reached Fort Jefferson. The army had originally consisted of about 1200 men, of whom it was reported that 600 were killed, including 64 officers,[2] a loss equal to that experienced at Braddock's defeat.

The effects of this defeat were most disastrous to the western settlements. Immigration was checked, and dismay prevailed along the entire frontier.

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[1] The sun rises in this latitude at 32 minutes past 6.

[2] Metcalf's Wars, p. 137.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGNS OF GENERAL WAYNE AGAINST THE WESTERN INDIANS.

1792. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT.

THE effect produced in Philadelphia, then the capital, by the intelligence of this defeat, was electric. Washington had never counselled half-way measures with the Indians, and this result had disappointed his expectations. Knox, his Secretary of War, had no personal experience in Indian warfare. It was of the utmost moment to make another effort, as early the following spring as possible, to gain the ascendency in the West. An examination of the list of officers experienced in savage military manœuvres, resulted in the choice of General Wayne, whose decision of character was well known. He had, in 1782, led a successful cavalry charge against a night attack of the Creeks, near Savannah. Firm and cautious, but of chivalrous daring, nature had bestowed on him the talents and energy necessary to cope with the western Indians.

Prior to the march of General Wayne, Washington resolved to make another attempt to bring the hostile Indians of the West to terms by negotiation. For this purpose, Colonel Hardin and Major Trueman, two experienced men, were appointed commissioners, and directed to visit the towns on the Scioto. But these gentlemen were both waylaid and killed while descending the Ohio, and thus the overture failed. General Wayne's movements were also delayed by another object of pressing moment, which was to intercept a threatened invasion of Louisiana from Kentucky. For this purpose, he was detained at Fort Massac during a portion of the year '93; after which, he contented himself with ascending the Miami valley, six miles above Fort Jefferson, where he established himself in a fortified camp, called GREENVILLE.

It will be unnecessary to detail the process of organizing the new army, or the difficulties and delays it encountered. Wayne was determined not to be defeated; and this, when operating against an enemy so subtile as the Indians, and so intimately acquainted with the peculiar geographical features of the surrounding country, could only be guarded against by the most untiring vigilance, prudence, and caution. The season for active operations elapsed in collecting the forces, on a remote frontier, and bringing them into the field. It was necessary to proceed slowly, as roads must be opened, bridges built, and blockhouses erected, to serve as points of supply and communication. A large corps of pioneers was required to be constantly employed, which it was necessary to protect by a strong force of cavalry and riflemen. The delays arising from these causes were the subject of unjust complaint in the diurnal press of that period. Two armies had been defeated in endeavors to penetrate the great wilderness to the Wabash; a country well suited to the operations of a savage foe, but abounding in obstacles to the progress of a civilized army, encumbered with baggage, cannon, and stores; who must have a passable road, and could not cross a stream of even the third magnitude without a bridge. The army was systematically employed in this difficult and laborious service, ever distasteful to volunteers, who composed a part of the forces. This labor, however, was the forerunner of success. Every day devoted to these toils, and to the discipline of the army, rendered it more active, efficient, and fit for the purpose in view. Wayne then took possession of the grounds on the banks of the St. Mary's, where St. Clair had been defeated in 1791, and having built Fort Recovery, there wintered his army.

On the 30th of the following June, this fort was invested by a large body of Indians, whose spies had closely reconnoitred it, while the main force lay 1794 near by, under cover. They had noticed that, at certain times, the horses of the officers were admitted into the fort through the sally-port, and on one of these occasions they followed them with a desperate onset, knowing that the outer gates would be opened. The troops, however, being well disciplined, repelled this assault of a prodigious force of the hitherto concealed Indians. The following day they made the forest echo with their whoops, renewing the attack in greater force, and with greater violence; but they were again repulsed with loss.

Fort Recovery was located at the head of the Miami of the Lakes, and formed the key of the route to the north-west, this valley being, at that time, the great thoroughfare of the north-western Indians, from Detroit and the upper lakes, through which, with great vindictiveness, they had so long poured their infuriated hordes over the fertile regions of the Ohio valley, and the settlements west of the Alleghany chain. The area of attack embraced not only the present limits of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but all western Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and part of Tennessee. It was from these States that Wayne drew all his levies and volunteers, who were imbued with such hatred of the savages, consequent upon a vivid remembrance of Indian cruelties, that it required a man like Wayne to restrain them. Rash courage and vindictiveness are but poor qualifications for an encounter with Indians in a forest, as many a partisan commander has realized to his cost.

A fortnight after the last Indian attack, Wayne continued his march down the Miami valley. An impenetrable forest lay before him, through which nothing but an Indian footpath, or a trader's trail could be discerned. But every company of his men was in itself a phalanx; and the order of march was such as to set surprise at defiance.

In four days he reached the junction of the river Au Glaize with the Miami, where he built Fort Defiance. Crossing the Miami at this point, to its west banks, he continued his march to the head of the first rapids, called Roche du Bout, or the Standing Rock. At this place a temporary work was constructed, wherein to deposit the heavy stores and baggage; and he then pushed forward in the same order, and with like vigilance, for the principal Indian towns at the lower rapids.

Using the figurative language of the Indians, General Wayne's army resembled a dark cloud moving steadily and slowly forward. He had driven them 150 miles from their successful fighting-ground on the River St. Mary's, and the sources of the Wabash, and it appeared impossible for them to oppose him in battle. At every point of attack they had found him prepared. They said of him that he was a man who never slept, and they named him the STRONG WIND.[1] They had found it impossible to stay the impetuosity of his march, and it was doubted, in their councils, whether a general battle should be hazarded,[2] but after much discussion, this measure was resolved on.[3] The place selected was Presque Isle, a thickly-wooded oasis, such as is common to prairie districts in the West, encompassed by low and grassy meadow-lands, the upper part of which was encumbered by old, fallen timbers, where horses could not be employed. On the 20th of August the Indians arranged their forces in three lines, within supporting distance, and at right angles with the river. Wayne knew not whether they would fight, or negotiate, as offers of peace had been made to them. His army marched in compact columns, in the usual order, preceded by a battalion of volunteers, so far in advance that timely notice could be given to the troops to form, in case of an attack. This corps had progressed about five miles, when they received a heavy fire from the concealed enemy, compelling them to fall back on the main army, which immediately formed in two lines. General Charles Scott, with his mounted volunteers, was directed to turn the right flank of the enemy by a circuitous movement, while Captain Campbell, with the legionary cavalry, effected the same object on the left flank, by following an open way close to the banks of the river, and between it and the cliffs of Presque Isle. The first line of infantry was ordered to advance with trailed arms, rouse the Indians from their coverts in the grass, at the point of the bayonet, and then deliver a close, well-directed fire. These troops were promptly followed by the second line; the martial music of drums and trumpets giving animation to the scene. The whole of these movements were executed with alacrity and entire success. The Indians fled precipitately, and could not be rallied by their leaders. The army pursued them for two miles through the woods, and the victory obtained was complete. Wayne had about 2000 men under his command in this contest, not one half of whom were engaged. His loss in killed and wounded was 133 men. Captain Campbell was killed at the head of his legion, and Captain Van Renselaer was shot through the body, but recovered. For a distance of two miles, the forest was strewed with the dead bodies of the enemy, among which were recognised some of their white allies. They were denied entrance into the British fort at Maumee, the officers of which were compelled to witness the burning of the towns, and the destruction of the Indian settlements in the valley. General Wayne was highly incensed against the garrison of Fort Maumee, and sought to give them cause to open hostilities. There being a fine spring near the fort, the conversations at which could be overheard on the ramparts, the general rode around the fort to it with his staff, dismounted, took off his hat, and drank of the water, at the same time using expressions of indignation against the allies of the Indians, who had first incited them to attack him, and then closed their gates against them. Those who are aware of the general's enthusiastic character, need not be told that he expressed himself energetically. The savages made no further effort to oppose the course of the victorious army, which, finally, returned to Greenville, where it went into winter quarters.

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[1] Colonel Hugh Brady.

[2] Schoolcraft's Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 49.

[3] Ibid., p. 50.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY WAR WITH THE WESTERN INDIANS IS TERMINATED BY THE VICTORY OF MAUMEE.

The object for which the Indians had fought had proved to be illusory, and 1796 their defeat on the Miami of the Lakes terminated their struggle for the possession of the country north-west of the Ohio. This result could not, under any possible circumstances, have been averted. Had they possessed leaders who understood the effects of combination and discipline, and been supplied with the necessary means, they might have protracted for several years this contest against the white race. With ample supplies, and under competent leaders, this defeat would only have added fresh strength to their determination, and would have been succeeded by other battles, triumphs, and defeats; but, as the war was, in fact, a direct issue between civilization and barbarism, the ultimate result would have been precisely similar. The reasoning powers of the Indians did not, probably, enable them to arrive at this conclusion; but they appear to have intuitively deduced the truth of this fact from their late reverses, as, in a short time thereafter, they determined to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace.

It had been the recognised policy of Washington's administration, to use force against the Indians only when absolute necessity required it; and compulsory measures were never adopted until after every other means of accommodating existing differences had failed. They were, to a certain extent, regarded as public wards. The assassination of Harden and Trueman on the Ohio, with the olive-branch in their hands, after the defeat of St. Clair, and previous to the expedition of Wayne, is irrefragable evidence of this conciliatory policy. Even after Wayne had reached Roche du Bout, and but a day or two antecedent to the decisive battle, he tendered overtures of peace to the Indians, of which, it is affirmed, they were kept in ignorance by foreign agents.[1]

In response to the renewal of these overtures, the Indians crowded to Wayne's camp, at Greenville, during the summer of 1795. The entire area embraced between the banks of the Ohio and Lake Erie, luxuriant with indigenous vegetation, had been trodden down, by the marching and countermarching of war parties and armies, from the period of the conclusion of the sham treaty made with Lord Dunmore, in 1774, and the no less unreliable one signed at Fort M'Intosh, in 1785; but, during the five years which had just closed, it had been beaten with hostile feet until it had become like one of their own chunk-yards.[1] The bitter chalice which they had so long held to the lips of the people of Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, was now being drained by themselves. After the demonstration at the Maumee Rapids, they fled to their wintering-grounds, and to the extensive forests of Lake Erie, Michigan, and Canada. The local foreign traders of these precincts, the very commandants of the posts, who had counselled them to war, could no longer be regarded by them as oracles. They had been unable to keep the whites east of the Ohio; nay, it began to be perceived, by these subtile sons of the forest, that the race could not, eventually, be confined within the limits fixed by the treaty of Versailles. Spring succeeded these desolating military movements of General Wayne; the genial warmth of May and June caused the wild flowers to raise their heads from the war-path, on which they had been crushed by the feet of contending partisans. The Indian derives many of his ideas from the mild teachings of Nature; and, at this time, wherever the eye turned, all its productions inculcated peace. Before the month of July arrived, the savage, with altered feelings, entered on the forest-paths that led to Greenville, where the American chief was seated, surrounded by all the panoply of war, with the emblems of peace intermingled. Wayne now impersonated their own Hiawatha.

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[1] Schoolcraft's Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 51: New York, Collins and Hannay, 1825, 1 vol. 8vo., pp. 459.

Foremost among the tribes who turned their steps to his camp, were the proud and influential Wyandots, who had so long been regarded as wise men and umpires among the tribes of the West. Driven from the St. Lawrence valley, in 1659, by the Iroquois, they had, for a century and a half, held a high position in the West; sustained a part of the time by France, their earliest and most constant friend, and after the conquest of Canada, by the English. They were astute, reflective, and capable of pursuing a steady line of policy, which had been, with some lapses, the stay of the western tribes, who were willing to tread in their footsteps. This tribe was the last to assent to the scheme of Pontiac; and when the confederation was broken up by the British, they adhered to that power with extraordinary devotion.

In this train, also, followed the Delawares, who had been, since the time they first fled from Pennsylvania and crossed the Alleghanies, bitter enemies of the settlers in the West. There also came the Shawnees; the most vengeful and subtile of all the western tribes. Every day witnessed the arrival in the surrounding forests of delegates, decked off with all their peculiar ornaments, of feathers, paint, silver gorgets, trinkets, and medals. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Miamies, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias, were all present. The entire official power of the

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[1] A public arena, in which prisoners are burnt at the stake, and war-dances held.

Algonquins was on the ground. Each delegation carried the pipe of peace, and expressed pacific desires. The whole camp presented a gorgeous display of wild and savage magnificence; and, for the number and variety of costumes, the scene has, probably, never since been equalled in America. All came bending to Wayne.

A treaty was signed on the 3d of August,[1] and constitutes our first reliable date in the history of treaty stipulations with the Indians. The draft of this treaty, sent to General Wayne from the War Department, was drawn up under the supervision of Washington, and appears to have been full and elaborate. It established the system of boundaries and reservations, and introduced the fundamental regulations as to trade and intercourse with the tribes, which have been embodied in all subsequent treaties. A donation of $20,000 in goods, and a permanent annuity of $9000, payable in merchandise, at invoice prices, to be divided *pro rata* among the different nations, were granted to the Indians.[2]

Having traced the negotiation of treaties from their first inception under the American Government to this important period, when the Indians buried the hatchet, it will not be necessary to pursue the subject further. Subsequent negotiations with the tribes are connected with a lengthy detail of dates, names, and figures, which are readily accessible in the volumes containing the treaties between the United States and the Indians. The treaty of Greenville forms a definite era in the Indian history, from which the tribes may be viewed. Both parties regarded this peace as a final conclusion of the aboriginal war, which, following the close of the Revolution, had spread, as it were, a bloody mantle over not only the Ohio valley, but over the entire region to the north-west of it. The position attained by the United States through this treaty, had been the result of at least a decade of years, characterized by wars and negotiations, in which the sword and the olive-branch had either failed of effect, or only produced temporary results; and the length of time the treaty was observed by the aborigines, is, in part, attributable to the full assent it received from the united judgment of the principal chiefs of all the leading tribes, who were parties to it. On the part of the Wyandots, it received the signature of the venerated Tarhe, or the Crane; on that of the Delawares, it was subscribed to by the gifted Bukongehelas; the Shawnees assented to it through the venerable Cutthewekasaw, or Black Hoof, and Weyapiersenwaw, or Blue Jacket; Topinabi, or Thupenebu, signed it for the Pottawattamies, and for the Miamies it was signed by Meshekunnoghquoh, or the celebrated Little Turtle; the latter of whom, with the Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket, had been the marshals or leaders of the Indians at the final battle on the Maumee.[3] As long as these chiefs, the last of the forest kings, lived, this peace was observed.

The lake posts were surrendered by the British in 1796, and American garrisons replaced those of the English at Niagara, Presque Isle, Maumee, Detroit, Michilimackinack, and Green Bay. The Indians, who are quick at recognising the nationality of a flag, began to accommodate their visits and addresses to this new state of affairs. The Government also sought, as much as possible, to divert the Indian trade from foreign hands into those of the Americans; but this was a difficult matter, and required time to effect it. Along the Georgia and Carolina borders, this trade had been concentrated in the hands of, and continued to be carried on principally by, enterprising and talented Scotchmen, who intermarried with the Indians. The most noted of these were M'Intosh, M'Gillivray, Ross, and Rutherford; the latter somewhat better known as the Black Warrior of 1818. Throughout Louisiana, in all its amplitude of extension north and west, the French exercised the controlling influence; and this was especially the case in the territory now constituting the States of Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. The same fact was true respecting the trade carried on in the basins of the upper lakes, and at the sources of the Mississippi river, where the British and Scotch factors for many years controlled the trade and influenced the tribes.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 54.

[2] Ibid, p. 57.

[3] General Hugh Brady.

SECTION FIFTEENTH.

PERTURBED STATE OF THE TRIBES, AND THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONS, DURING THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE UNION WESTWARD, FROM 1800 TO 1825.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNMENT AND LAW ESSENTIAL TO INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

1800. J. Adams, President.

Divine prescience having determined, through the instrumentality of Moses, to elevate the Hebrews from their depressed and servile state, and to liberate them from the bondage under which they had so long groaned, the prophet had no sooner guided them to a locality suitable for the experiment, than he taught them the principles of law and government. Private rights and duties were accurately prescribed, and these were again distinguished from political and religious obligations. Among a people so long estranged from the true objects of society, and who had lived in a country where they were surrounded by the symbols, as well as examples, of idolatry and heathenism in many of their most repulsive forms, it was essential to prescribe laws for the protection of personal property; for compensation and compromise in cases of depredations of cattle, or accidental murders; to guard the rights of servants; and to establish other political and social rules. The public tithes, or governmental taxes, and the scale of valuation for animals used in sacrifice, were fixed. Nothing of practical importance was left to the operations of chance. It was not deemed sufficient to teach them general moral maxims and principles, or to merely place before them the decalogue. It was followed out by the application of its precepts in society; and its observance was enjoined by a tender of the highest rewards, on the one hand, and a denunciation of the most severe punishments on the other. To the supremacy of the law and the government the very highest testimony was borne. The Jew could not be exalted in the scale of society by a miracle. For a period of forty years were they isolated from the rest of mankind, and subjected to these severe teachings, before they were permitted to enter the promised land, the soil of which was to be tilled by their husbandmen, and the cities occupied by their people. During all this time, the law was unflinchingly and rigidly supported and enforced. Death was inflicted for gathering sticks on the Sabbath, and assuming the duties of the priesthood. The power of government was never, for an instant, wielded by any other than God, who had, from the first revelation to Moses, placed himself at the head of it. It was strictly a theocracy; but, from an early period, it embraced a representative system for the choice of tribal rulers. The temple service and the Sanhedrim were united in this system, but never conflicted. The policy of the state and that of the church were distinct and clearly defined, concurring only in the great purpose of a government, designed to exalt the nation in its industrial and economical wealth, as well as in the scale of high morality.

Can we expect the Indian tribes to be reclaimed without similar means are employed? Or are they expected to spring perfect, as it were, from the brain of Jupiter, without any established governments, courts, schools, churches, and without, at least, forty years' tuition, in their wilderness of barbarism? Is this the true signification of the promises? or is it not a contradiction of them? Can the Indian be elevated in the social scale while he remains a hunter? or can civilization be put on, like a garment, while the tribes are in a nomadic state? Is the waste of large annuities on a nation of idlers, a means of advancing them? and are idleness and intemperance conjoined calculated to improve a people? Do the nations of Europe expect such a miracle from America? Is it not, on the contrary, through their persevering industry, in husbandry, arts, mechanics, letters, and science, that Europe has risen? It is by means of their enterprise and virtue, and by a system of approved political economy, that the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races in this Union have advanced and diffused themselves over the country.

1801.
T. Jefferson,
President.

Mr. Jefferson, on being called to occupy the Presidential chair, in 1801, felt the importance of the claim which the existing state of Indian society had upon his attention; all his letters and communications, private as well as public, demonstrate this. Even in alluding to their history and origin, his views were of the most comprehensive character.[1] To him we owe the passage of the fundamental act to preserve peace on the frontiers, and regulate intercourse with the Indian tribes. By this act, the boundaries of the Indian country, and the operations of the laws in it, are clearly defined.

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[1] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 162.

Regulations are established for the government of the Indian trade. The territory of the tribes is protected from depredations by the whites, who are permitted to visit it for no other purpose than trade, or mere transit through it. The jurisdiction of courts is established, and the methods of proceeding particularly pointed out. In fine, a system of policy is laid down, calculated to advance the prosperity of the Indians, and at the same time secure a just public economy.

The act establishing the North-west Territory, was the first step towards the induction of this practical mode of teaching among the Indians — teaching by example. However slight the effect its lessons may have been on the remote tribes and bands, yet they were not wholly inoperative, even there; while at points within the civil jurisdiction, they carried with them a monition which caused them to be obeyed.

1802 The commonwealth of Ohio was the first organization of public territory in the West, and the extension of State sovereignty over the once sanguinary boundary, west of the Ohio river, ensured to that area an expansion which has no parallel in history. Whether the Indians of the West will become participants in the benefits of civilization, is a proposition depending solely on themselves, their strength of purpose and energy of character; for its price, alike to red or white men, is knowledge, industry, temperance, and virtue.

While Ohio heralded to the western tribes the rule of government and law, Louisiana, by a wise forecast of executive policy, came in, at this critical time, to confirm and greatly extend the system. In fifty years the limits of the Union had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Neither men nor States practice what is not conceived to be best suited to promote their prosperity. By offering to the Indians the protection of the laws, and the benefits of intercourse with civilized society, the highest assurances were given that we were sincere, and sought only to advance them in the scale of knowledge and happiness. But, as the Indian is an extraordinarily suspicious being, the good faith of this offer has ever been doubted by him, and some sinister purpose has been supposed to be concealed. He has affirmed that the so-much prized civilization of the white man contains elements which are not suited to his nature; but what these elements are, neither philosophy nor revelation has informed us. Persian education consisted in learning to ride a horse, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. If the former comprised a military education, the latter did a moral one.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATIONS OF UPPER LOUISIANA, AND THE COUNTRY DESTINED TO BE THE FUTURE REFUGE OF THE INDIAN RACE.

1803.
T. Jefferson,
President.

To ascertain the character and extent of Lousiana, and the numbers of the Indian tribes within its area, Mr. Jefferson despatched expeditions up the Missouri and Mississippi. The first was led by Merriwether Lewis and William Clark, captains in the army, both of whom were commissioned for that purpose. They left St. Louis, May 14, 1804, and ascended the Missouri through the territories of the Osages, Kansas, Otoes, and Sioux, to that of the Mandans, where they wintered. The following year they continued their route through the countries of the Tetons, Crows, and Blackfeet, to the source of the Missouri, in the Rocky Mountains, and, crossing this range, descended the valley of the Columbia to the point where it empties into the Pacific. Retracing their steps from this remote position, they descended the Missouri to St. Louis, where they landed, September 23, 1806. This was the first exploratory expedition sent out by the Government; and its results, while they evinced the great personal intrepidity of the explorers, were suited to convey an exalted opinion of the value and resources of this newly-acquired section of the Union. It was found to be a difficult task to enumerate the Indian population of the Columbia valley, owing to the confusion of synonymes and other causes; consequently, over-estimates were inevitable. The aboriginal population was rated at 80,000;[1] and the distance travelled, from the mouth of the Missouri to that of the Columbia, on the Pacific, at 3555 miles.[2] The observations made by Mr. Lewis on the Indian trade, disclosed gross irregularities, which were directly traceable to the era of Spanish rule, and such modifications were suggested as would tend to place the natives in a better position, as well as to improve the system.[3] The amount of information obtained by the officers of this expedition constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Indians and their country; and the observations of General William Clark, joined to his acquired experience, admirably qualified him for the duties of the office to which he was, in after time, appointed, that of Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, on this frontier.

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[1] Information, Vol. III., pp. 570, 571. [2] Lewis and Clark, Vol. II., p. 462. [3] Ibid., pp. 435–470.

At the same period, Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, U. S. A., was commissioned to explore the sources of the Mississippi. He started from St. Louis with his expedition, August 5th, 1805, and, according to his own estimate, reached a point 233 miles above the falls of St. Anthony, where the accumulated snow and ice prevented his further progress by water. He then proceeded, on snow shoes, to Sandy Lake, and was thence drawn by teams of dogs to Leech Lake, the largest southerly source of the Mississippi river. Commerce with the Indians was found to be entirely in the hands of the British traders, who wielded an influence adverse to the institutions of the United States. Early in the spring of 1806, Lieut. Pike descended the Mississippi river, arriving at his place of departure on the 30th of April. His estimates of the Indian population of the Upper Mississippi, comprise a total of 11,177 souls, including the Sioux, Chippewas, Sauks, Foxes, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Menomonees, and the various scattered bands of Dakotahs, called Yanctons, Sessatons, and Tetons.[1]

A considerable addition was thus made to our knowledge of the character and habits of the extreme western and northern Indians, and the duties of the Indian Department thereby greatly increased. The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803, at which period the territory of Indiana was organized, and General William Henry Harrison appointed its Governor, as well as, ex officio, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Harrison had served as an aid to General Wayne, in his Indian campaigns, and entered upon the duties of his office with the additional experience acquired under this redoubtable chief; his skill in military tactics being fully equalled by his knowledge of the aboriginal character, which, combined with his address and activity, soon made him respected as a plenipotentiary at their council fires. For many years he shared with General Clarke, of St. Louis, the onerous and responsible duty of preserving peace on the frontiers.

Two or three elements of discord had existed in the Indian communities located along the frontiers, from the outbreak of the Revolution, which were not extinguished by its successful termination, and still smouldered, after the close of the Indian war, in 1795. Among these, was the preference of the western tribes for the British nation, arising, perhaps, from the conquest of Canada, but kept up by political fallacies, England had secured the good will of the French residents, in whose hands the important commerce with the Indians was concentrated, and still remained. The possession of the Indian trade has ever exercised a controlling influence on the policy of the Indians; which is wielded, not by ministers plenipotentiary, or high secretaries of state, but by the little local traders on the frontiers, petty clerks, interpreters employed by commercial houses, and couriers du bois, who never fail to make their principles square with their interests; and it is a matter of little moment to the limited ambition of this class, who influence the destinies of courts or of nations, provided they be permitted to control the traffic in beaver skins.

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[1] Information, Vol. III., pp. 560–69.

While the French held Louisiana, no counter-interests disturbed the harmony of their intercourse with the natives; but, when the government was vested in the Spanish crown, the rival interests of the Spanish and French merchants had produced discord between their subordinates, which extended also to the Indians. The cession of Louisiana to the United States calmed these troubles; all differences were forgotten, and the contending parties readily accommodated themselves to the American system. But in Florida there was never the least abatement in this strife for commercial supremacy; the thirst for gain acknowledging no nationality. On the contrary, during the short period when Florida was held by the British crown, a new feature was developed in the character of the Indian trade, which imparted to it additional vigor and system. We have, in a preceding page, alluded to this fact, which was the introduction of the Scottish element among the aboriginal population. One of its most important results was the intermarriage of the Scotch traders with the native females,[1] thereby giving a permanent character to their influence, and exercising a beneficial ethnological effect on the chiefs and ruling families of the native race. Though it produced, or rather precipitated, the previously existing tendency to the formation of two classes in Indian society, it gave a definite direction to the Indian mind; and, while the Galphins, the Millidges, and their compeers, reaped the harvest of trade, the M'Intoshes, the M'Gillivrays, and other chiefs of their race, by infusing their blood into the aboriginal current, gave to the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles, a higher social and national character. The fact that this intermixture of the races was coincident with the employment of African slave labor by the higher Indian class, was merely incidental. The negroes fled into the Indian territory to escape servitude in the Southern States, and voluntarily assumed the performance of labor, as an equivalent for the shelter, support, and comparative ease and enjoyment Indian life afforded them.

Along the entire northern borders, southward to the line of demarcation designated by the treaty of Versailles, and throughout Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as the present areas of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, British capital and enterprise were the great basis and stimulus of the Indian traffic. The limits of this trade had receded very far to the north-west after the victories of Wayne; Maumee, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, no longer formed centres for the trade. There had been, up to the commencement of Mr. Madison's administration, no public effort made to prevent foreigners from pursuing their traffic with the Indians north of the shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan. One of the peculiar characteristics of the Indians is, that they are wont to give their attention to the lowest order of counsellors; not because of any preference they have for an inferior grade of intellect, but from a natural suspicion that persons in higher positions are always governed by sinister motives; and suggestions from these subordinate sources would appear, sometimes, to be invested with importance, in the precise ratio that they are removed from plausibility or truth. Whoever has, either as a plenipotentiary or a commissioner, passed through the ordeal of an Indian council, controlled by the diverse interests of the trade, and of the half-breed relations and protégées of the tribes, will appreciate the force of this remark.

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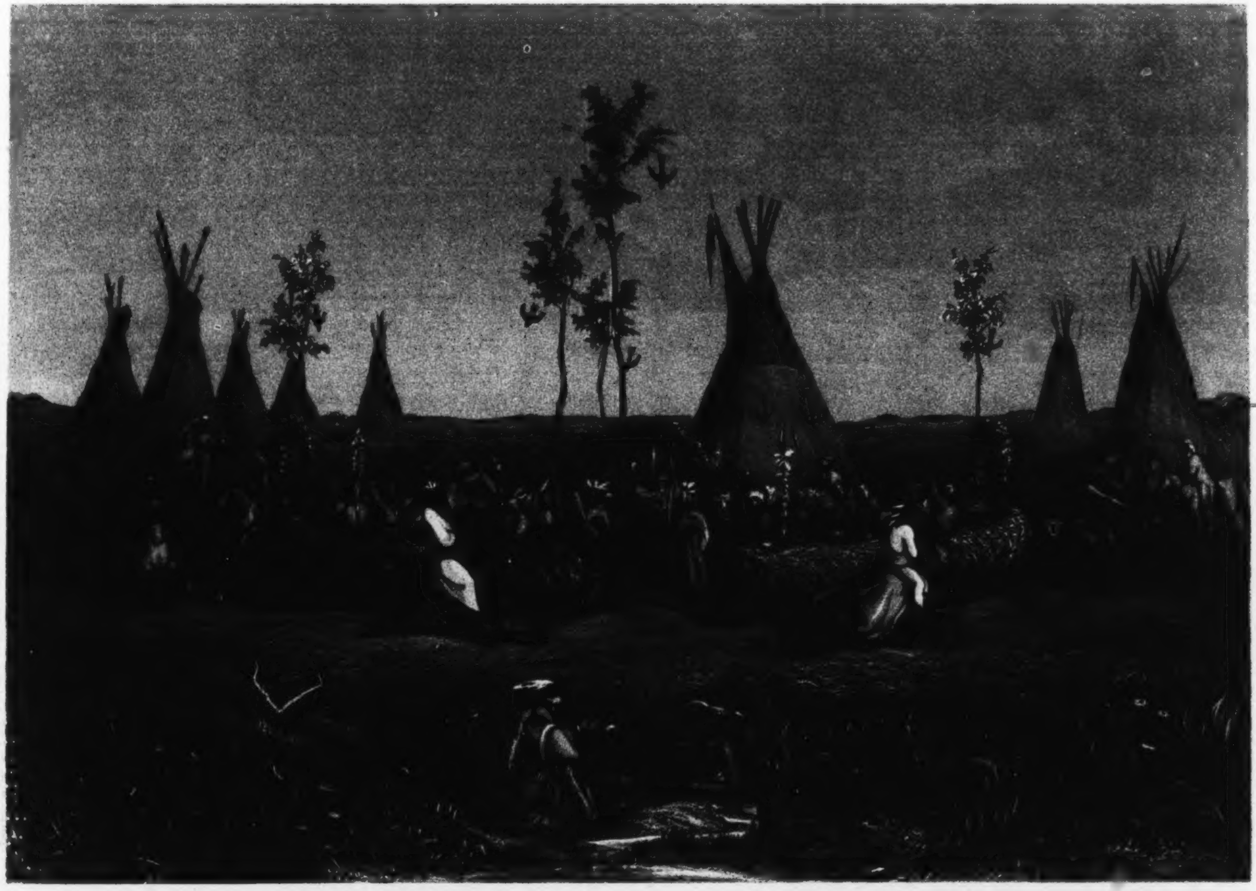
[1] Vide Bartram, p. 481–82.



CEREMONY OF THE THUNDER BIRDS (SIOUX)

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CHAPTER III.

IRE OF THE INDIAN PRIESTHOOD AS A DISTURBING POLITICAL ELEMENT. BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

1809.
J. MADISON,
PRESIDENT.

ANOTHER power was, at this period, in the rapid process of development, through the influence attained by the Shawnee prophet, Ellksattawa, over the entire body of tribes. This person, though belonging to the reservation of his tribe, at Wappecanotta, had located his residence principally on the Wabash, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, which became the centre of his power, and whence emanated his oracular revelations. By the recital and interpretation of dreams, by fasting, and by an assumed indifference to all worldly considerations and rewards, he had attained a high position and influence. Ellksattawa had lost one eye, which defect he concealed by wearing a black veil or handkerchief over the disfigured organ. He affected great sanctity; did not engage in the secular duties of war or hunting; was seldom in public; devoted most of his time to fasting, the interpretation of dreams, and offering sacrifices to spiritual powers; pretended to see into futurity, and to foretell events, and announced himself to be the mouthpiece of God. The Indians flocked to him from every quarter; there was no name that carried such weight as his. They never ceased talking of his power, or expatiating on the miracles he wrought; and the more extraordinary the revelations he made, the more readily were they believed and confided in. He possessed a remarkably clear conception of the Indian character, great shrewdness, and astuteness. It being essential to his purposes that he, who was the concentrated wisdom of the Indian race, should have no rivals, the minor priests and powwows became but the retailers of his words and prophecies; and, when one was found who disputed his authority, or resisted his power, he did not proceed against him in a direct manner, but insidiously operated upon the superstitions of the Indian mind. In this way, he disposed of Tarhe, the wise and venerable sachem king of the Wyandots, who, being accused of witchcraft, was condemned to be burnt at the stake. The very knowledge that he possessed such an indomitable will, increased the fear and respect entertained for him by the Indians; which was, however, based on an implicit belief in his miraculous gifts. It has been mentioned that the prophet was not a warrior; his sole object was to employ his power in furtherance of the projects of his brother Tecumseh.[1]

There was a higher purpose concealed under these manifestations of Ellksattawa. He told the Indians that their pristine state, antecedent to the arrival of the Europeans, was most agreeable to the Great Spirit, and that they had adopted too many of the manners and customs of the whites. He counselled them to return to their primeval simple condition; to throw away their flints and steels, and resort to their original mode of obtaining fire by percussion. He denounced the woollen stuffs as not equal to skins for clothing; he commended the use of the bow and arrow. Like Pontiac, who, however, had made no pretensions to priestly power, he professed a profound respect for the ancient manners and customs of the Indians; whether influenced thereto by his knowledge, derived from tradition, of the potency of this argument, as made use of by that renowned chief; or, which might have been the case, the idea originated with himself. Fifty years only had passed since the era of Pontiac, and young men who had been engaged in that bold attempt to resist British power, might yet be on the stage of action. Now, however, the real purpose was not to resist, but to invite the co-operation of British power. This was the secret of his actions. This was the argument used by the subordinate emissaries of the Indian trading agencies located in Canada, who visited the Miami of the Lakes, the Wabash, the Scioto, the Illinois, and the upper Mississippi. In the course of a few years, the doctrines of Ellksattawa had spread among the tribes in the valley of the Missouri, over those located on the most distant shores of Lake Superior, and throughout all the Appalachian tribes of the South. They were as current on the Ockmulgee, the Chattahootchee, and the Alabama, as they were on the Wabash, and the Miami. He was himself a half-Creek.

The speeches of the Indians in their assemblages had, for some time, savored of these counsels, and the name of the Shawnee prophet was known, and the influence of his teaching disseminated throughout the country. In 1811, the congregation of large masses of Indians around the residence of this oracular personage, on the banks of the upper part of the Wabash, created considerable alarm, and General Harrison, who had closely watched this secret movement, reported it to the government, by which he was authorized to march a military force from Vincennes, up the Wabash. This army, comprising one regiment of regular infantry, an auxiliary body of mounted Kentucky volunteers, and also volunteer militia from other Western States, left Vincennes in October, 1811, and, in November, reached the Indian villages located on eligible open grounds near the confluence of the Tippecanoe. A preliminary conference was immediately held with the Indians, who recommended a locality at a moderate distance inland, as a suitable one for an encampment. General Harrison had no reason to suspect Indian treachery, nor is it quite clear that any was originally intended. But that night the prophet was observed practising his secret rites of divination; and he reported that the omens were favorable for an immediate attack. The army was encamped with the skill and precaution indicated by the teachings of Wayne; and, agreeably to his rigid rules, General Harrison had arisen to order the reveille, and was in his tent engaged in drawing on his boots, when the chief musician stepped in to ask whether he should commence the beat. "Not yet; but presently," was his reply.[1] The expression had scarcely passed his lips, when the Indian war-cry was heard. One of the sentinels on post had observed an arrow fall on the grass, which did not it seems reach its destination; and, his curiosity being aroused, he was endeavoring to peer through the intense darkness in the direction whence the arrow came, when the Indians made a sudden onslaught.[2] A thousand wolves could not have produced a more horrific howl. The lines were driven in; the horses of the officers, fastened to stakes in the square, broke loose; confusion everywhere prevailed; and the army was assailed from all points. General Harrison[3] gallantly mounted his horse, and endeavored to restore order at the principal points of attack. The mounted volunteers from Kentucky and Indiana charged, as well as they could, through the darkness. The fourth regiment of United States infantry, which was in a high state of discipline, restored confidence to the foot, and as soon as the dawn of day permitted them to act, they repulsed the Indians. At the same time the volunteer cavalry drove the enemy across the prairie to their coverts. There had been, however, a most severe and lamentable slaughter. Daylight rendered visible the dead bodies of the chivalric Colonel Davies, of Kentucky, Colonel Owens, of Indiana, a Senator in Congress, and of a vast number of brave officers and men. The army was only saved from destruction by the rising of the sun, which rendered the enemy visible. Such a battle had not been fought since St. Clair's defeat, and the sensation produced throughout the Union was immense. Numbers of the Indians had been slain by the broadsword, in their retreat. This battle was not, however, fought by Tecumseh, who was then absent on a mission to the Creeks, his relatives by his mother's side. Thus commenced a new Indian war.

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[1] This Shawnee name terminates with the Greek βῆτα; but the popular pronunciation cannot now be disturbed.

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[1] Narrative of Adam Walker, a musician in the 4th regiment.

[2] Walker.

[3] This officer was elected President of the United States in 1841.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDIANS RECKLESSLY ENGAGE IN THE WAR OF 1812.

1812. J. MADISON, PRESIDENT.

ON the 18th of the June following this battle, Congress declared war against Great Britain. This war, according to the newly announced oracular view, appeared to the Indians as the manifestation of the power of the Great Spirit, and was regarded as the means employed to disenthral them from the hated rule of the white race. Their great Shawnee prophet had announced to the tribes, from his oracular jesukean, or prophet's lodge, on the banks of the Wabash, the approaching epoch of their deliverance, and the news had been diffused far and wide. The intimate political relations of his brother, Tecumseh, with the British authorities of Canada, as now fully disclosed,[1] formed the nucleus of their power; and, hence, they could depend on the British for arms, provisions, and clothing. Was it any wonder that they flocked to the British standard as soon as it was displayed? Twenty-seven days after the declaration of this war by Congress, the Indians were in possession of Michilimackinac; and, on the same day, their tomahawks were red with the gore of the slaughtered garrison of Chicago, who had abandoned the fort walls, and sought safety on the sandy shores of Lake Michigan. It is not designed to create an impression that our Indian relations had had, originally, any controlling influence on this question. The war resulted mainly from long-pending disputes concerning maritime rights and national injustice. The concurrent Indian hostilities on the frontiers, were but a sequence of the original cause of complaint. Yet the assumption that they were originated by British emissaries was clearly deducible from the events which transpired on the frontiers, and it derived additional confirmation, in a short time, from the fact, that these Indian tribes were engaged to "fight by the side of white men,"[2] and to serve as auxiliaries to the British army in the West. It was the threat of the Indian tomahawk and scalping-knife that unstrung the already weak nerves of General Hull, at Detroit; and the employment of these barbarous weapons lent an additional horror to the massacres perpetrated on the River Raisin, and at Chicago. In the war of 1812, Great Britain made the same unjustifiable use of the Indians as she had previously done in that of 1776; they were her cruel and bloody satellites. Thyendanagea had gone to the hunting grounds of the spirit land; but his counterpart still existed in Tecumseh, who possessed greater energy of purpose, equal bravery, and had more deeply enlisted the warmest sympathies of the Indians. The former, it is hoped, had, ere his death, overcome his violent prejudices against the Americans; but the latter fell in defence of rights and of a cause which he believed to be just, while his dishonest adviser and auxiliary in command, General Proctor, fled ingloriously from the field.[1]

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[1] Tecumseh's Speech of 1813: U. S. Official Treaties, p. 240.

[2] Hull's Proclamation.

The Indians believed that, in the war of 1812, they had an opportunity of regaining possession of the western country, perhaps to the line of the Illinois, while the British thought to secure a more southerly line of boundary than that prescribed by the treaty of 1783; a motive which, in the minds of sober-thinking people, hardly redounded to their credit. Their conduct in this war, as in that of the Revolution, served only to add to its horrors, and, by acts of cruelty, incited the Americans to greater exertions. It is but sorry testimony to the intellectual calibre of British statesmen, to say that they supposed the fury of savages, however demoniac, could produce permanent national apprehension, or exert any practical influence on a people inured to hardships, and educated for centuries in the principles of political self-reliance, and faith in God. If the Indians were in error as to the possibility of recovering their lands, or limiting the westward progress of civilization, those who led them into this error were certainly not deceived, and could not have supposed this probable, or even possible. That the Indians had been told that they would be able to recover their territory north-west of the Ohio, is evident from the speech of Tecumseh, made to General Proctor, at Ambertsburg, in 1813. "When the war was declared," said the great Indian captain, "our Father stood up, and gave us the tomahawk, and told us that he was now ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get us our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us."[2]

After reciting the long course of maritime injustice and wrong, the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs emphatically say, "Forbearance has ceased to be a virtue." "Whether the British Government has contributed, by active measures, to excite against us the hostility of the savage tribes on our frontiers, your Committee are not disposed to occupy much time in investigating. Certain indications of general notoriety may supply the place of authentic documents, though these have not been wanting to establish the fact in some instances. It is known that symptoms of British hostility towards the United States have never failed to produce corresponding symptoms among those tribes. It is also well known that, on all such occasions, abundant supplies of the ordinary munitions of war have been afforded by the British commercial companies, and even from British garrisons, wherewith they were enabled to commence that system of savage warfare on our frontiers, which has been, at all times, indiscriminate in its effect on all ages, sexes, and conditions, and so revolting to humanity."[1]

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[1] Battle of the Thames.

[2] Branan's Official, Military, and Naval Letters, p. 240.

"Summer before last," [*i. e.*, 1810,] says Tecumseh, "when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of our British Father, we were told not to be in a hurry; that he had not *yet* determined to fight the Americans."[2] This impatience on the part of the Indians was so great, that it appears they took the initiative at the battle of Tippecanoe. That action thrilled through the nerves of the Americans like an electric shock, and was the first intimation that the frontiers were about to become the scene of another severe contest with the bloodthirsty and infuriated savages. But, though the impatient Indians chafed at the delay, it served to give a degree of unanimity to their hostility which even the war of the Revolution had not witnessed. From the termination of the Appalachian chain to the great lake basins of Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, and onward to the Falls of St. Anthony, the Indians assumed an attitude of determined hostility; and, as soon as the key-note was sounded in Canada by the British bugle, an answering yell of discord resounded through the land, which electrified the people on the frontiers, made the mother quake with dread in her nursery, and the patriotic militiaman fly to arms.

During the winter following the action on the Wabash, Ellksattawa continued his incantations, delivering his oracular responses with more than Ephesian authority; while his distinguished brother continued those negotiations with the tribes, which were necessary to prepare them for conflict; and we would not have known they were ready to take up the hatchet two years previously, had not Tecumseh stated it in his celebrated speech.[3]

Early in the spring of 1813, the forests surrounding every military post in the West were, at nearly the same time, filled with armed warriors, who watched the gates with the keen eyes of a panther ready to spring upon its prey. Their central rendezvous, and the depot whence they drew their supplies, was Fort Malden, at Ambertsburg, near the mouth of the Detroit river. They had watched the movements of Hull in Michigan with the accuracy of a vulture, or of an eagle on its perch; and, with the same rapacious vigilance, had permitted no one to escape who ventured from the gates of a fort, or of any guarded enclosure. When the apprehensions of Hull had reached their climax, and the British flag was hoisted on the ramparts of Fort Shelby, their exultation was extreme. The Chippewas and Ottawas, with delegations of the Menomonees, Winnebagoes, and Sioux, had, on the 17th of July preceding, enabled Captain Roberts, with a trifling force,[4] to surprise and capture Michilimackinac. On the 4th of August, a large body of Wyandots and other Indians, lying in ambuscade at

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[1] Journal of Congress, June 3d, 1812. [2] Official, Military, and Naval Letters, p. 240. [3] Ibid.

[4] Agreeably to Lieutenant Hanks, there were but 46 regular British trroops, with 360 Canadian militia, and 715 Indians.—*Official Letters*, p. 36.

Brownston, defeated Major Van Horn, with a force of 200 riflemen, driving him back to Detroit with great loss.[1] On the 9th of August, after Hull had re-crossed Detroit river, Colonel Miller also encountered at Brownston the same force of Indians, led by Tecumseh, and supported by a large body of British regulars, located behind temporary breastworks, whom he gallantly charged with the bayonet, and defeated.[2] On the 16th of the same month, Detroit was surrendered to an inconsiderable army,[3] hastily mustered by General Brock, who officially intimated that the Indians could not be restrained. General Hull observes that "the history of barbarians in the north of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited;"[4] and thus consoles himself, by a historical truism, for a surrender which is a lasting stigma on the military history of the Union.

Decision and address were alone required for the maintenance of that post. The Indians had neither the disposition, capacity, nor will to contend with the garrison of a strong fortification; and this fort mounted eight brass guns, beside twenty-five pieces of iron ordnance,[5] and likewise contained four hundred rounds of twenty-four pound shot.[6]

On the 15th of August, the garrison of Chicago, under Captain Heald, was surrounded by Pottawattamies, while on its march to Detroit, along the open shores of Lake Michigan, and all but about fifteen massacred, including the women and children who followed the camp. The stock of stores and baggage was captured.[7]

On the 8th of September, the Wabash Indians invested fort Harrison, then garrisoned by a few men, under command of Captain Zachary Taylor.[8] They killed several persons outside of the fort, and invested it closely for two days. Finding they could not force an entry, they fired one of the blockhouses, the lower part of which contained the provisions of the garrison. Attempts to save it proving unsuccessful, it was burned down, leaving an opening about eighteen feet in width. With great self-possession and cool courage, Captain Taylor caused the breach to be repaired, though subjected to an incessant fire from the enemy, and finally beat them off.[9]

On the 5th of the month, the savages laid siege to Fort Madison, of Missouri, on the Upper Mississippi, commencing their operations by shooting and scalping a soldier near the gate. They then opened a brisk attack with ball and buckshot, killed the cattle in an outer enclosure, fired at the flag-staff, and cut the rope which held the flag, causing it to fall, and also made several bold and dexterous attempts to set the works on fire.

On the 28th of September, a series of severe skirmishes took place on the St. John's river, between the Creeks and Seminoles and a party of 250 Georgia volunteers, in which both parties suffered a loss in killed and wounded. The principal bands engaged were those of the Lotchnoay and Alligator Indians. Early in October, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, marched against the Indian town of Peoria, and the savages in its vicinity. He was attacked by the Indians in their usual manner, but succeeded in burning their towns and destroying their corn, losing only a few men. In the month of November, the hostilities of the Wabash Indians became so troublesome, that a force of about 1250 volunteers, under General Hopkins, was marched from Vincennes against them. On the 20th, 21st, and 22d, he applied the torch to several of their villages, utterly destroyed the prophet's town, and drove the enemy from their strongholds, who, however, avoided any decisive battle. On the 12th of December, a party, comprising 200 or 300 Indians, assaulted the camp of Colonel Campbell, on the Mississinaway branch of the Wabash, killing eight men and wounding thirty-five or forty.[1] General Harrison commended the intrepidity with which this attack was repulsed.

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[1] Official Letters, p. 36.
[2] Ibid, p. 38.
[3] 1060 men. Ibid, p. 59.
[4] Ibid, p. 48.
[5] Ibid, p. 42.
[6] Ibid, p. 59.
[7] Ibid, p. 84.
[8] Thirty-seven years afterwards, this officer was elected President of the United States.
[9] Official Letters, p. 61.

This event closed the campaign of 1812.

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[1] Official Letters, pp. 104–109.

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS OF THE INDIAN WAR OF 1813.

1813.
J. MADISON,
PRESIDENT.

FACTS demonstrate that the Indians throughout the Union, from south to north, had entered into the war with the greatest unanimity and spirit. They believed, as Tecumseh declared to Proctor, in 1813, that they were about "to get back their lands;"[1] that it was, in a great measure, a contest between themselves and the United States; and that the crisis rendered it necessary that they should endure every hardship and privation for the purpose of securing victory. Indeed, it must be confessed that, admitting their sincerity, the stand they made was heroic. Of the Duke of Marlborough, his panygerist exclaims:

> "Rivers of blood appear, and hills of slain,
> An Iliad rising out of one campaign;"

If the Indians did not perform equal feats, it could not be denied that they caused not only the frontiers, but also the entire territorial area of the Union, to realize the perfidy and cruel carnage, with which a savage foe disgraced the military movements of an ally, in which they participated.

The year 1812 closed very inauspiciously. In wars with his own race, the Indian never continues hostile operations during the winter season. The trees have then lost their foliage, and do not hide his movements; the snows, at that season, present a complete map of his track; the cold is too intense for him to dispense with fire, the light of which would reveal the position of his encampment. But, when an Indian is quartered among civilized troops, he is protected in the use of camp-fires; he builds huts to ward off storms; draws his provisions from a commissary; and clothes himself in woollens, which are not paid for by beaver skins. Under these circumstances, a winter campaign can be endured, and does not become distasteful.

The River Detroit had been, from the earliest period, the principal entrance to the Indian territory in the north-west, and the area of lower or eastern Michigan consequently became the meeting-place of Indian councils, and the grand rendezvous of war parties. The surrender, by Hull, of this territory, appeared to have abandoned it to them, under the protection of their allies. It was renowned in their mythology as having been trod by the fabled heroes and demigods, Enigorio, Manabsoho, and Hiawatha; and celebrated, in their traditional history, by the deeds of a Pontiac and a Minnavivina. The great object of the manœuvres of the United States troops was, to regain possession of Michigan. Tecumseh, whose headquarters were located near Amhertsburg, separated from it only by the River Detroit, had, as has been already mentioned, defeated Major Van Horn at Maguaga, on the 4th of August, 1812, and, likewise, aided in the determined resistance made to Colonel Miller, at the same place, on the 9th. He was in himself a host, and might well have exclaimed, in the symbolical language used by his prototype, Pontiac, "I stand in the path!"

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[1] Official Letters, p. 240.

General Winchester, in his eagerness to consummate the purpose of the campaign, marched through the snows in mid-winter, from the rapids of the Miami, at the head of a gallant army, and reached the River Raisin, on the 22d of January. He encamped there in a hurried and confused manner, and was defeated by a considerable force of British regulars and Indians, commanded by Tecumseh. The citizens of the Union were horrified with the details of the massacre, by the Indians, of the wounded prisoners taken on this occasion. This scene of diabolical cruelty was, it is alleged, the result of the lack of a proper controlling power in the white victors, for which they are generally held to be responsible.[1]

On the night of the 27th of January, a large body of Creeks stealthily seized the sentinels, and then attacked the army of General Floyd, some forty miles west of the Chattahootchee river. They were perfectly wild with fury, and rushed to within fifty yards of the artillery, evincing a courage which the Indians had but once previously displayed, viz., in the action against St. Clair, on the St. Mary's. They were encountered with firmness, and, as soon as day dawned, successfully charged with the bayonet and the broadsword. General Floyd gained a complete victory: thirty-seven dead bodies were found on the field, of which fifteen had been sabred.[2]

The northern Indians assembled, under British colors, around Fort Meigs, on the Miami of the Lakes, aided materially in effecting the defeat, on the 5th of May, of 1200 volunteers, under General Green Clay and Colonel Dudley, On the 30th of August, the Creeks and southern Indians made an attack on a fort at Tensaw, commanded by General Claiborne. They stormed one of the gates, after a desperate struggle, killing many men, as well as several brave officers, and set fire to and consumed some of the buildings. Their force is estimated to have been from 500 to 700 warriors, of whom at least 150 are claimed to have been killed.[3]

The north-western Indians, who were under the influence of Tecumseh, and of the Shawnee prophet, his brother, had manifested considerable restlessness and dissatisfaction at the course pursued by the British generals during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1813. Their decided and unexpected defeat by Croghan, in the sharp action at Upper Sandusky, their abandonment of the siege of Fort Meigs, on the Miami, and withdrawal from the American shores of Lake Erie, and, above all, the capture of the British fleet by Perry, had appeared to the Indians to be presages of evil. As early as the 18th of August, only eight days after Perry's victory, Tecumseh had protested against these retrograde movements. He was then in ignorance of the result of the naval battle, which had been concealed from him; but he feared the worst. "We have heard the guns," he said, "but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.[1] Our ships have gone one way, and we are very much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away another, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here, and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the King of England, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground. But now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry for our father doing so without seeing the enemy."

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[1] Official Letters, p. 122.

[2] Ibid., p. 297.

[3] Ibid., p. 203.

The victory obtained by Perry was the turning-point in the campaign. A fleet being now at the command of General Harrison, he could at once transport his entire army, with its artillery and baggage, across the lake; thus avoiding long and perilous marches, through more than serbonian bogs, such as that of the Black Swamp, and the peril of ambuscades in the forests. General Harrison landed his army on the shores of the lake, a few miles below Amhertsburg, on the 23d of September; and, in less than one hour, he marched into the town, where not a single British soldier was to be found. General Proctor, the commandant, had fled, with all his troops and the Indian auxiliaries, after burning the fort, barracks, navy-yard, and public stores. He was pursued the following day, and, on the 5th of October, overtaken at the Moravian town on the river Thames, when a general action ensued, in which he was utterly defeated. In this battle the Indians occupied low grounds, behind a dense forest of beech trees, which could not be penetrated by horsemen. The position was well chosen, and evinced the judgment of their great captain, Tecumseh, who commanded the Indians, and, by word and example, animated them to a vigorous resistance. The defeat of Proctor in front, by a well-planned charge of General Harrison, left Tecumseh unprotected, and he would necessarily have been compelled to retreat, had not the action in this quarter, which was fiercely maintained by the dismounted Kentuckians, under Colonel Richard Johnson, terminated in the death of the Indian chief. With the fall of Tecumseh, the Indian league was virtually broken; the Indians abandoned the contest, and dispersed. On the 16th of October, General Harrison issued a proclamation,[1] granting an armistice to the Miamies, Pottawattamies, Weas, Eel River Indians, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Wyandots; each of these tribes having delivered into his custody hostages for the faithful performance of their agreement. The same tribes, together with the Kickapoos, had previously sent delegates to Generals M'Arthur and Cass, commanding at Detroit, offering to conclude a peace.

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[1] Commodore Barclay.

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[1] Official Letters, p. 246.

CHAPTER VI.

HOSTILITIES WITH THE CREEKS. MASSACRE AT FORT MIMMS. BATTLES OF TULLUSHATCHES, TALLADEGA, HILLABEE, AND ATTASEE.

WE must now turn our attention to the southern tribes. The fallacy of concluding treaties with an ignorant, wild, and nomadic people, destitute of sound moral principles, was never more fully demonstrated, than in the case of the Appalachian group of tribes. The Creeks, a full delegation of whom, with M'Gillivray at its head, visited New York, in 1790, and, amid great ceremony, entered into solemn compacts with General Washington, renewing the same in 1796, and again in 1802, as well as in 1805, were, all the while, only carrying out a diplomatic scheme. They hated the Americans, and the more so, it seems, because they had, as colonies, prevailed over the British. This great tribe had, in early days, subdued the once proud Utches and Natches, and other Florida tribes, and in truth wielded the power of a confederacy, which they averred to consist of seven tribes or elements.[1] But in a confederacy of savages, it was necessary to keep the tomahawk ever lifted. Destitute of political compactness, and its leaders lacking the power of mental combination, as well as moral steadiness, this league was powerful only against savages like themselves, but proved to be an utter failure when opposed to the policy of industrial and civilized nations.

Tecumseh had harangued in their councils early in his career. His mother having been a Creek, they listened to his words with peculiar favor, more especially as he was fresh from the banks of the Wabash, where he had heard the voice of inspiration. In common with the western tribes, the Creeks believed they were on the eve of a great revolution, through which the Indians would once more regain their ascendency in America. At the commencement of hostilities with them in 1815, the residents along the Mobile and Alabama rivers sought protection within the walls of Fort Mimms. A battalion of militia garrisoned it; and its huts and stockades formed a refuge for a large number of families. It was not a position of much military strength, and such laxity of discipline was tolerated in its garrison, that in a few months after its erection, the Indians observing the carelessness with which it was guarded, suddenly surrounded the fort and captured it by stratagem. A frightful scene ensued; men, women, and children being indiscriminately butchered. Such an incident, so early in the war, betokened the sanguinary character of the rest of the contest.

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[1] Hawkins.

The northern tribes were, to a considerable extent, controlled by climatic influences. They could not continue together in large bodies, without being furnished with regular supplies of food, and some of the requisites of a military camp. When, therefore, their white allies and supporters were defeated, they were dismayed; but when their own great leaders and captains were killed, they were placed entirely "hors du combat." There were no reserves from which to recruit defeated Indian armies; there was, in truth, no recuperative power in the Indian character. To some extent, the tribes south of latitude 40° north, were an exception to this rule. From 40° to 46° north, the snow falls to a greater or less depth between the months of November and March. North of 46°, corn, on which the Indian relies for his supply of vegetable food, must be purchased from the Indian traders who visit his villages during the winter; but a war with Europeans, whose armies can operate either in winter or summer, is adverse to hunting and destructive of his means, as the northern Indian can neither raise corn in summer, nor hunt deer, nor search the streams for beaver in winter. It is far otherwise with the tribes located between the latitudes of the capes of Florida and the Appalachian Mountains. A large part of this territory, lying between the longitudes of the Atlantic coasts of Georgia and Florida, and the banks of the Mississippi, have a tropical climate, and produce tropical vegetation. Here is produced not only the indigo plant, cotton, rice, and sugar (transplanted species), but also the orange, banana, plum and other native fruits.[1] The forests are redolent with the aromatic odors of "groves of illicium, myrtle, laurel, and bignonia."[2] The Indian spreads his simple mantle here, and lies down on the ground without a tent, or a fire. The forests are filled with the deer and wild turkey. Its soil yields the arrow-root, and betata; and its sea-coasts, as well as its lakes, abound with the most delicious shell-fish, and the various species of water-fowl. These tribes had not yet been circumscribed in their movements by the onward progress of the emigrant; and no such idea had mingled in their dreams, as that the fertile and extensive territories on the Chattahootchee, the Alabama, and the Tuscaloosa, were designed for nobler pursuits than the mere hunting of deer. Antiquity of opinion, manners, and arts, is what the native, unsophisticated Indian loves; novelty is distasteful, progress unwise, agriculture regarded as servitude, letters and religion detested, and Christ not considered as comparable to Manito, Aba Inka, Owayneo, Wakondah, or Hiawatha.

In effect, the laying down of the war-club by the northern tribes, who had been led on by Tecumseh in their crusade against civilization, had little or no effect on the Southern tribes. On the 3d of November, within one month after the decisive battle of the Thames, in the north, the Creeks assumed such an attitude of hostility at Tullushatches, on the Coosa river, that General John Coffee marched against them with a brigade of cavalry and mounted riflemen. The Indian town was reached at sunrise, when the beating of the drums of the savages indicated that they were prepared to meet them. A sham attack and retreat, by a single company, effectually succeeded in decoying them from their houses in close pursuit. This sally was checked by their encountering the main body of Coffee's command, which charged them, and drove them back to their shelter, where they were in a very short time surrounded by superior numbers. They fought with great desperation, without "shrinking, or complaining; not one asked to be spared, but fought as long as they could stand or sit."[1] One hundred and eighty-six dead bodies were counted on the field, and eighty prisoners were taken, chiefly women and children. General Coffee's brigade lost five killed, and forty-one wounded.[2]

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[1] Bartram, p. 74.

[2] Ibid., p. 47.

Only a few days elapsed when the Creeks appeared in great force, at Talladega; but General Andrew Jackson advanced against them, and, by great exertions and night marches, reached the vicinity of that place at sunrise, on the 7th of November. He formed his militia in line on the left, his volunteers on the right, and his cavalry on the wings in a curve, so as to enclose the enemy, giving directions to pour in four or five rapid discharges, and then fall back. The Indians pursued them, and had well nigh thrown the entire force of infantry into confusion. The militia fled; but Jackson immediately ordering a corps of reserved cavalry, under Colonel Dyer, to dismount and fill up the gap, confidence was restored. The militia seeing this, rallied, and the fire became so hot, general, and destructive, that the Creeks fled. The right wing pursued them for three miles, until they reached the mountains. Two hundred and ninety dead bodies of the enemy, left behind on the field, proved that they had made a spirited resistance. Jackson had seventeen killed, and eighty-three wounded.[3]

On the 11th of November, Brigadier-General James White marched against the Hillabee Creeks, a distance of about 100 miles from Fort Armstrong. He captured five Creeks on the Little Oakfuskee, and burned a town comprising thirty houses. The town of Genalgo, consisting of ninety-three houses, shared the same fate. Having arrived at a point within five or six miles of the Hillabee town, where, he was informed, the Indians would make a stand, he dismounted part of his forces, and prepared to make a night attack. It was, however, daylight, on the 18th, before the troops reached the town, which they succeeded in surrounding and surprising.[4] Sixty were killed on the spot, and 256 persons taken prisoners.

On the 29th of November, Brigadier-General John Floyd fought a general battle with the Creeks at Attasee, some eighteen miles from the Hickory Ground, on the waters of the Tallapoosa. His force was composed of 950 Georgia militia, between 300 and 400 friendly Cowetas, under M'Intosh, and the Tookabatchians, under their chief, Mad Dog. These fought with intrepidity when incorporated with the line of the troops. After some changes of plan, induced by ignorance of the local geography, the army approached the upper town, where the action became general. "The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with the desperate bravery of real fanatics."[1] By the use of artillery and the bayonet, the enemy were obliged to retreat, and take shelter in houses, thickets, and caves in a high bluff, on the river. The action terminated at nine o'clock in the morning, when the town was burned. The loss of the enemy is not definitely stated; but 400 buildings are estimated to have been consumed.[2] Floyd's loss was 7 killed and 54 wounded.

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[1] Coffee.—*Official Letters*, p. 256.

[2] Branan, p. 256.

[3] Ibid., p. 265.

[4] Official Letters, p. 281.

On the 23d of December, General Claiborne, with a brigade of volunteers, and a part of the 3d regiment of United States troops, attacked the Creek town of Eccanachaca, on the Alabama, about eighty miles above the mouth of the Cahaba. Being advised of his approach, they were prepared for him, and immediately commenced an attack; but they were quickly repulsed, with the loss of thirty warriors killed.[3]

On the northern frontier the Indians effected little, except as flankers and guerilla parties, in connection with the British armies. The most noted movement of this kind was the attack on Buffalo. A strong party of them, accompanied by the British troops, crossed the Niagara before daybreak on the 30th of December, and laid the village of Buffalo in ruins.[4]

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[1] Official Letters, p. 284.

[2] Ibid., p. 295.

[3] Branan, p. 285.

[4] General A. Hall.—*Official Letters*, p. 289.

CHAPTER VII.

BATTLES OF EMUCFAU, ENOTOCHOPCO, AND TOHOPEKA. THE HORSE-SHOE CREEKS SUBDUED.

1814.
J. MADISON,
PRESIDENT.

THE determination with which the Creeks had entered into this war has no precedent in Indian contests. They had been five times defeated in battle; they had lost several hundred men on the battle-field; and upwards of forty of their towns, some of them comprising ninety houses, had been consigned to the flames. The Choctaws and Chickasaws did not assist them; and the Cherokees, being remote, either stood entirely aloof, or only sent out small parties of friendly scouts and spies. A limited number of the Creeks themselves, the tribes of the Cowetas and Tuckabatches, were friendly; yet the main body of the nation fought as if their salvation depended on defeating the Americans. If, as may naturally be conjectured, they opposed Narvaez and De Soto in 1628 and 1641 with this determined spirit, no wonder need be expressed that the former proceeded no farther than the mouth of the Appalachicola,[1] or that the latter was driven out of the Mississippi valley.[2] The numerous population of the tribe, located in a genial climate, in which all the productions necessary for the subsistence of Indians grew spontaneously, constituted them a powerful enemy. Their intellectual development and stability of character had also been promoted by intermixture with the Scotch race. It is not improbable, when we consider their heavy losses in battle, that we have never possessed anything like an accurate enumeration of their strength. Major Swan, who visited the country as an official agent in 1791, enumerates fifty-two towns;[3] and, with our knowledge of their fecundity and means of subsistence, they could not well be estimated at less than 200 souls to each town; which would give an aggregate population of 10,400. There could not have been less than 3000 Creek warriors in the field during the greater portion of the years 1812 and 1813, and a part of 1814. The tribe appears to have possessed an active military element, and the spirit to conquer other tribes. According to Bartram, they had been involved in wars and contests, before they crossed the Mississippi on their route to the present area of Florida;

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[1] Vol. III., p. 28.

[2] Vol. II., p. 20.

[3] Vol. V., p. 262.

and, having progressed to the Altamaha, still fighting their way, they first "sat down," to use their metaphor, at the "old fields," on that river. While their council-fire was located at this place, they subdued the Savannas, the Ogeetches, the Wapoos, Santees, Yamas, Utinas, Icosans, Paticas, and various other tribes, always making it a rule to incorporate the remnants with themselves;[1] and within the period of our own history, they have thus absorbed the Utchees and Natchez.[2]

By a scrutiny of the official documents of that period, we are led to infer that the Creek war had been carried on by spirited and gallant leaders, who were, however, deficient in an accurate knowledge of the geography of the country. Military expeditions were led into the interior, under the guidance of ignorant men, who frequently misled the officers; and the latter were occasionally content to escape from perilous positions, with the *éclat* of a victory which neither secured the possession of the country, nor humbled the tribe. Tennessee, however, presented an officer of a very different character, in Andrew Jackson, a general of her State militia. He despised fair-weather soldiers and mouthing patriots.[3] His observations of Indian life had given him better defined views of their character; and, like Washington, he saw at a glance that half-measures would not do. The Indian is not a sensitive man, but a stoic, by nature as well as by education, and quickly recovers from calamities which are not of long continuance. The Indian's alertness, and quickness at the adoption of expedients, must be opposed by a similar course of policy. The general who operates against them must be willing and ready to fight by night, as well as by day; should not encumber himself with baggage; must occasionally run the risk of losing all his camp equipage for the purpose of defeating his enemy, and must endure hardships and fatigue like an Indian. Jackson's first march to, and victory at, Talladega, taught him all this. The system of rapid movements and impetuous charges, introduced by Napoleon, which overthrew the old military tactics of Europe, also gave success to Jackson's operations against the Indians. His attacks were quick, and terribly effective.

The battle of Talladega occurred on the 7th of November, 1813, just four days after that of Tullushatches, fought by Coffee, and was followed in quick succession by those of Hillabee, Attasee, and other successful actions, in different parts of the country, occurring at various intervals until the 23d of December. No signs of submission, however, appeared, but instead thereof, they assumed rather an attitude of defiance. The Creeks inhabiting the valley of the Tallapoosa maintained a resolute mien; and even those of the town of Talladega were in no manner intimidated. Very early in January (1814), General Jackson having been authorized to march against the hostile bands, designated the 10th of that month for the assembling of his new levies of volunteers, including cavalry and infantry, who amounted, in the aggregate, to 1950 men. They were not, however, finally mustered until the 17th; and on the

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[1] Bartram, p. 485.

[2] B. Hawkins

[3] Vide letter of January 28, 1814.—*Official Letters*, p. 297.

18th Jackson reached Talladega fort, where he was joined by between 200 and 300 friendly Indians,[1] of whom 65 were Cherokees, and the remainder Creeks. Learning that the entire force of warriors of the Oakfuskee, New Yarcau,[2] and Ufauley towns, was concentrated at a creek called Emucfau, in a bend of the Tallapoosa, he determined to proceed thither. The march was a hazardous one, being over a varied surface, and through many defiles, which presented great difficulties to raw and undisciplined troops. On the 20th he encamped at Enotochopco, a Hillabee village, twelve miles from Emucfau, where he was much chagrined at ascertaining the geographical ignorance of his guides, as well as by discovering the insubordination and want of skill which became apparent in his troops. They were, however, spirited and courageous men; and the following day he pushed on with them to the banks of the Tallapoosa, where he struck a new and well-beaten trail, which disclosed his proximity to the enemy. Being late in the day, he encamped his troops in a square, doubled his pickets, and made preparations to reconnoitre the enemy's camp the same night. At eleven o'clock his spies returned, with the information that the Indians were encamped in great force at the distance of three miles, and either preparing for a march, or an attack, before daylight. At six o'clock, the following morning, the Indians commenced a desperate onslaught on Jackson's left, both in front and rear, which was vigorously met. The contest raged with great violence for half an hour, and was participated in by the most efficient of the field and staff officers, as well as by a reinforcement of infantry, which immediately marched to the relief of the troops attacked. As soon as it was sufficiently light to discern surrounding objects, a charge was ordered, which was led by General Coffee; and the enemy being routed at every point, were pursued with great slaughter for two miles. Jackson then ordered their town to be burned, if practicable; but General Coffee, after marching thither, deemed it unadvisable, and returned. The Indians here evinced some skill in manœuvring, for, after Coffee's return, they attacked Jackson's right, thinking to draw to that point reinforcements from the left, which had been weakened by the battle in the morning: having made this feint, they immediately prepared to renew their onslaught on the left. This movement had been anticipated by Jackson, who prepared for it by ordering a cavalry charge on the Indians' left, and by strengthening his own left with a body of infantry. The entire line met the enemy with great intrepidity, and, after discharging a few rounds, made a general charge, the effect of which was immediate — the enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the troops, who poured upon them a galling and destructive fire. In the meantime, Coffee, who had charged the left of the Indians, was placed in considerable jeopardy; some of his force not having joined him, and a part, comprising the friendly Creeks, having left their position. As soon as the front was relieved, the

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[1] Official Letters, p. 299.

[2] For the etymology of this compound word, see Caleb Swan, Vol. V., p. 262.

Creeks, who had taken part in the first charge, rejoined Coffee, and enabled him to make another charge, which accomplished his purpose. The enemy fled in confusion, and the field was left in possession of the Americans.

Jackson passed the night in a fortified camp, and on the 23d, at ten o'clock in the morning, commenced his return march to camp Strother, whence he set out. He encamped on the Enotochopco before dark, having been unmolested on his route, which lay through a dangerous defile, caused by a windfall. Having a deep creek and another dangerous defile before him, he decided to avoid it by making a detour; but the next morning, while in the act of crossing the creek, the enemy, who, from signs observed during the night, had been expected, commenced a furious attack. The vanguard, a part of the flank columns, as well as all the wounded, had passed over, and the artillery were about to follow, when the alarm-gun was fired. He refaced his whole line for a backward movement; but, while the columns were manœuvring to gain a position, a part of the rear of both the right and left columns gave way, causing a great deal of confusion. There then remained but a part of the rear guard, the artillery, and the company of spies, with which the rout was checked, and the attack repulsed. It was on this occasion that Lieutenant Armstrong (the late General Armstrong) performed deeds of heroic valor, by ascending an eminence with his gun, under a hot fire, and driving back the enemy with volleys of grape-shot. This battle was fought on the 24th of January. In these actions the loss on each side was very great, and several brave officers fell. There were 24 Americans killed, and 75 wounded, and the bodies of 189 Indian warriors were found on the field.

The Indians of the Tallapoosa did not, however, drop the tomahawk; but, having determined to make a more effective stand, they assembled on a peninsula of the Tallapoosa river, called by them Emucfau, or Tohopeka, and the Horse-Shoe, in conformity to the name given it by the whites. On this point, surrounded on all sides but one by the deep current of the river, 1000 persons assembled. Across the connecting neck of land they had erected a solid breastwork of earth, from six to eight feet high, which afforded a perfect covert. This breastwork was so sinuous in its form, that it could not be raked even by a cannon placed at one angle.

General Jackson, who approached it with his army on the 27th of March, thought the position had been admirably selected for defence, and well fortified. He began his approaches by directing General Coffee to so occupy the opposite sides of the river with his mounted men, as to prevent the Indians from crossing in canoes. He then proceeded slowly, and in complete order, to move towards the breastwork in front, at the same time opening a cannonade, at the distance of 150 to 200 yards, with one six, and one three-pounder, using muskets and rifles where an opportunity offered. This demonstration having produced no striking effects, a detachment was then sent from the troops on the opposite banks of the Tallapoosa, to burn some buildings located on the apex of the peninsula, which having been accomplished, they then bravely attacked the Indian forces behind the breastwork. But this manœuvre also, though gallantly executed, proved ineffective. Jackson then ordered his troops to storm the breastwork. Colonel Williams led on the right, and Colonel Montgomery the left column, who performed this duty with great alacrity, mounted the wall in the face of a tremendous discharge, and poured in a destructive fire on the backs of the Indians, who were defeated with immense slaughter; 557 dead bodies being found on the peninsula. Among the killed was Monahooe, the Creek prophet, who had received a grape-shot in his mouth.[1] Many Indians were found secreted under the banks, and shot. Two hundred and fifty prisoners were taken, all of whom were women and children, except two or three. Twenty warriors escaped. "The power of the Creeks," observes General Jackson, in his despatch, "is forever broken."[2]

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[1] Official Letters, p. 323.

[2] Ibid. p. 319.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORESHADOWINGS OF PEACE.

1815.
J. MADISON,
PRESIDENT.

THE war with the Creeks was now drawing rapidly to a close; the entire extent of the valleys of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, their strongholds, having been scoured, and their ablest chiefs defeated. Wethersford, the indomitable Black Warrior, on whose head a price had been fixed, having, after the memorable defeat at Emucfau, or the Horse-Shoe, surrendered himself to the commanding general, had been allowed to return to his nation unharmed; the object of the war being to convince them that the counsels of their prophets were only evil, and destructive to their best interests. Reason having failed to make them acquainted with this fact, the sword was the only resort left. Fortunately for the country, this duty was entrusted to a man noted for his decision, and who also possessed a just conception of the Indian character, capacity, and resources. Had it been otherwise, the war would have been protracted in the same manner as the subsequent contest with the Seminoles of Florida, and, like that war, would, possibly, have cost the treasury millions of dollars.

One of the most atrocious acts committed by the Creeks, was the massacre at Fort Mimms; and many of the negroes taken at that time, as also a woman and her children, were now liberated. Tustahatchee, king of the Hickory-Ground band, followed the example of Black Warrior, by delivering himself up; and Hillishagee, their jossakeed and prophet, absconded. During the month of April the army swept, like a resistless whirlwind, over the Creek country; and, by the early part of May, all its operations were closed, excepting the cautious retention of garrisoned posts.

It must be noticed, that the Indian priestly influence was the real origin of the Indian wars which raged from the extreme north to the south, between the years 1812 and 1816. Tecumseh had, through the wily arts of Ellksattawa, incited this new crusade against the Americans. He had visited the southern tribes, and was received with particular favor by his relatives, the Creeks. From the oracular teachings of Ellksattawa, on the Wabash, Monahooe and Hillishagee then received their clue, and, thenceforward, became active agents in the dark mysteries. War had sealed with death two of the principal originators of these hallucinations, these servants of the western Chemosh, and disciples of Baal and Moloch, whose magic incantations and shouts sounded as dolefully at the solemn midnight hour, on the waters of the Appalachian slopes, as they ever did on the banks of the Euphrates, or along the rivers and plains of Palestine.

As the American armies acquired better discipline and greater experience, the assistance of Indian auxiliaries on the flanks of the enemy became less a subject of interest or apprehension; the most important tribes in the South, West, and North having also suffered such defeats as caused them rather to keep aloof from the contest. Still, though defeated whenever they fought without the aid of their British allies, they were, as a mass, unfriendly, and ill concealed their secret hostility under the guise of neutrality. They did not, however, fail to rally in their strength, whenever the presence of a detachment of regular troops promised them protection. In the sharp action fought by Major A. H. Holmes, on the 4th of March, 1814, within twenty miles of the River Thames, and near Detroit, the Indians formed a part of the forces which he had to encounter.[1] Also, in the attempt to retake the fort at Michilimackinac, in the month of August of the same year, the Chippewa, Ottawa, Menomonee, Winnebago, Sac, and Sioux Indians occasioned the defeat of the army under the orders of Colonel Croghan. The troops employed on this service comprised a regiment of infantry and a detachment of artillery, with a supply of ordnance and ammunition adequate to the reduction of the place, had not the plan of attack been ill advised. Instead of sailing directly for the harbor and post located on this cliff-crowned Gibraltar of the lakes, time was wasted in making an excursion up the St. Mary's strait and river, for the purpose of burning the empty fort on St. Joseph's Island, and detaching a party to plunder the North-west Factory. This force likewise pillaged some private property, and committed other acts of questionable public morality. When the fleet of Commodore St. Clair, with the army on board, made the white cliffs of the island, it manœuvred and sailed around it, thus expending some days uselessly, instead of promptly entering the harbor and assaulting the town, which, being but feebly garrissoned, would have been easily captured. On first descrying the fleet, the populace were in the wildest confusion. Meantime, the Indians thronged on to the island from the contiguous shores, filling the woods which extended back of the fort. On the margin of this dark forest the attack was made. Major Holmes, who had recently displayed such intrepidity in the engagement on the River Thames, landed with the infantry and artillery, and led them successfully through the paths which wound among the thick foliage of the undergrowth on that part of the island, and deployed his men on the open ground of Dousman's farm.

Meantime, Colonel M'Dowell, who had but sixty regulars in the fort, recruited as many of the Canadian militia as he could muster and equip, marched out to Dousman's, and commenced firing with a six-pounder from an eminence which overlooked the battle-field.

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[1] Branan, p. 314.

Not less than 500 warriors were on the island, who opposed the landing from their coverts; entirely surrounding the field, and crouching behind clumps of trees on the plain, from which they poured an effective fire. Major Holmes, as soon as his men were formed, pushed forward with great gallantry, waving his sword, and had progressed some hundred yards, when he was shot by an Indian who was concealed behind a bush. When this officer fell, the troops faltered, and then retreated to the landing-place. Mr. Madison, in his message of September 20th, 1814, observes of Major Holmes, in alluding to this expedition, that "he was an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits."[1]

The general battles of the Thames and Emucfau, having in reality, broken up the Indian combination in the North and South, they played only a secondary part in those events of the war, which occurred subsequently. A few of the friendly Iroquois valiantly aided General P. B. Porter's regulars and militia, in the severe and triumphant sortie made from Fort Erie against the British camp on the 17th of September.[2] There were also parties of friendly Creeks, of the Cowetas, under M'Intosh, as well as of the Cherokees and Chickasaws, who performed good service on the side of the Americans. The hostile Creeks, who had been expelled from the southern plains, having taken shelter at Pensacola, in Florida, General Jackson deemed it essential to the preservation of peace on the frontiers, that the governor of that town, and the commander of the fort there located, should have an opportunity of making an explanation of his policy in furnishing protection and supplies to the Indians. With this view, he appeared in that vicinity on the 6th of November, at the head of the army which had traversed the Creek country, and forthwith dispatched a field-officer to the town, with a flag, desiring a conference; but, the bearer of it being fired on by the cannon of the fort, Jackson immediately determined upon storming it; and, having made some preliminary reconnoissances, he attacked the town with his entire force on the 7th. He was assailed by a fire of musketry from the houses and surrounding gardens, and a battery of two guns opened on his front. This battery was immediately stormed by Captain Lavall's company; and, after sustaining a heavy and continuous fire of musketry, the garrison of the fort submitted unconditionally. The Choctaws were highly commended by Jackson for their bravery on this occasion. The following day, the Barancas was abandoned and blown up by the enemy, and Colonel Nichols, the governor, retreated to the vessels of the British squadron lying in the bay, which then put to sea.

This action was the closing event of the Indian war in that quarter. "It has convinced the Red Sticks,"[3] remarks the General, "that they have no stronghold or protection except in the friendship of the United States."[4]

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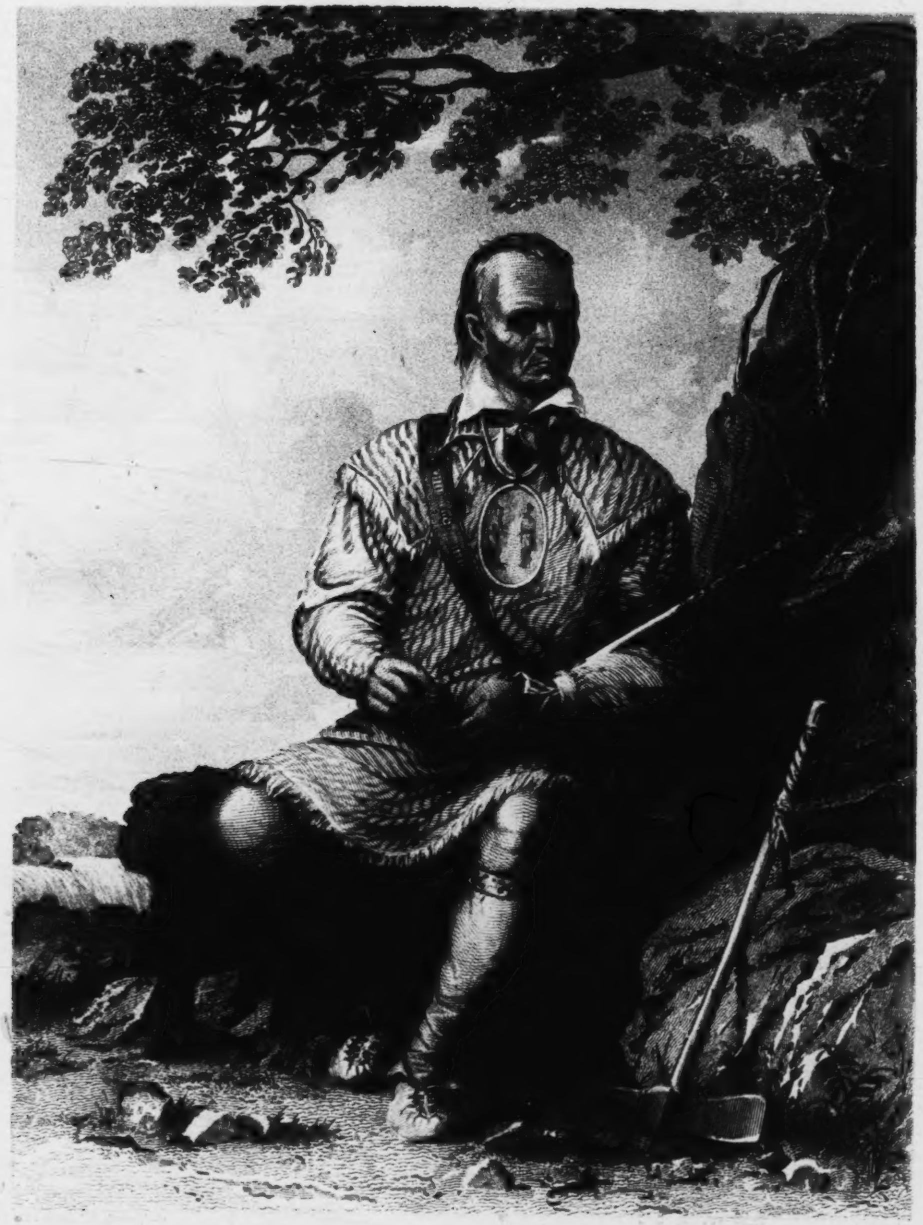
[1] Official Letters, p. 433.

[2] Ibid, p. 435.

[3] This term is used in a figurative sense, to denote the southern hostile Indians.

[4] Branan, p. 453.



RED JACKET.

SECTION SIXTEENTH.

EFFECTS OF THE EXPANSION OF THE POPULATION WESTWARD, AND OF THE CREATION OF NEW STATES ON THE EXHAUSTED INDIAN HUNTING-GROUNDS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

CHAPTER I.

A NEW PHASIS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

The close of the war of 1812 not only ended the Indian hostilities, but also initiated a thorough geographical exploration of the Mississippi valley; the extent, fertility, and resources of which, were then fully ascertained. Noble rivers, the names of which had been for years only known by their connection with romantic tales, and the narratives of adventurous exploits, now attracted attention by the facilities they afforded for navigation. The entire valley seemed to be one vast series of plains, reticulated by streams, which poured their resistless currents into the Mexican gulf. These plains, once the haunts of uncounted herds of deer, elk, and buffalo, were now deserted by them, and elicited interest only by their fertility, and by their adaptiveness to the purposes of agriculture.

Changes of such a striking character, and apparently fraught with such disastrous consequences to the Indian tribes, produced, however, a favorable effect. It was the triumph of the arts of peace. This was the beginning of a new era in their history. The chase, it was seen, must, perforce, be abandoned, and agricultural and industrial pursuits adopted. But the question was, how could this be done by a people so reduced in circumstances, so destitute of all apparent means as the Indians? At this time, the population of the Eastern States began to emigrate to the West in renewed force, creating a demand for those fertile lands, which, being denuded of their game, were no longer useful to hunter tribes. By the cession of these lands to the United States Government, the Indians were provided, through the medium of money annuities, with the means of procuring the requisites necessary to their advancement in the social scale. They became, in a few years, permanently possessed of cattle, implements of husbandry, and schools: a life of industry was commenced. Thus, what appeared, at first, to have sealed their destruction, was in reality, the means of their elevation and deliverance.

CHAPTER II.

CONDITION OF THE TRIBES AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

1817.
J. MONROE, PRESIDENT.

THE ninth article of the treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, left the Indian tribes to make their own terms with the United States. They had fought in vain, and received so little consideration from their late ally at the close of the contest, that they were not even accorded a national position in the treaty of peace concluded between the belligerent powers; consequently, the year 1815 was to them the commencement of a period in their history, of very self-reliant interest. Misled by the false theories of their prophets, and defeated in numerous battles, they had yet believed that they were fighting to preserve intact their ancient territorial limits. They had lost great numbers of their warriors in battle; the Creeks alone, in the contests at Talladega, Tullushatches, Hillabee, Attasee, and Emucfau, or the Horse-Shoe, had suffered to the extent of not less than 1000 men. The losses experienced in battle by all the tribes, constituted, however, but a fraction of what they suffered from diseases engendered in camps, superinduced by unsuitable, bad, or scanty supplies of food, as well as by the toils and accidents incident to forced marches. Fevers, colds, and consumptions, to which they are liable, had been fearfully prevalent; chicken-pox and the varioloid had nearly decimated them.[1] In addition to this, their families had been left in an unprovided and starving condition at home. In 1812, the numbers summoned by the voice of the Shawnee prophet to the banks of the Wabash were immense. They abandoned everything else for the purpose of participating in this new revolution, and many who left their western and northern homes, on this errand, never returned. The writer has walked over the sites of entire villages thus desolated, which had been in a few years covered by weeds, and a young forest growth.

This was not, however, the worst of their misfortunes. Their hunting-grounds had been rendered valueless by the operations of the contending armies. The deer, elk, and bear always precede the Indians to more dense forests; the cunning beaver immediately abandons a stream into which he cannot, by gnawing, make the trees fall, on the bark of which he subsists; the otter, which lives on fish, remains for a longer period. But the entire species of furred animals, whose skins form the staple of the Indian trade, were greatly diminished, and the vast region of country extending from 38° to 44° north, between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, had been rendered useless as a hunting-ground. Another result of the passage of troops through remote parts of the Indian country, was the discovery of tracts of arable land, of great value to the agriculturist; of water-powers, mines, and resources, offering tempting inducements to the mill-wright, manufacturer, and miner. Coal, iron, and lead, were found in abundance, and, subsequently, copper and gold. War, bad seasons, and the depreciation of a very extended and inflated paper currency, with a resulting decline in the prices of all merchantable articles, had alarmed thousands of persons in the Atlantic States, who sought to repair their fortunes, or find a field for the exercise of their ingenuity and talents, by emigrating to the West; so that, by a singular coincidence, when the Indians began to part freely with their exhausted hunting-grounds, by sales to the Government, the emigrant masses clamored for new and ample farms on these ceded tracts, where both they and their children might lay the foundations of happy homes. This was the germ of new States.

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[1] Dr. Williamson, Vol. I., p. 247. Dr. Pitcher, Vol. IV., p. 502.

We have placed the commencement of this era in the year 1816; which was as early, indeed, as the full cessation of Indian hostilities rendered it safe for the emigrant to enter remote districts. The Creeks had signed the treaty of Fort Jackson as early as August 9, 1814; and they were followed by other tribes, both in the North and South. On the 8th of September, 1815, an important treaty was concluded with the Wyandots, Senecas, Shawnees, Miamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies, by which these tribes were restored to all the immunities accorded them by the treaty entered into at Greenville in 1795; and the three latter tribes reinvested with all the territorial rights which they possessed at the outbreak of Tecumseh's war, in 1811.[1] Treaties were also concluded during this year with the Kickapoos, Weas, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Sioux, Osages, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and other tribes. These treaties were negotiated by commissioners appointed by the United States, who were well acquainted with the territories, character, resources, local history, and feelings of the tribes. Some of these commissioners had been military commanders, or had occupied high civil stations on the frontiers. No one of them was so celebrated for his knowledge, experience, and standing, as General William Clark, of St. Louis, the companion of the intrepid Lewis in his adventurous journeys to the mouth of the river Columbia, in 1804, and in 1805 and '6. He had succeeded Lewis as governor of the Missouri Territory, in 1806, and had acquired the respect and confidence of the southwestern and western tribes, who were located on the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. He was a man possessed of great sagacity, amenity of manners, and a comprehensive knowledge of the geography of the country. In many respects, he was comparable to Sir William Johnson, who so long exercised a similar power in the North. Indian disputes were frequently referred to him for settlement by the tribes themselves; and the number of Indian treaties he negotiated in the course of his long administration of Indian affairs on the frontiers, is a proof of his abilities in this department.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 173.

Reference is particularly made to the era commencing with 1816, when an extensive system of changes and movements, the long smouldering effects of the by-gone wars, difficulties, and mutations of past years, began to develop itself prominently in the West. The war of 1812, on the north-western frontiers, had brought into notice another man, who was destined to exercise, for many years, an important influence on our Indian relations. Lewis Cass was a brigadier-general in the United States army, and had served in the war of 1812 with great credit to himself. A lawyer by profession, marshal of the State of Ohio at the commencement of the war, he united civil with military talent, and, on the conclusion of peace, held the commission of commandant of Detroit. Succeeding to the executive chair of Michigan, after the disastrous rule of Governor William Hull, and the subsequent interregnum, great energy was required to revive and reinstate, on their former basis, its civil and social institutions. Six years of wild wars and turmoils had left the territory without either civil or military organization. It might have been justly compared to a region submerged by a sudden deluge in the geological systems, in which the evidences of its former condition were to be sought in boulders, drifts, and heaps of ruins. Society was literally down-trodden.

Michigan had been, more or less, occupied by the French from the days of La Salle. A fort was first erected at Detroit in 1701; in 1760 it was surrendered to the British; and did not come into the possession of the United States until 1796. Hull surrendered it in 1812. A fierce and sanguinary war, beginning at that time, had so desolated the territory, that to resuscitate its energies was no ordinary task, which any person of less strength of character and foresight than the newly-appointed executive, would probably have failed to accomplish. It was a work of time to restore the Indian relations to a permanent footing; to induce the inhabitants to return to their old locations; to apply the civil code to an almost anarchical condition of society; and, above all, to ascertain and develop the true resources of the territory.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN TRIBES OF MICHIGAN. EXPLORATION OF ITS BOUNDARIES, REACHING TO THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

1820. J. MONROE, PRESIDENT.

MICHIGAN had been the strongest rallying point for the Indians, from the days of Denonville. It was first visited by La Salle in 1679, and formal possession was taken of the straits between Lakes Erie and Huron, in the month of June, 1687;[1] but Detroit was not occupied by an authorized agent of the French government, at Quebec, until the year 1701.[2] One hundred and twenty years had served to spread its fame and importance in Indian wars, Indian trade, and Indian affairs. But the hand of time had still left it, a remote outpost, surrounded by the original French settlements, among which might, here and there, be found an adventurous American. The houses of the French habitans were surrounded with cedar palings, as if to resist an attack; and, in their orchards, they raised apple trees, the parent stocks of which were originally brought from Normandy. In their dress, manners, suavity, nonchalance, gaiety, and loyalty to the governing power, the French of Michigan presented a striking similitude to the peasantry under Francis I. and Louis XIII. It was at this ancient seat of French dominion on the Lakes, that Pontiac formed his confederacy, in 1760, and Tecumseh convened the natives, in 1810–11. The failure of the latter scheme, stoutly backed as it was by the British army and navy, convinced the Indians that their efforts to resist the onward march of civilization were vain, and that education, arts, and labor must triumph. This was the language of Ningwégon, in 1812.

This low position of their affairs, in a politico-economical point of view, in strength, numbers, power of combination, and every thing like national capacity, we regard as their zero point; for it now became evident that their whole system was a congeries of errors; that the pursuit of the chase only sunk them in barbarism and want; and that if they were ever elevated in the scale of society, it must be by the practice of industry, temperance, virtue, the dissemination of education, and the adoption of moral truth. Though this view did not strike the Indian mind at once, it was only necessary to take a wider, broader, and more comprehensive retrospect of their state to render it manifest; and the lapse of a few years made the truth apparent. The Indian tribes had been thoroughly defeated; their political institutions were but "as a rope of sand;" their fury but the rage of a madman. To learn this truth, two centuries had been necessary. The contests with Virginia, New England, and the West, had not been waged in vain; persuasion, as well as blows, had been used to produce this great result. The voices of John Eliot and Brainerd, had not been thrown to the winds; nor the sword of a Wayne, a Harrison, and a Jackson, drawn for nought. To convince the Indian of his weakness, was the first step toward his attaining strength; and herein he may be said, mentally, to have advanced.

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[1] Oneota, p. 406.

[2] M. Cadillac arrived at this spot on the 24th July, 1701, and immediately commenced clearing the ground, and preparing to fortify it. —*Oneota*, p. 408.

In 1816 President Monroe appointed General Lewis Cass governor of this territory, the condition of which has been shown to have been one of extreme prostration. Desolated by wars, its inhabitants decimated by appalling murders and massacres, with but few resources, some fragments of disconnected population, and neither enterprise, nor capital, another such forlorn district could not have been pointed out in America. It had neither roads, nor bridges, and its very soil was considered so worthless, that it was deemed unfit to be given in bounty lands to the surviving soldiers of the war of 1812. The Indian tribes who had rallied under Proctor, and other weak and inhuman officers, were yet unfriendly and vindictive. By the interposition of a friendly hand, Cass' life was once saved from being taken by a rifle-ball, aimed by an Indian from behind a tree; and most of the tribes hovered around Detroit, destitute of everything, daily besieging the doors of the territorial executive. The tide of emigration had not, at that period, set strongly in that direction, and the business of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on that frontier was, for some years, the most important function of the gubernatorial office. He commenced his negotiations with the sons of the forest at the rapids of the Miami of the Lakes, on the 29th of September, 1817.[1] This event was followed in 1818 by an important assemblage of various Algonquin tribes at St. Mary's, on the sources of the Miami; and in 1819 by the conclusion of an important treaty with the Chippewas of Saganaw, in Michigan, which gave an impetus to settlements in that territory. The wide area over which the Chippewa tribe extended; its multiplicity of bands, or tribal communities, each of which professed to be independent; and the imperfect knowledge of their location and stastistics, as well as of the geographical features and resources of their territory, induced him to call the attention of the War Department to their examination. The cherished policy of Mr. Calhoun being to keep the military posts in the West in advance of the settlements, that they might cover the progress of the new emigrants, and shield them from Indian depredations, that gentleman cordially approved of this measure; to carry out the objects of which, an expedition composed of a corps of scientific observers, under the escort of a small detachment of infantry, was organized at, and despatched from, Detroit in the spring of 1820. This enterprise first brought Mr. Schoolcraft into the new field of observation on Indian life and manners. Being appointed geologist to the expedition, he became its historiographer, and, during the following year, published a journal of its progress. Its mineralogy and geology were examined, and the copper mines on the Ontonagon river and Lake Superior explored. A detached expedition visited the lead mines of Dubuque. The fresh-water conchology of the country was examined; collections made of the flora and fauna; an elaborate report of its geology presented, accompanied with a map; and conchology, as well as other departments of science considerably augmented by the addition of new species. From this source was obtained an accurate knowledge of the tribes, their location, strength, and character, and also of the natural history, climatology, resources and physical geography of that region.[1] The expedition left Detroit on the 24th of May, in large and well-constructed canoes, of the Indian model; and the explorers circumnavigated the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. From the head of the latter lake, they crossed the intervening highlands to the valley of the Upper Mississippi, which they entered at Sandy Lake, and, ascending it in search of its true source, they passed its upper falls, at Pakagama, as well as the source of Leech Lake, laid down by Lieutenant Pike, in 1806, and thence through Lake Winnebeegoshish to the large body of water in lat. 47° 25′ 23″,[2] since denominated Cass Lake. This point is, following the course of the river, 2755 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, and was reached on the 21st of July. The Mississippi was then descended to the falls of St. Anthony,[3] and Prairie du Chien, and the chain of the great lake basins again reached through the Wisconsin and Fox river valleys, at Green Bay, on the western shores of Lake Michigan. The extent of Indian hunting-grounds traversed was nearly 4000 miles, and at only one point, namely, St. Mary's Falls, at the lower end of Lake Superior, was there any demonstration of hostile feelings. The effect resulting from this extensive exploratory tour was, to convince the Indians that a wise government sought to ascertain the extent of their territory and its resources, as well as to bring the tribes into friendly communication with it. The Chippewas were found, with some slight change of name, to occupy the entire borders of Lakes Huron and Superior, together with the eastern side of the valley of the Upper Mississippi, above lat. 44° 53′ 20″ north. On the west banks, in about lat. 46°, the frames of Sioux lodges were still standing, which had evidently been but recently occupied. On the 30th of July they reached the falls of St. Anthony (Plate XV.); between which and Prairie du Chien, but nearer to the latter, the Sioux inhabited both banks of the river. The Sacs and Foxes occupied the

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 216

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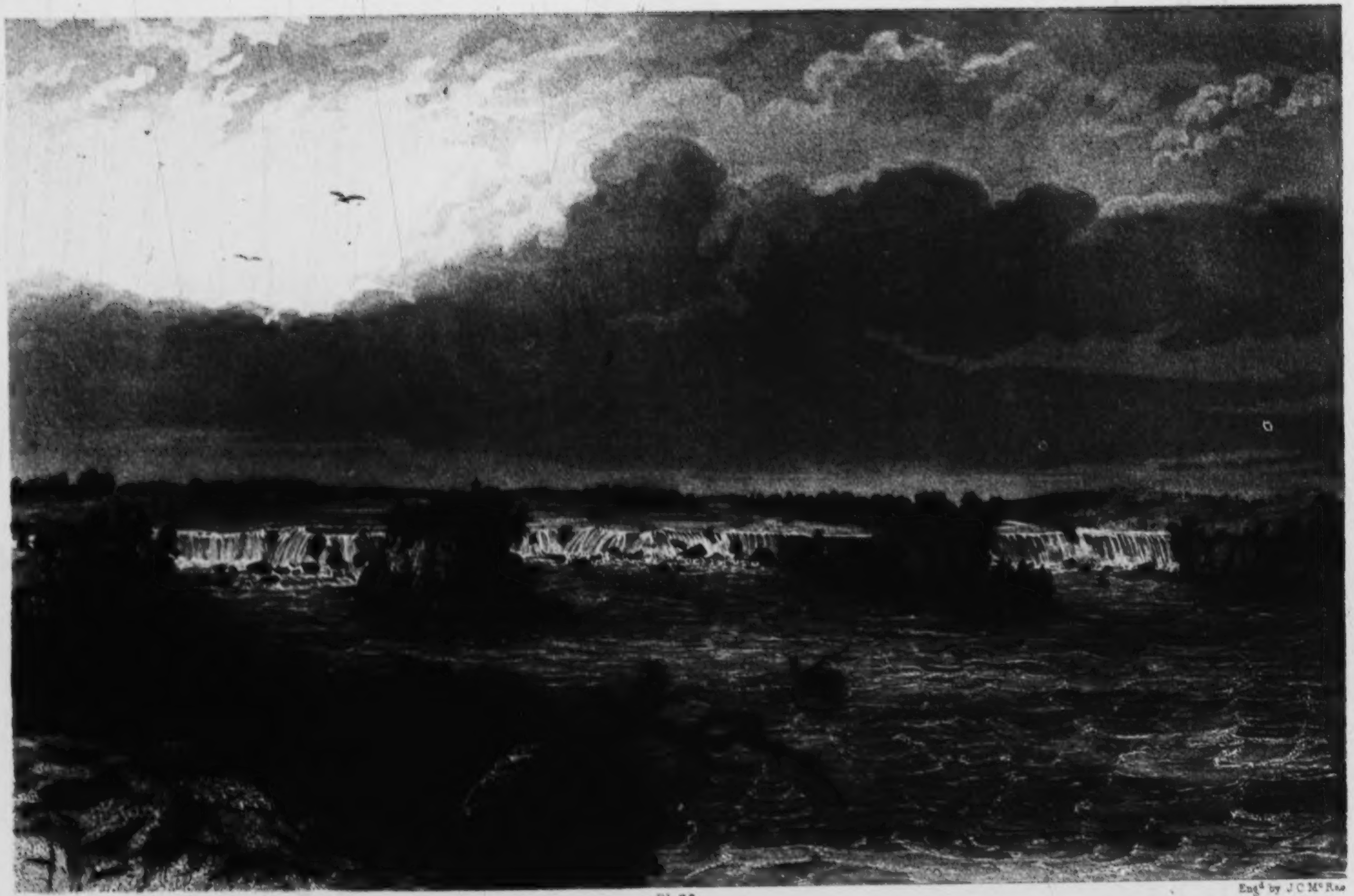
[1] Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of an Expedition to the sources of the Mississippi; 1 vol. 8vo., with a map and plates: Albany, 1821.

[2] Hydrographical Memoir of the Mississippi river; J. J. Nicollet, 1842.

[3] Plate IX.; Vol IV., Plate XXVII., p. 192.



Drawn by Capt.ⁿ S. Eastman. U.S.A.

Pl 28

Eng.ᵈ by J C McRae

FALLS OF Sᵀ ANTHONY

THE FEAST OF MONDAMIN

Mississippi valley between Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, at the entrance to the river *Des Moines*. The Winnebagoes were in possession of the Wisconsin and Rock river valleys. The Menomonees were scattered along the Fox river to Buttes des Morts and Winnebago Lake, thence quite to Green Bay, and, with interchanges of location with the Winnebagoes, to Milwaukie on Lake Michigan. The Pottawattamies, Chippewas, and Ottowas, were located at Chicago, as also in northern Illinois and southern Michigan. The Ottowas lived in Grand River valley, as well as on Little Traverse Bay; and the Chippewas on the peninsula and shores of Grand Traverse Bay. An escort of infantry having accompanied this expedition, the flag of the Union was thus displayed in regions where, previously, it had seldom or never been seen.

This expedition had the effect, not only to attract the attention of the Indians to the power and vigilance of the Government, but also to direct popular enterprise to this hitherto unceded part of the Union; the value and importance of which can already be attested by an examination of Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. An instance of the interest excited in the Indian mind by this visit, occurred at Winnebago Lake. When the party halted on its shores, the geologist broke off several specimens of some novel rocky formations, with a view of determining their character. A very aged Winnebago observing this, said to his companions: "This is remarkable. Our country was long occupied by the French and the English, who were satisfied to trade with us; but no sooner have the Americans come, than they must examine our very rocks. What can they possibly expect to get from them?"

During the progress of this memorable exploration, several instances were observed of the Indian mode of communicating ideas by pictographic inscriptions on scrolls of bark.[1] Statistics of their population and trade were obtained, and accurate knowledge acquired of their manners and customs, feelings, and disposition. One of the peculiar customs observed while in the Dakotah country, was that of offering the first ears of the green corn to the Great Spirit;[2] of which ceremony the party were, by permission of the chiefs, allowed to be spectators. Plate XV.

In the Chippewa territories, extending from the precincts of Rock Island to the sources of the Mississippi, the ruling power was found to be exercised by certain totemic families, who claimed the right by descent. This right, however, was ascertained to be nugatory when not supported by the popular voice of the clans; which act virtually bestowed upon it all the force of a representative system. The ancient seat of the Chippewas, located at Sault Ste. Marie, at the lower end of Lake Superior, had for its ruling chief Shingabawassin, a tall, well-made, grave man, who possessed an easy, dignified, and pleasing manner.[3] (Plate XVI.) The Indians residing on the upper shores of the lake were ruled by a chief called Pezhikee, or Buffalo, and *Sappa*. At Sandy

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[1] Schoolcraft's Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, second edition: Philadelphia, 1855, p. 430.

[2] Plate XV.

[3] Plate XI.

Lake, on the Upper Mississippi, Katawabeda, Babesikundabay, and Guele Plat, were the presiding chiefs. The Mendawakantons, or Dakotahs of the river, acknowledged the government of the younger Wabasha. The Winnebagoes were ruled by De Corrie and Tshoop, the *quatre jamb*, or "Four Legs," of the French. The Pottawattamies acknowledged the sway of Topinabee, an aged man, who had signed the treaty of peace concluded at Greenville by General Wayne in 1794. At Grand river, presided the Ottowa chief, Nawagizhi, or Noon-Day; at Grand Traverse Bay, Aishquagonabi, or the Feather of Honor; and at the Ottowa towns of L'Arbre Croche, the very old chief, Nishcaudjinine, or the Angry Man, and Pauskooziegun, or the Smoker.

The Indian government being founded on certain established customs and prescriptions, was clearly controlled by popular opinion, which changed with the passage of time and the occurrence of events. Although the totemic sovereignty was hereditary, yet the tribal succession could be set aside at any time when it was thought necessary to reward with the chieftancy bravery on the war-path, great energy of character, talent as a speaker, or skill as a magician; and the tribes were thenceforth ruled by the newly-installed chief.

Treaties were concluded with the Indians at *L'Arbre Croche,*[1] and at Sault Ste Marie.[2] An incident occurred at the latter which for a time foreboded serious difficulty. The negotiations for this treaty were commenced about the middle of June; at which period of the year, the hunting season being ended, the Indians crowd to the towns nearest the frontiers, to enjoy themselves in dancing, feasting, and the celebration of ceremonies. But four or five years having elapsed since the conclusion of the war, there was still a vivid feeling of hostility existing among them towards the Americans. It chanced that, among the large number assembled, was the war-captain who had led the Chippewas into action, and an ambitious chief, called Sassaba, of the reigning totem of the Crane, whose brother had been killed fighting beside Tecumseh, at the battle of the Thames. An attempt was made to deter the party from carrying the American flag through the Chippewa country. Sassaba, having broken up a public council, raised the British flag on a brow of the height where the Indians were encamped, and it was observed that, at the same moment, women and children were precipitately sent from the lodges, across the river, to the Canada shore. Vivid apprehensions were entertained of a hostile encounter; the party grasped their rifles, and stood ready for conflict. General Cass, by his knowledge of the Indian character, his cool self-possession, and decision, disconcerted their plans, and averted the danger. Unarmed, and accompanied only by an interpreter, he ascended the elevated plain on which the Indians were encamped, and, proceeding to the lodge of Sassaba, he pulled down the flag, and addressed the Indians in terms of just reproof for this act of bravado. This rebuke was received without any further demonstration of hostility. On the following day, negotiations were renewed, and the treaty concluded, which recognised the old grant to the French by a cession of territory four miles square.[3]

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 280.

[2] Ibid., p. 281.

[3] Ibid., p. 280.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR BETWEEN THE CHIPPEWAS AND SIOUX. A PECULIAR MODE OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THEM BY MEANS OF PICTOGRAPHY, OR DEVICES INSCRIBED ON BARK.

WHEN the French traders and missionaries first visited the head of Lake Superior, which event may be placed as early as the year 1620, the Chippewas and Sioux were at war. The most ancient local traditions, both of the red and white men, represent the Chippewas to have migrated from the east towards the west, and to have conquered the pre-existing Indian tribes, from whom they wrested the territories lying west of those waters.[1] Traditional testimony, attesting the early existence of hostility between these two prominent tribes, was obtained in 1820, by the expedition through their territory to the sources of the Mississippi. The history of the contest, as well as its origin and cause, were investigated, as a preliminary step towards effecting a pacification between the contending tribes. In an official communication to the government, Governor Cass makes the following observations regarding this hereditary war, which are worthy of notice, not only as embodying the views of aged and respectable chiefs then living, with whom he conversed, but because they reveal the existence of a means of communication between them, through the interchange of ideographic notes, by devices inscribed on slips of the inner bark of the betula papyracea: 1820.

"An incident occurred upon my recent tour to the north-west, so rare in itself, and which so clearly shows the facility with which communications may be opened between savage nations, without the intervention of letters, that I have thought it not improper to communicate it to you.

"The Chippewas and Sioux are hereditary enemies, and Charlevoix says they were at war when the French first reached the Mississippi. I endeavored, when among them, to learn the cause which first excited them to war, and the time when it commenced. But they can give no rational account. An intelligent Chippewa chief informed me that the disputed boundary between them was a subject of little importance, and that the question respecting it could be easily adjusted. He appeared to think that they fought because their fathers fought before them. This war has been waged with various success, and, in its prosecution, instances of courage and self-devotion have occurred, within a few years, which would not have disgraced the pages of Grecian or of Roman history. Some years since, mutually weary of hostilities, the chiefs of both nations met and agreed upon a truce. But the Sioux, disregarding the solemn compact which they had formed, and actuated by some sudden impulse, attacked the Chippewas, and murdered a number of them. Babisikundabi, the old Chippewa chief, who descended the Mississippi with us, was present upon this occasion, and his life was saved by the intrepidity and generous self-devotion of a Sioux chief. This man entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. He urged his countrymen, by every motive, to abstain from any violation of their faith, and, when he found his remonstrances useless, he attached himself to this Chippewa chief, and avowed his determination of saving, or perishing with him. Awed by his intrepidity, the Sioux finally agreed that he should ransom the Chippewa, and he accordingly applied to this object all the property he owned. He then accompanied the Chippewa on his journey, until he considered him safe from any parties of the Sioux who might be disposed to follow him.

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[1] Vol. II., p. 135.

"The Sioux are much more numerous than the Chippewas, and would have overpowered them long since, had the operations of the former been consentaneous. But they are divided into so many different bands, and are scattered over such an extensive country, that their efforts have no regular combination.

"Believing it equally consistent with humanity and sound policy, that these border contests should not be suffered to continue; satisfied that you would approve of any plan of pacification which might be adopted; and feeling that the Indians have a full portion of moral and physical evils, without adding to them the calamities of a war which had no definite object, and no probable termination, on our arrival at Sandy Lake, I proposed to the Chippewa chiefs that a deputation should accompany us to the mouth of the St. Peter's, with a view to establish a permanent peace between them and the Sioux. The Chippewas readily acceded to this proposition, and ten of their principal men descended the Mississippi with us.

"The computed distance from Sandy Lake to the St. Peter's, is six hundred miles; and, as I have already had the honor to inform you, a considerable proportion of the country has been the theatre of hostile enterprises. The Mississippi here traverses the immense plains which extend to the Missouri, and which present to the eye a spectacle at once interesting and fatiguing. Scarcely the slightest variation in the surface occurs, and they are entirely destitute of timber. In this debateable land, the game is very abundant; buffaloes, elks, and deer range unharmed and unconscious of harm. The mutual hostilities of the Chippewas and Sioux render it dangerous for either, unless in strong parties, to visit this portion of the country. The consequence has been, a great increase of all the animals whose flesh is used for food, or whose fur is valuable for market. We found herds of buffaloes quietly feeding upon the plains. There is little difficulty in approaching sufficiently near to kill them. With an eagerness which is natural to all hunters, and with an improvidence which always attends these excursions, the animal is frequently killed without any necessity, and no other part of them is preserved but the tongue.

"There is something extremely novel and interesting in this pursuit. The immense plains, extending as far as the eye can reach, are spotted here and there with droves of buffaloes. The distance, and the absence of known objects, render it difficult to estimate the size or the number of these animals. The hunters approach cautiously, keeping to the leeward, lest the buffaloes, whose scent is very acute, should observe them. The moment a gun is fired, the buffaloes scatter, and scour the fields in every direction. Unwieldy as they appear, they move with considerable celerity. It is difficult to divert them from their course, and the attempt is always hazardous. One of our party barely escaped with his life from this act of temerity. The hunters, who are stationed upon different parts of the plain, fire as the animals pass them. The repeated discharge of guns in every direction, the shouts of those who are engaged in the pursuit, and the sight of the buffaloes at full speed on every side, give an animation to the scene which is rarely equalled.

"The droves which we saw were comparatively small. Some of the party, whom we found at St. Peters, and who arrived at that place by land from the Council Bluffs, estimated one of the droves which they saw to contain two thousand buffaloes.

"As we approached this part of the country, our Chippewa friends became cautious and observing. The flag of the United States was flying upon all our canoes, and, thanks to the character which our country acquired by the events of the last war, I found, in our progress through the whole Indian country, after we had once left the great line of communication, that this flag was a passport which rendered our journey safe. We consequently felt assured that no wandering party of the Sioux would attack even their enemies while under our protection. But the Chippewas could not appreciate the influence which the American flag would have upon other nations; nor is it probable that they estimated with much accuracy the motives which induced us to assume the character of an umpire.

"The Chippewas landed occasionally, to examine whether any of the Sioux had recently visited that quarter. In one of these excursions, a Chippewa found, in a conspicuous place, a piece of birch-bark, made flat by being fastened between two sticks at each end, and about eighteen inches long by fifteen broad. This bark contained the answer of the Sioux nation to the proposition which had been made by the Chippewas for the termination of hostilities. So sanguinary has been the contest between these tribes, that no personal communication could take place. Neither the sanctity of the office, nor the importance of the message, could protect the ambassadors of either party from the vengeance of each other. Some time preceding, the Chippewas, anxious for the restoration of peace, had sent a number of their young men into these plains with a similar piece of bark, upon which they had represented their desire. The scroll of bark had been left hanging to a tree in an exposed situation, and had been found and taken away by a party of the Sioux.

"The propositions had been examined and discussed in the Sioux villages, and the bark which we found contained their answer. The Chippewa who had prepared the bark for his tribe was with us, and on our arrival at St. Peter's, finding it was lost, I requested him to make another. He did so, and produced what I have no doubt was a perfect *fac simile.* We brought with us both of these *projets,* and they are now in the hands of Captain Douglass. He will be able to give a more intelligible description of them than I can from recollection, and they could not be in the possession of one more competent to the task.

"The Chippewas explained to us with great facility the intention of the Sioux, and apparently with as much readiness as if some common character had been established between them.

"The junction of the St. Peter's with the Mississippi, where a principal part of the Sioux reside, was represented, and also the American fort, with a sentinel on duty, and the flag flying. The principal Sioux chief is named the Six, alluding, I believe, to the bands or villages under his influence. To show that he was not present at the deliberations upon the subject of peace, he was represented upon a smaller piece of bark, which was attached to the other. To identify him, he was drawn with six heads and a large medal. Another Sioux chief stood in the foreground, holding the pipe of peace in his right hand, and his weapons in his left. Even we could not misunderstand that. Like our own eagle, with the olive branch and arrows, he was desirous of peace, but prepared for war.

"The Sioux party contained fifty-nine warriors, and this number was indicated by fifty-nine guns, which were drawn upon one corner of the bark. The only subject which occasioned any difficulty in the interpretation of the Chippewas, was owing to an incident, of which they were ignorant. The encampment of our troops had been removed from the low grounds upon the St. Peter's, to a high hill upon the Mississippi; two forts were therefore drawn upon the bark, and the solution of this enigma could not be discovered till our arrival at St. Peter's.

"The effects of the discovery of this bark upon the minds of the Chippewas was visible and immediate. Their doubts and apprehensions appeared to be removed, and during the residue of the journey their conduct and feelings were completely changed.

"The Chippewa bark was drawn in the same general manner, and Sandy Lake, the principal place of their residence, was represented with much accuracy. To remove any doubt respecting it, a view was given of the old North-West establishment, situated upon its shore, and now in the possession of the American Fur Company. No proportion was preserved in their attempt at delineation. One mile of the Mississippi, including the mouth of the St. Peter's, occupied as much space as the whole distance to Sandy Lake; nor was there anything to show that one part was nearer to the spectator than another; yet the object of each party was completely obtained. Speaking languages radically different from each other, for the Sioux constitute one of three grand divisions, into which the early French writers have arranged the aborigines of our country, while the Chippewas are a branch of what they call Algonquins, and without any conventional character established between them, these tribes thus opened a communication upon the most important subject which could occupy their attention. Propositions leading to a peace were made and accepted, and the simplicity of the mode could only be equalled by the distinctness of the representations, and by the ease with which they were understood.

"An incident like this, of rare occurrence at this day, and throwing some light upon the mode of communication before the invention of letters, I thought it not improper to communicate to you. It is only necessary to add, that on our arrival at St. Peter's, we found Colonel Leavenworth had been as attentive and indefatigable upon this subject as upon every other which fell within the sphere of his command.

"We discovered a remarkable coincidence, as well in the sound as in the application, between a word in the Sioux language, and one in our own. The circumstance is so singular that I deem it worthy of notice. The Sioux call the Falls of St. Anthony, *Ha ha,* and the pronunciation is in every respect similar to the same words in the English language.[1] I could not learn that this word was used for any other purpose, and I believe it is confined in its application to that place alone. The traveller, in ascending the Mississippi, turns a projecting point, and these falls suddenly appear before him at a short distance. Every man, savage, or civilized, must be struck with the magnificent spectacle which opens to his view. There is an assemblage of objects which, added to the solitary grandeur of the scene, to the height of the cataract, and to the eternal roar of its waters, inspire the spectator with awe and admiration.

"In his ANECDOTES OF PAINTING, it is stated by Horace Walpole, that 'on the invention of fosses for boundaries, the common people called them Ha ha's! to express their surprise on finding a sudden and unperceived check to their walk.' I believe the word is yet used in this manner in England. It is certainly not a little remarkable that the same word should be thus applied by one of the most civilized, and by one of the most barbarous people, to objects which, although not the same, were yet calculated to excite the admiration of the observer.

"Nothing can show more clearly how fallacious are those deductions of comparative etymology, which are founded upon a few words carefully gleaned here and there from languages having no common origin, and which are used by people who have neither connection nor intercourse. The common descent of two nations can never be traced by the accidental consonance of a few syllables, or words, and the attempt must lead us into the regions of fancy.

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[1] Schoolcraft's Exploration of the Sources of the Mississippi, in 1820, p. 151.

"The Sioux language is probably one of the most barren which is spoken by any of our aboriginal tribes. Colonel Leavenworth, who made considerable proficiency in it, calculated, I believe, that the number of words did not exceed 1000. They use more gestures in their conversation than any Indians I have seen, and this is a necessary result of the poverty of their language."[1]

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[1] Schoolcraft's Exploration of the Sources of the Mississippi, in 1820, p. 430.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHIPPEWAS, POTTAWATTAMIES, AND OTTAWAS CEDE THEIR TERRITORY IN ILLINOIS AND SOUTHERN MICHIGAN.

1821.
J. MONROE,
PRESIDENT.

REFERENCE has been previously made to the immigration which commenced after the close of the war of 1814; such a transfer of population had never then been known to have occurred. In all other countries, prior to this era, civilization had proceeded with slow and measured steps; but here it moved forward with such rapid strides that the expedition of the Argonauts, the march of the Huns, or the Scythians, into Europe, sink into insignificance, when contrasted with it. Unlike those efforts, it was not a hostile inroad backed by the spear and the sword, but a peaceful movement of agriculturists, artisans, and artists. The plow, the hammer, the sickle, and the hoe, were the means of extending this vast empire, which was conquered in a very short period. Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, were matured, and entered the Union at an early day, though not without some little delay; but Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri, seemed to spring into existence as if by magic, and were admitted into the confederacy within six years after the conclusion of the treaty of Ghent. Owing to this cause the demands made on the Indians for new territory were continuous; and the circle of civilization was constantly expanding, while that of the hunter was proportionally contracting. It would be anything but a light task to trace the resulting sequence of treaties, cessions, annuities, and stipulations for the payment of coin, merchandise, seeds, implements, and cattle, to the savage, in return for his land; but, while any section of their territories abounded in game, the Indians elected to retire thither, and bestowed but little attention on either grazing or agriculture. There was, therefore, a singular concurrence in the desire of the emigrants to buy, and in the willingness of the Indians to sell, their lands.

Some of these treaties merit notice, on account of the wide-spread and beneficial influence they exercised. In the month of August, 1821, the Pottawattamies, Chippewas, and Ottowas, of Illinois and western Michigan, having been summoned to attend a council at Chicago, about 3000 persons assembled at that place. On the 17th of that month, the public conferences were opened with the chiefs, when the commissioners laid before them the business, for the transaction of which the council had been convened. Having held the appointment of Secretary to the Board of Commissioners, I have, in another work,[1] related in detail the proceedings which took place at the negotiation of this treaty. The venerable chief, Topinabee, who had been present at Greenville in 1795, where he signed the treaty then concluded, and who had also appended his name to that formed at the Rapids of the Miami in 1817, was the principal personage among the sachems and counsellors. The most conspicuous speaker was **Metea**, a Pottawattamie, from the Wabash, whose tall and slender person was disfigured by a withered arm, and his sullen dignity of manners relieved by sparkling black eyes, a good voice, and ready utterance. He was the popular speaker on this occasion, and, as he possessed considerable reflective powers, his opinions and sentiments may, perhaps, justly be regarded as those of the Algonquin tribes of his day. "My father," he said, addressing the delegated authority of the Government, "you know that we first came to this country, a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it, we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but now it is dwindled to a small spot, and you wish to purchase that. This has caused us much reflection, and we bring all our chiefs and warriors, and families, to hear you.

"Since you first came among us, we have listened with an attentive ear to your words; we have hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a favor to ask of us, our answer has been, invariably, Yes!

"A long time has passed since we came upon these lands. Our old people have all sunk into their graves; they had sense. We are all young and foolish, and would not do anything they could not approve, if living. We are fearful to offend their spirits, if we sell our lands. We are fearful to offend you, if we do not. We do not know how we can part with the land.

"Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, to hunt upon, to make corn fields to live on, and, when life is over, to spread down our beds upon, and lie down. That Spirit would never forgive us if we sold it. When you first spoke to us at St. Mary's,[2] we said we had a little land, and sold you a piece. But we told you we could spare no more; now, you ask us again. You are never satisfied. * * *

"Take notice, it is a small piece of land where we now live. It has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbors. We have now hardly enough to cover the bones of our tribe."[3]

Such figures of speech and expressions were very popular among the Indians, but they were delusive. They were the usual arguments employed by the hunter to justify his tetention of millions of acres, for no higher purpose than to hunt the wild animals existing thereon. A critical examination has proved that, not a single acre of the land ceded by the Indians of this latitude was under cultivation, nor fifty acres of that lying between the banks of the Wabash and Chicago; and not one solitary cornfield could be found on the tract explored between Peoria and the same place. The aboriginal population occupied the banks, not only of the Illinois, but also of its tributaries, with a few meagre villages. To the northward, their lands stretched along the shores of Lake Michigan to those of the Menomonees of Milwaukie, and the Winnebagoes of Green Bay; and westward, their undivided territories were bounded by those of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi. It was pertinently remarked by one of the commissioners, after taking an elaborate survey of the vast tracts which they possessed, that the portion actually under cultivation bore no greater proportion to the whole, than two or three flies did to the surface of the long table before them.[1] After examining the arguments adduced by the chiefs in the course of the conference, the commissioners terminated their analysis of them by alluding to the complaints made by the Indians because all persons were debarred from selling any liquor during the session of the conference. "If we wished to get your lands without paying a just equivalent for them, we have nothing to do but to get you all intoxicated, and we could purchase as much land as we pleased. You perfectly know, that when in liquor you have not your proper senses, and are wholly unfit to transact any business, especially business of so weighty a nature. When intoxicated, you may be induced to sign any paper, you then fall asleep, and, when you awake, find you have lost all your lands. But, instead of pursuing this course, we keep the whiskey from you, that you may make the best bargain for yourselves, your women, and children. I am surprised, particularly, that your OLD men should come forward, continually crying, whiskey! whiskey! whiskey!"[2]

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[1] Schoolcraft's Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi valley: New York, Collins and Hanney, 1 vol. 8vo. p. 459. Vide Proceedings of Treaties, Chap. 16, p. 337.

[2] U. S. Treaties, p. 253.

[3] Travels, pp. 341, 342.

The discussions of the conference were principally sustained by Topinabee, Metea, Metawa, and Keewaygooshkum, with more spirit, freedom, and justice of reasoning, than the Indians generally evince. Full two weeks were devoted to the discussion of the treaty, which was finally signed on the 20th of the month. By it these nations ceded 5,000,000 of acres lying within the southern boundaries of Michigan;[3] but from this tract 484 square miles were reserved for the Indians. A permanent annuity of $1000 in coin was granted, as also a limited annuity of $1500 per annum, which was designed to be used for the promotion of agriculture and the advancement of the useful arts.

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[1] Travels, p. 344.

[2] Ibid., p. 351

[3] U. S. Treaties, p. 297

SECTION SEVENTEENTH.

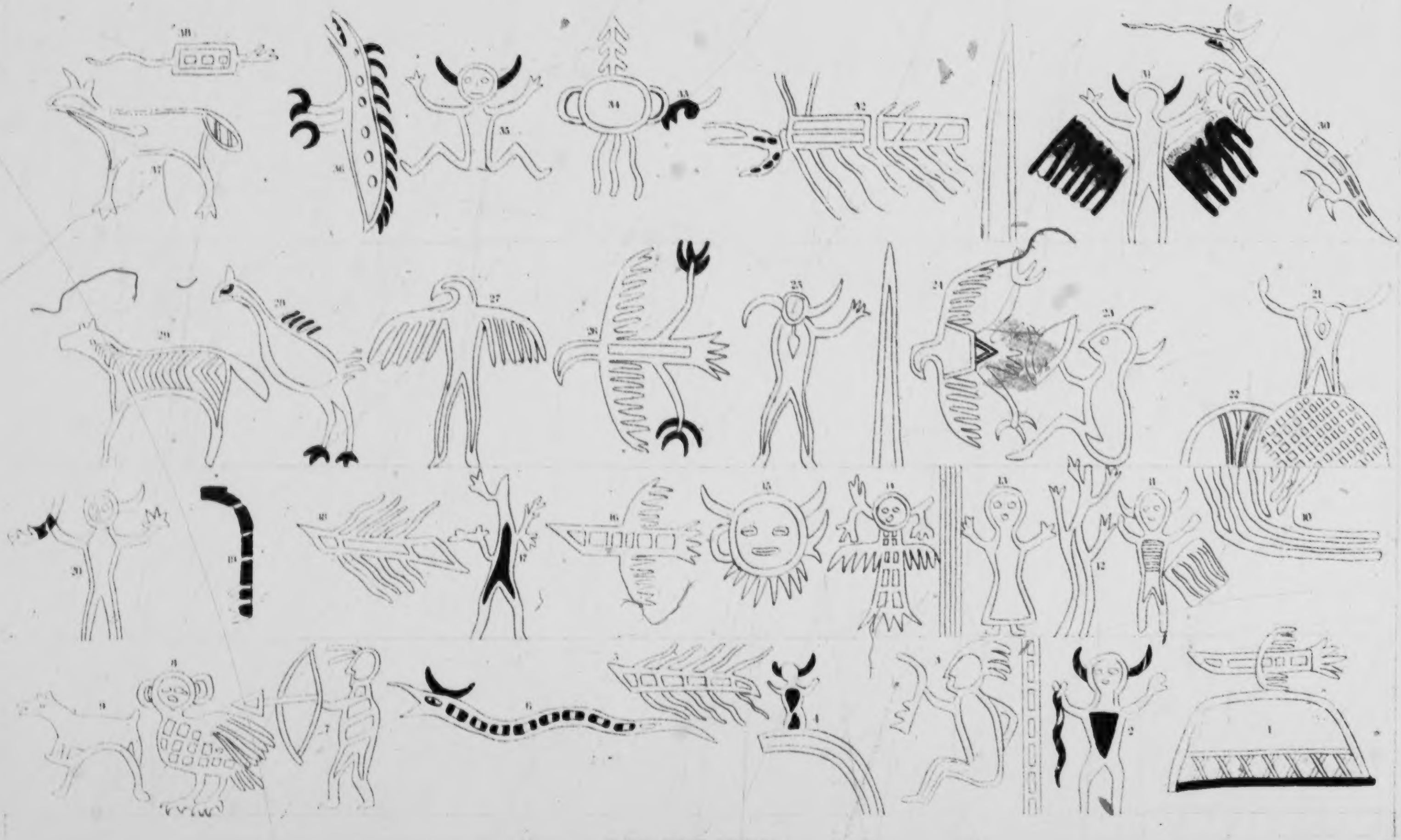
THE POLITICAL CULMINATION OF THE INDIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIANS REACH THEIR LOWEST POINT OF DEPRESSION AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR, IN 1816.

The advent of Mr. Monroe's administration, in 1817, marked a period of tranquillity in the domestic politics of the Union. Attention was devoted to the internal resources of the country; business, commercial enterprise, and science moved forward hand in hand; new and distant regions were sought out for agicultural and commercial purposes; scientific explorations of new territories were made; and geographical data were rendered valuable by minute observations on the natural history, mineralogy, geology, botany, and fauna, of the new countries. The growth, expansion, and progress of the Union, in all its elements, in a few years, were unparalleled, and the onward progress of civilization was never more accelerated during any period of our history. The Indians were regarded as a people who could not attain to a state of prosperity within the area of the old States, surrounded, as they were, on all sides, by temptations which they had not the strength of purpose to resist. They were, consequently, directed to the regions beyond the Mississippi, as to a refuge of safety and rest.

Plate 32



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A.

WABENO SONGS.

CHAPTER II.

OFFICIAL INTERCOURSE IS EXTENDED, BY ESTABLISHING AN AGENCY AMONG THE CHIPPEWAS, IN THE BASIN OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

1822.
J. Monroe,
President.

The exploratory expedition through the Great Lakes, to the sources of the Mississippi, in a few years led to the introduction of an agency among the widely-dispersed Chippewa nation, on that frontier. Owing to the rapid establishment of settlements in the valley of the Wabash, the Indian tribes inhabiting it found the middle and lower parts of it, which they had reserved for hunting-grounds, of but little or no value. As early as the year 1820, the Kickapoo and Wea tribes entered into treaty stipulations with the agent at Vincennes, by which they ceded their reservations and transferred their interests, in consideration of annuities to be paid to them at locations farther south and west. The Miamies residing on the head-waters of the Wabash had for many years reported themselves to, and received their annuities from, the superintendent of the agency at Fort Wayne. The old Vincennes agency being no longer necessary, the President, by virtue of the power vested in him to remove such agencies to new fields of duty, in the spring of 1822 transferred it to the Sault Stᵉ Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior, and appointed Mr. Schoolcraft as agent, with directions to establish an intercourse with the Chippewa nation. This officer accompanied a detachment, comprising a full battalion of the second regiment of infantry, to that remote position, arriving there on the 6th of July. Fort Brady was erected at this point. Sault Stᵉ Marie, the ancient seat of the Chippewas, had been occupied by the French as early as 1644, and became the site of one of the earliest Jesuit missions. It was from this point that D'Ablon and Marquette had, at successive periods, explored the country around Lake Superior; and the latter returned from the shores of the Great Lake to this place, prior to the establishment of the mission at Point St. Ignace and Michilimackinac. At the period of the capture of Quebec, and of the occupation of Canada by the British, in 1760, the missionary operations had been transferred to another locality; but, from the narrative of Alexander Henry's visit thither in 1760,[1] we learn that a military post was still maintained there, to protect the operations of the Indian traders, and to preserve general friendly relations with this branch of the Algonquin family of tribes. The accession of the United States to the sovereign power in this part of the Union was greatly retarded. When the lake posts were surrendered in 1796, after Wayne's war, the American flag replaced that of St. George at Michilimackinac; but the authority of the Republic was not acknowledged at Sault Ste Marie, and, in 1806, Pike found the entire Indian trade in the hands of British factors. The St. Mary's river and Lake Superior, indeed, formed the line of demarcation between the British colonies and the United States, agreeably to the original treaty of 1783, which was re-affirmed by that of Ghent, in 1814; but the line remained unsurveyed, and, consequently, many portions were disputed. Major Holmes, who visited the place in August, 1814, finding that the North-West Company, whose factory was situated at the foot of the falls, on the north shore, was exerting an influence adverse to the United States, plundered and burnt the establishment. The large private trading establishment of John Johnston, Esq., a gentleman from the north of Ireland, located on the opposite, or American shore of the falls, suffered severely at the same time; an impression prevailing that it was either connected with the North-West Factory, or that an unfriendly feeling was generated against the Union among the Chippewas, over whom Mr. Johnston had much influence. It was not until 1816, that Congress perceived that it was necessary to the preservation of peace on the frontiers, to pass an act placing this trade exclusively under the control of Americans, and forbidding its being carried on by British subjects, or the employment of British capital therein. The purpose contemplated by this measure was one which required time to accomplish. The Indians, being attached to the British rule, were slow to give their confidence to Americans.

The first important enterprise, in connection with this trade, was that of John Jacob Astor, of New York, who visited Montreal in 1816, and purchased all the property, consisting of trading-houses, boats, &c., &c., belonging to the North-West Company, located between St. Joseph's Island, and the parallel of 49° north latitude. He organized the American Fur Company, which established its central depôt and place of outfit, at Michilimackinac. An important feature in the inauguration of this new commercial enterprise, was, that the Canadian boatmen, interpreters, clerks, and subordinates employed by the company, were precisely the same persons who had previously served the North-West Company. The feelings of the Indians were not easily changed, and they were deeply prejudiced against the American character. As an illustration of this feeling, we may mention that, when Generals Brown and Macomb came to this place to reconnoitre it, in 1818, and were gratifying their taste by a short exploratory trip on Lake Superior, their boat was fired on by Indians, above the falls. On a previous page, we have evidence that, so late as the year 1820, the Chippewas, from their ancient camping-ground, on the American side of the river, attempted to resist the passage of the exploring expedition into their country.

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[1] Travels and Adventures of Alexander Henry: Albany, 1809.

It was not, therefore, an ordinary task, to induce this important tribe to acknowledge fealty to the American government. Firmness of purpose, combined with mildness of manner, were eminently necessary. The establishment of an agency, a smithy, and an armorer's shop, the supply of food to them in their necessity, and the bestowal of presents, were important means. The display of so considerable a force on the frontier, as the garrison of Fort Brady, enabled the agent to act efficiently. By acting in concurrence with the military, an effective controlling power was established. Murderers of white men were demanded from the Indians; the country was cleared of freed men, or discharged boatmen, who had taken up a permanent residence among the Indians; and none but licensed traders, with their boatmen, were permitted to pass into the country. Ardent spirits were excluded. The remote chiefs soon began to visit the agency. The Indians are very fond of making visits to distant parts of the country, and are always gratified with the comity and ceremony of diplomatic attention. The pacific results of this intercourse soon began to appear.

The agent rendered himself acceptable to the Indians by other means, which were merely incidental. He came to the country with a strong predilection for the studies of a naturalist; and, as the natives are close observers of the species of animals, birds, and organic forms, existing in their country, by requesting them to bring him any specimens of this kind which impressed them as being *new*, he aroused their interest, and afforded them a pleasurable, and not wholly unprofitable, method of making their visits agreeable. Another cause of sympathy existed. Commencing, immediately, an ardent study of the language, it furnished a theme for inquiry in intervals when the details of official business had ceased to interest; and researches into their customs, traditions, and antiquities, were made.

The principal chief at Sault Ste Marie, was a tall and dignified man, called Shingabawassin, a term (vide Plate herewith) used to designate a species of abraded stones found on the lake shores, which assume various imitative forms, and are connected, in their minds, with superstitious or mythological influences. His armorial badge was the Crane totem, the distinguishing mark of the reigning clan. Shingabawassin had, in his youth, been on the war-path; but he was at this period principally respected for his prudence and wisdom in council. He was about six feet three inches in height, straight in form, having a Roman cast of countenance, and mild manners; he was a good speaker, but prone to repetition. He had three brothers, likewise chiefs, and a large retinue of cousins-germa[illegible]nd other relatives, who generally followed him. The attainment of his good will ensured the friendship of the tribe, through whom an extensive influence was established with the interior bands.

One measure was found to be efficacious in establishing a systematic mode of doing business; this was to exclude from an interview, and to refuse to transact any business at all with drunken Indians, and not to allow any one in a state of intoxication to enter the office, or the dwelling of the agent. As whiskey was freely sold in the village, intoxication was a very prevalent vice; and, when excited, the Indian is noisy, and will endeavor to force his way into any part of the private dwelling in which he may chance to be. The agent told the Indians in a quiet way, that the President had not sent him to transact business with drunken Indians, and that such persons must never enter his office or house. He enforced this precept, soon after, by taking Shingabawassin by the shoulders, when he was in liquor, as well as very noisy, leading him to the door, and giving him a sudden push forward, which prostrated him on the ground at a little distance. If the king of the Chippewas could be so treated, it was naturally inferred that the subject might meet with harsher usage. The resulting effect was that no further trouble ever arose from this cause.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AMONG THE CHEROKEES, AND OTHER SOUTHERN TRIBES.

1823.
J. MONROE, PRESIDENT.

A GENERAL peace was concluded with the Cherokee nation on the 14th of September, 1816.[1]

As early as the year 1808, the project of drawing a dividing line between the upper and lower bands of the Cherokees was broached in this nation. The idea promulged was, to erect lines of demarcation between the hunter bands and those who wished to pursue agriculture, and adopt a more regular form of government. A deputation of both parties was sent to Washington, to obtain an interview with the President, and, as they clearly foresaw the impracticability of effecting their object while they remained in their existing location, to procure his sanction to a proposal on the part of the hunter portion to emigrate to some part of the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi, where they would be able to find game in greater abundance.

On the 9th of January, 1809, Mr. Jefferson, who was then in the presidential chair, returned the deputation an answer, and gave his sanction to this plan, in these words:

"The United States, my children, are the friends of both parties, and, as far as can be reasonably asked, they are willing to satisfy the wishes of both. Those who remain, may be assured of our patronage, our aid, and good neighborhood; those who wish to remove, are permitted to send an exploring party to reconnoitre the country on the waters of the Arkansas and White rivers; and the higher up the better, as they will be the longer unapproached by our settlements, which will begin at the mouths of those rivers. The regular districts of the government of St. Louis are already laid off to the St. Francis.

"When this party shall have found a tract of country suiting the emigrants, and not claimed by other Indians, we will arrange with them and you for an exchange of that for a just portion of the country they leave, and to a part of which, proportioned to their numbers, they have a right. Every aid towards their removal, and what will be necessary for them there, will then be freely administered to them; and, when established in their new settlements, we shall still consider them as our children, give them the benefit of exchanging their peltries for what they will want at our factories,[1] and always hold them firmly by the hand."[2]

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 199.

This sanction to the emigration of a part of the Cherokees, may be considered as the initiatory step in the plan of a general removal of the tribes from the old States to the westward of the Mississippi; one, however, which required the national experience of sixteen years to guarantee and fully adopt.

At the Cherokee agency, on the 8th of July, 1817, this measure received the sanction of the commissioners[3] appointed to treat with the nation.[4] This treaty made provision for the proper distribution of the annuities of the tribes between the East and West Cherokees, and also for taking a full and perfect census of the whole nation, during the following year. Other stipulations and agreements were entered into, discords of opinion respecting the faithful and prompt execution of which, have been the occasion of the internal dissensions which have distracted that nation. From the treaty concluded by Mr. Calhoun with the nation, at Washington, on the 27th of February, 1819,[5] we learn that the census prescribed for the year 1818 was not taken. New boundary-lines were designated for the Cherokee territories lying east of the Mississippi; a fund was set apart for the use of schools; and a division of the national annuities made; it being agreed that one-third of the amount should be paid to the Cherokees west of the Mississippi, and the other two-thirds to those residing east of that river. The stipulation that white emigrants should be prevented from settling on the lands situate along the Arkansas and White rivers, was renewed.[6]

The Creeks had been, after a hard struggle, subdued, rather than conquered in the war of 1814; but their disastrous defeat on the Tallapoosa, at the battle of the Horse-Shoe, March 27, was so discouraging, that they did not again venture to assume a warlike attitude. On the 9th of August, 1814,[7] they signed a treaty of peace, with a feeling of humiliation and disappointment. This treaty was, in the first instance, subscribed by Tustannuggee Thlucco, and thirty-six of the leading miccos and chiefs of both the upper and lower division of the nation. During the entire continuance of the war, considerable feeling had existed among the Americans against the Spanish and British authorities in Florida, and particularly against the traders who had furnished the Creeks with supplies of arms and ammunition. Those individuals of the nation who fled to Pensacola, after their final defeat on the Tallapoosa, did not present themselves in the council which formed this treaty, nor signify their submission by sending delegates to it. On the 6th of the following November, the southern coasts being then strictly blockaded by the enemy, the American army, as previously stated, appeared before the gates of Pensacola, and succeeded in storming that fortress. No further aid being furnished to the tribes from foreign sources, a general peace resulted. The stipulations of this treaty were subsequently carried out, and extended by another, formed March 28th, 1818,[1] and by that concluded January 8th, 1821.[2]

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[1] The factory system was not abolished by Congress till 1822.

[2] U. S. Official Treaties, p. 210.

[3] Andrew Jackson, Joseph M'Minn, and D. Meriwether.

[4] U. S. Treaties, p. 209.

[5] Ibid., p. 265.

[6] The writer passed through that tract in 1818, and found the country occupied by white hunters and trappers, who were bitterly opposed to the coming of the Cherokees.

[7] U. S. Treaties, p. 159.

The Chickasaws and Choctaws had maintained a position of neutrality during the war, but a few individuals of each tribe were present in the American camp during the Creek war; which circumstance furnishes a reason for the recital of the names of these two tribes, in the treaty of pacification with the Creek nation, signed August 8th, 1814. These tribes, as mentioned in preceding pages, lay claim to antiquity in the country; to which they migrated from the West at an early period, symbolizing the principal events of their history under the figures of a dog and a pole, or a prophet's rod.[3] The Chickasaw nation possess a tradition, which evidently refers to the landing of De Soto on the Chickasaw bluffs.[4]

The treaty entered into October 10th, 1821, with the Choctaws, may be said to have inaugurated a new and important feature in the policy of the Indian removals. Heretofore, treaties had been made for temporary purposes only; the Indians consuming the principal of their annuities, and establishing no fund, which would be beyond the reach of agrarian distribution; paying also but little regard to their permanent welfare, or their intellectual advancement. This treaty would seem to indicate their apprehension that the pressure of the surrounding white population would render it impossible for them to reside permanently east of the Mississippi river. They stipulated that the same quantity of land which they held east of that river, should be given to them west of it, and its possession guarantied. This was exclusive of a tract in the east, to be temporarily retained by them, and divided into farms, on which they were to remain until they had attained a state of civilization and advancement in industrial arts, which would qualify them for beginning their western emigration. They were also to receive temporary aid while in their present location, and after removing to the West. The most striking feature in this treaty was the appropriation of the proceeds of fifty-four sections, each one mile square, of the ceded lands, to constitute a school fund. In the same treaty, provision was made for the support of the deaf, dumb, blind, and distressed of the tribe, and for the payment of an annuity to a superannuated chief of their nation, called Mushulatubbee. Power was granted to the United States agents, to seize and destroy all ardent spirits introduced into their country; and a police force, under the name of light-horse, was authorized to act as a posse comitatus in maintaining order, and enforcing obedience to the laws.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 232.

[2] Ibid., p. 293.

[3] Vol. I., p. 309.

[4] Vol. I., Tribal Organization, p. 311.

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZATION OF AN INDIAN BUREAU.

1824.
J. MONROE,
PRESIDENT.

THE increase in the number of treaties, and of the Indian business generally, began to press so heavily on the Secretary of War, that he resolved to place this department under the charge of a person competent to manage its details, referring to him such topics as required his decision. Mr. Calhoun conferred this appointment on Thomas L. M'Kenney, Esq., as chief of the clerical staff, an office for the establishment of which Congress subsequently passed an act. Mr. M'Kenney was characterized by great amenity of manners, as well as ready business tact, and was influenced by a benevolent feeling for the Indians, whose advancement in the scale of civilization he sought to promote by every means at his command. A regular system of accountability was established in all departments of the Bureau, from the lowest to the highest officer.

From early times, a close connection had existed between the civil and military departments of Indian Affairs; and, while the tribes stood in their normal hunter state, it was difficult to manage the one, without reference to the other. Sir William Johnson, as early as 1757, only two years subsequent to his appointment as General Superintendent, had endeavored to relieve himself from the onerous duties of his office by the employment of a secretary, a man of talents and learning, who was in the habit of preparing the generic reports transmitted to the Lords of Plantations. During the war of the Revolution, and subsequent thereto, Congress managed the government of Indian affairs by entrusting it to commissioners for the North and South, who were always men of sound practical experience and judgment. The Executive documents abound in details of their acts. On the organization of the present government, in 1789, General Knox negotiated one or more treaties himself, and continued the office of commissioners. The same system prevailed from Washington's administration, through those of Adams, the elder, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; and when the Bureau was organized by Congress, it was continued under the administrations of Adams, the younger, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, and Polk, at the close of whose administration, by an act of Congress, the duty was transferred from the War Department to that of the Interior.

Among the men who have rendered long and valuable services in this department, General Harrison and General William Clark deserve especial mention. As ex-officio Superintendents of Indian Affairs, while performing the duties appertaining to the office of Governor of the Indian Territories, they negotiated a very large proportion of the treaties made between the years 1804 and 1812, with the tribes residing east and west of the Mississippi. After the close of the war, in 1815, their tact and talent in this department appear to have been inherited by, or fallen to the lot of, General Lewis Cass.

These men took the most prominent part in the negotiations with the Indians, and to them we are indebted for the permanency of our Indian relations, and for making the aborigines acquainted with the peculiar features, practices, and institutions of our government. From the time of the return of General Clark from the exploration of the Columbia river, in 1806, to the day of his death, in 1838, he was the Mæcenas of the tribes west of the Mississippi. The Indians located on the Missouri, Platte, Kansas, Osage, and Arkansas rivers, as well as those residing among the distant peaks of the Rocky mountains, were frequent and welcome visitors at the Government Council-House in St. Louis. The official records of his proceedings with the Indians have been carefully examined,[1] and are found to contain a mass of speeches and traditions, constituting a valuable collection, whence the historian may derive much information regarding the sons of the forest.

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[1] Vide Vol. I., Intellectual Capacity, p. 319; Vol. IV., Intellectual Capacity, p. 259.

CHAPTER V

PLAN OF COLONIZATION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

1825. J. MONROE, PRESIDENT.

Two diverse states of society, it is observed, cannot prosperously exist together; the stronger type must inevitably absorb or destroy the weaker. As the States increased in population, and emigration progressed westward, it became evident that the Indians could not sustain themselves amid a society whose every custom, maxim, and opinion, directly controverted their preconceived ideas. The Indians, in their tribal character, did not respect the principles of labor, temperance, or thrift, far less the teachings of Christianity; on the contrary, they not only contemned them, but they also regarded them as being adverse to their best interests. They believed, and maintained with great pertinacity, at all times and in all ages of their history, that the Great Spirit had created them a peculiar people, and bestowed upon them means of sustenance, manners, and customs, peculiarly adapted to their condition. They believed themselves to be the especial objects of his care; and they regarded their jossakeeds and prophets as a class of persons who were favored by divine revelations, and, as such, the medium through which the Deity announced his unalterable decrees. Where, as in this instance, there was no admission of error, or acknowledgment of ignorance, in arts, customs, pursuits, or opinions, secular or divine, there could be no progress in society, no aspiration after knowledge. Individual instances had occurred of Indians adopting the customs of civilized society, and embracing the truths of revelation, subsequent to the era of Manteo and Pocahontas; but the mass of the aborigines continued to live on, through centuries, without deriving any profit from contact with their civilized neighbors. Whatever may have been the sentiments and views of humanitarians, who sought to impress upon their minds the great truths set forth in the Bible, which constitutes the moral panacea for all classes and races of men, wherever dispersed over the surface of the globe, no practicable prospect of their reclamation and restoration to society was presented, after the lapse of centuries, except in their total separation from the evils surrounding them, and a concentration of the tribes, and fragments of tribes, as colonial communities, on territory specially appropriated for their use, where, under the operation of their own laws and institutions, their better qualities might develop themselves.

This plan was first suggested by Mr. Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, who, in a message communicated by him to Congress, on the 27th of January, 1825, thus invites the attention of that body to the topic:

"Being deeply impressed with the opinion, that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several States and Territories, to the country lying westward and northward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries, is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished, on conditions, and in a manner, to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes, the attention of the Government has been long drawn, with great solicitude, to the object. For the removal of the tribes within the limits of the State of Georgia, the motive has been peculiarly strong, arising from the compact with that State, whereby the United States are bound to extinguish the Indian title to the lands within it, whenever it may be done peaceably and on reasonable conditions. In the fulfilment of this compact I have thought that the United States should act with a generous spirit, that they should omit nothing which should comport with a liberal construction of the instrument, and likewise be in accordance with the just rights of those tribes. From the view which I have taken of the subject, I am satisfied, that, in the discharge of those important duties, in regard to both the parties alluded to, the United States will have to encounter no conflicting interests with either: on the contrary, that the removal of the tribes, from the territory which they now inhabit, to that which was designated in the message at the commencement of the session, which would accomplish the object for Georgia, under a well digested plan for their government and civilization, which should be agreeable to themselves, would not only shield them from impending ruin, but promote their welfare and happiness. Experience has clearly demonstrated, that, in their present state, it is impossible to incorporate them, in such masses, in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated, with equal certainty, that, without a timely anticipation of, and provision against, the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to control, their degradation and extermination will be inevitable.

"The great object to be accomplished is, the removal of those tribes to the Territory designated, on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves, and honorable to the United States. This can be done only by conveying to each tribe a good title to an adequate portion of land, to which it may consent to remove, and by providing for it there a system of internal government, which shall protect their property from invasion, and, by the regular progress of improvement and civilization, prevent that degeneracy which has generally marked the transition from the one to the other state.

"I transmit, herewith, a report from the Secretary of War, which presents the best estimate which can be formed from the documents in that Department, of the number of Indians within our States and Territories, and of the amount of lands held by the several tribes within each; of the state of the country lying northward and westward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries; of the parts to which the Indian title has already been extinguished; and of the conditions on which other parts, in an amount which may be adequate to the object contemplated, may be obtained. By this report, it appears that the Indian title has already been extinguished to extensive tracts in that quarter, and that other portions may be acquired, to the extent desired, on very moderate conditions. Satisfied, I also am, that the removal proposed is not only practicable, but that the advantages attending it, to the Indians, may be made so apparent to them, that all the tribes, even those most opposed, may be induced to accede to it at no very distant day.

"The digest of such a government, with the consent of the Indians, which should be endowed with sufficient power to meet all the objects contemplated, to connect the several tribes together in a bond of amity, and preserve order in each; to prevent intrusions on their property; to teach them, by regular instructions, the arts of civilized life, and make them a civilized people, is an object of very high importance. It is the powerful consideration which we have to offer to these tribes, as an inducement to relinquish the lands on which they now reside, and to remove to those which are designated. It is not doubted that this arrangement will present considerations of sufficient force to surmount all their prejudices in favor of the soil of their nativity, however strong they may be. Their elders have sufficient intelligence to discern the certain progress of events, in the present train, and sufficient virtue, by yielding to momentary sacrifices, to protect their families and posterity from inevitable destruction. They will also perceive that they may thus attain an elevation, to which, as communities, they could not otherwise aspire.

"To the United States, the proposed arrangement offers many important advantages in addition to those which have been already enumerated. By the establishment of such a government over these tribes, with their consent, we become, in reality, their benefactors. The relation of conflicting interests, which has heretofore existed between them and our frontier settlements, will cease. There will be no more wars between them and the United States. Adopting such a government, their movement will be in harmony with us, and its good effect be felt throughout the whole extent of our Territory, to the Pacific. It may fairly be presumed, that, through the agency of such a government, the condition of all the tribes inhabiting that vast region may be essentially improved; that permanent peace may be preserved with them, and our commerce be much extended.

"With a view to this important object, I recommend it to Congress to adopt, by solemn declaration, certain fundamental principles, in accord with those above suggested, as the basis of such arrangements as may be entered into with the several tribes, to the strict observance of which the faith of the nation shall be pledged. I recommend it, also, to Congress, to provide, by law, for the appointment of a suitable number of Commissioners, who shall, under the direction of the President, be authorized to visit, and explain to the several tribes, the objects of the Government, and to make with them, according to their instructions, such arrangements as shall be best calculated to carry these objects into effect.

"A negotiation is now depending with the Creek nation for the cession of lands held by it within the limits of Georgia, and with a reasonable prospect of success. It is presumed, however, that the result will not be known during the present session of Congress. To give effect to this negotiation, and to the negotiations which it is proposed to hold with all the other tribes within the limits of the several states and territories, on the principles and for the purposes stated, it is recommended that an adequate appropriation be now made by Congress."[1]

One of the first measures necessary in carrying this plan into effect, was to ascertain the names, positions, and numbers of the Indian tribes to be removed. Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, in communicating the subjoined information from the newly-organized Bureau of Indian Affairs, thus expresses his views of the entire feasibility of the plan:

"It appears, by the report enclosed, that there are, in the several States and Territories, not including a portion of Michigan Territory, west of Lake Michigan, and north of the State of Illinois, about 7000 Indians, and that they occupy about 77,000,000 acres of land. 71.000

"The arrangement for the removal, it is presumed, is not intended to comprehend the small remnants of tribes in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and South Carolina, amounting to 3023. To these, also, may be added the remnants of tribes remaining in Louisiana, amounting to 1313, as they are each of them so few in number, that, it is believed, very little expense or difficulty will be found in their removal, making, together, 4336, which, subtracted from the 97,000, the entire number in the States and Territories, will leave 92,664 to be removed. Of these, there are residing in the northern part of the States of Indiana, Illinois, in the peninsula of Michigan, and New York, including the Ottowas in Ohio, about 13,150; which, I would respectfully suggest, might be removed, with advantage, to the country west of Lake Michigan, and north of the State of Illinois. The climate and nature of the country are much more favorable to their habits than that west of the Mississippi; to which may be added, that the Indians in New York have already commenced a settlement at Green Bay, and exhibit some disposition to make it a permanent one; and that the Indians referred to in Indiana, Illinois, and in the peninsula of Michigan, will find, in the country designated, kindred tribes, with whom they may be readily associated. These considerations, with the greater facility with which they could be collected in that portion of the country, compared with that of collecting them west of the Mississippi, form a strong inducement to give it the preference. Should the proposition be adopted, the Indians in question might be gradually collected, as it became necessary, from time to time, to extinguish the Indian title in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, without incurring any additional expense other than what is usually incidental to such extinguishment. Deducting, then, the Indians residing in the northwestern parts of Indiana, Illinois, in Michigan, and New York, with the Ottawas in Ohio, amounting to 13,150, from 92,664, will leave but 79,514. It is proper to add that a late treaty with the Quapaws stipulates and provides for their removal, and that they may also be deducted from the number for whose removal provision ought to be made. They are estimated at 700; which, deducted from 79,514, will leave 78,814 to be removed west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, should the views of the Department be adopted.

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[1] Vol. III., Statistics and Population, p. 573.

"Of these, there are estimated to reside in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, 53,625, consisting of Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws; and claiming about 33,573,176 acres, including the claim of the Cherokees, in North Carolina; 3082 in Ohio, and in the southern and middle parts of Indiana and Illinois, consisting of Wyandots, Shawnees, Senecas, Delawares, Kaskaskias, and Miami and Eel Rivers; 5000 in Florida, consisting of Seminoles and remnants of other tribes; and the remainder in Missouri and Arkansas, consisting of Delawares, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Weas, Iowas, Piankashaws, Cherokees, Quapaws, and Osages.

"The next subject of consideration will be, to acquire a sufficient tract of country west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, in order to establish permanent settlements in that quarter, of the tribes which are proposed to be removed. The country between the Red River and the Arkansas has already been allotted to the Choctaws, under the treaty of the 18th October, 1820. The country north of the river Arkansas, and immediately west of the State of Missouri, is held almost entirely by the Osages and the Kanzas; the principal settlement of the former being on the Osage river, not far west of the western boundary of Missouri, and the latter, on the Missouri river, near Cow Island. There is a band of the Osages situated on the Verdigris, a branch of the Arkansas. Governor Clark has been already instructed to take measures to remove them from the Verdigris, to join the other bands on the Osage river. To carry this object into effect, and to extinguish the title of the Osages upon the Arkansas, and in the State of Missouri; and also to extinguish the title of the Kanzas to whatever tract of country may be necessary to effect the views of the Government, will be the first object of expenditure; and would require an appropriation, it is believed, of not less than $30,000. After this is effected, the next will be, to allot a portion of the country to each of the tribes, and to commence the work of removal. The former could be effected by vesting in the President discretionary power to make the location; and the latter, by commencing with the removal of the Cherokees, Piankashaws, Weas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares, who now occupy different tracts of country, lying in the north-western portion of the Arkansas Territory, and the south-western portion of the State of Missouri. It is believed that the Cherokees, to whom has been allotted a country lying between the Arkansas and White rivers, will very readily agree to removing their eastern boundary farther west, on the consideration that, for the lands thereby ceded, they may have assigned to them an equal quantity farther west, as they have evinced a strong disposition to prevent the settlement of the whites to the west of them. It is probable that this arrangement could be effected by an appropriation of a few thousand dollars, say five thousand, for the expense of holding the treaty. Nor is it believed that there will be any difficulty in inducing the Piankashaws, Weas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares, to occupy a position that may be assigned to them west of the State of Missouri; or that the operation will be attended with any great expense. The kindred tribes in the States of Ohio and Indiana, including the Wyandots, the Senecas, and the Miamies and Eel rivers, in those States; and the Kaskaskias, in Illinois, it is believed, might be induced, without much difficulty, to join them, after those now residing in Missouri are fixed in their new position, west of that State. Of the sum that will be necessary for this purpose, it is difficult to form an estimate. These tribes amount to 3,082. The expense of extinguishing their title to the lands occupied by them, will probably be high in comparison with the price which has been usually given for lands in that quarter, as they, particularly the Indians in Ohio, have made some advances in civilization, and considerable improvements on their lands. The better course would be, to remove them gradually, commencing with those tribes which are most disposed to leave their present settlements, and, if this arrangement should be adopted, an appropriation of $20,000 would be sufficient to commence with.

"It may, however, be proper to remark, that these tribes, together with those in New York, have indicated a disposition to join the Cherokees on the Arkansas, and that a deputation from the former, with a deputation from those Cherokees, are now on their way to the seat of government, in order to make some arrangements to carry the proposed union into effect. Should it be accomplished, it would vary the arrangement which has been suggested in relation to them, but will not, probably, materially vary the expense.

"It only remains now to consider the removal of the Indians in Florida, and the four southern tribes residing in North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

"It is believed that immediate measures need not be taken with regard to the Indians in Florida. By the treaty of the 18th September, 1823, they ceded the whole of the northern portion of Florida, with the exception of a few small reservations, and have had allotted to them the southern part of the peninsula; and it is probable that no inconvenience will be felt for many years, either by the inhabitants of Florida, or the Indians, under the present arrangement.

"Of the four southern tribes, two of them, the Cherokees and Choctaws, have already allotted to them a tract of country west of the Mississippi. That which has been allotted to the latter is believed to be sufficiently ample for the whole nation, should they emigrate; and if an arrangement, which is believed not to be impracticable, could be made between them and the Chickasaws, who are their neighbors, and of similar habits and dispositions, it would be sufficient for the accommodation of both. A sufficient country should be reserved to the west of the Cherokees, on the Arkansas, as a means of exchange with those who remain on the east. To the Creeks might be allotted a country between the Arkansas and Canadian river, which limits the northern boundary of the Choctaw possessions in that quarter. There is now pending with the Creeks a negotiation, under the appropriation of the last session, with a prospect, that the portion of that nation which resides within the limits of Georgia may be induced, with the consent of the nation, to cede the country which they occupy for a portion of the one which it is proposed to allot for the Creek nation, on the west of the Mississippi. Should the treaty prove successful, its stipulations will provide for the means of carrying it into effect, which will render any additional provision at present unnecessary. It will be proper to open new communications with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, for the purpose of explaining to them the views of the government, and inducing them to remove beyond the Mississippi, on the principles and conditions which may be proposed to the other tribes. It is known that there are many individuals of each of the tribes who are desirous of settling west of the Mississippi; and, should it be thought advisable, there can be no doubt, that if, by an adequate appropriation, the means were afforded the Government of bearing their expense, they would emigrate. Should it be thought that the encouragement of such emigration is desirable, the sum of $40,000, at least, would be required to be appropriated for this object, to be applied under the discretion of the President of the United States. The several sums which have been recommended to be appropriated, if the proposed arrangements should be adopted, amount to $95,000. The appropriation may be made either general or specific, as may be deemed most advisable.

"I cannot, however, conclude without remarking, that no arrangement ought to be made which does not regard the interest of the Indians, as well as our own; and that, to protect the interest of the former, decisive measures ought to be adopted, to prevent the hostility which must, almost necessarily, take place if left to themselves, among tribes hastily brought together, of discordant character; and many of which are actuated by feelings far from being friendly towards each other. But the preservation of peace between them will not alone be sufficient to render their condition as eligible in their new situation as it is in their present. Almost all of the tribes proposed to be affected by the arrangement are more or less advanced in the arts of civilized life, and there is scarcely one of them which have not benefited by the establishment of schools in the nation, affording at once the means of moral, religious, and intellectual improvement. These schools have been established, for the most part, by religious societies, with the countenance and aid of the Government; and, on every principle of humanity, the continuance of similar advantages of education ought to be extended to them in their new residence. There is another point which appears to be indispensable to be guarded, in order to render the condition of this race less afflicting. One of the greatest evils to which they are subject, is that incessant pressure of our population, which forces them from seat to seat, without allowing time for that moral and intellectual improvement for which they appear to be naturally eminently susceptible. To guard against this evil, so fatal to the race, there ought to be the strongest and the most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs, as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity, without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens. To such assurance, if there should be added a system by which the Government, without destroying their independence, would gradually unite the several tribes under a simple but enlightened system of government and laws, formed on the principles of our own, and for which, as their own people would partake in it, they would, under the influence of the contemplated improvement, at no distant day become prepared, the arrangements which have been proposed would prove, to the Indians and their posterity, a permanent blessing. It is believed that, if they could be assured that peace and friendship would be maintained among the several tribes; that the advantages of education which they now enjoy would be extended to them; that they should have a permanent and solemn guarantee for their possessions, and receive the countenance and aid of the Government for the gradual extension of its privileges to them; there would be among all the tribes a disposition to accord with the views of the Government. There are now, in most of the tribes, well educated, sober, and reflecting individuals, who are afflicted at the present condition of the Indians, and despondent at their future prospects. Under the operation of existing causes, they behold the certain degradation, misery, and even the final annihilation of their race, and, no doubt, would gladly embrace any arrangement which would promise to elevate them in the scale of civilization, and arrest the destruction which now awaits them. It is conceived that one of the most cheap, certain, and desirable modes of effecting the object in view would be, for Congress to establish fixed principles, such as have been suggested as the basis of the proposed arrangement, and to authorize the President to convene, at some suitable point, all of the well-informed, intelligent, and influential individuals of the tribes to be affected by it, in order to explain to them the views of the Government, and to pledge the faith of the nation to the arrangements that might be adopted. Should such principles be established by Congress, and the President be vested with suitable authority to convene the individuals, as proposed, and suitable provision be made to meet the expense, great confidence is felt that a basis of a system might be laid, which, in a few years, would entirely effect the object in view, to the mutual benefit of the Government and the Indians, and which, in its operations, would effectually arrest the calamitous course of events to which they must be subject, without a radical change in the present system. Should it be thought advisable to call such a convention, as one of the means of effecting the object in view, an additional appropriation of $30,000 will be required; making, in the whole, $125,000 to be appropriated."

The following additional details were presented by the newly-created Bureau of Indian Affairs.[1]

"There is no land assigned, as will be seen on reference to the table, to the Indians in Louisiana; yet, it is believed, the Caddoes have a claim, but to what extent is not known. So, also, have the Cherokees (whose numbers are not known), to a tract in the north-west corner of the State of North Carolina; which, it is believed, does not exceed 200,000 acres. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and perhaps in Maryland, a few Indians are remaining; but how many, or what quantity of land is owned by them, if any, there are no means of ascertaining.

"There are now remaining, within the limits of the different States and Territories, as is shown by the table, sixty-four tribes and remnants of tribes of Indians, whose "names" and "numbers" are given; who number, in the aggregate, 129,266 souls; and who claim 77,402,318 acres of land.

"It will be seen, by adverting to the table, that the Indians residing north of the State of Illinois, east of the Mississippi, and west of the Lakes, are comprehended in the estimate of the number in Michigan Territory; although, in estimating the quantity of land held by Indians in that territory, the portion only so held in the Peninsula of Michigan, is estimated. It was found impossible, from any documents in possession of this office, to distinguish the number of Chippewas and Ottawas residing in the peninsula of Michigan from those residing on the west side of Lake Michigan. It is, however, believed, that the whole number residing in the peninsula does not exceed 3500; and these, as has been stated, are principally of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes.

"It may be proper also to remark that, of the 6400 Sacs and Foxes, who are included in the estimate as part of the 129,266, and who occupy lands on both sides the Mississippi, not more than one-third of that number are supposed to reside on the east side; and, of the 5200 Osages, who, by the table, are assigned to Missouri and Arkansas, it is believed not more than one-third of that number reside within the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas. If, therefore, the number assumed for the peninsula of Michigan be correct, and two-thirds of the Sacs and Foxes, as is believed to be the fact, reside on the west of the Mississippi, and two-thirds of the Osages west of Missouri, and north of Arkansas, there will remain "within the limits of the different States and Territories,"—confining the Michigan Territory to the peninsula—97,384 Indians, possessing (if the 200,000 acres, which are believed to be claimed by the Cherokees in North Carolina, be added), 77,602,318 acres of land.

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[1] Letter of Thomas L. M'Kenney, January, 10th, 1825.

"In obtaining this information, resort has been had, for the "names" and "numbers" of the Indian tribes, to the reports to this office, and to other sources of information, which are deemed to be the most accurate; and, for the quantity of land claimed by them, to the files of this office; to the General Land Office; and to computations carefully made from the best maps, by Colonel Roberdeau, of the Topographical Bureau.

"The 4,000,000 of acres assumed as the quantity claimed by the Cherokees in Arkansas, although but an estimate, is believed to be nearly correct. The precise quantity, however, cannot be ascertained until it is known how much they ceded on this side the Mississippi, for which, by the treaty of 1817, they are to receive an equal number of acres on the other.

CHAPTER VI.

REMOVAL POLICY. CREEK DIFFICULTIES. DEATH OF THE CHIEF, GENERAL M'INTOSH. TREATY FOR THEIR FINAL SETTLEMENT.

1825.
J. Monroe,
President.

The treaties concluded, respectively, with the Cherokees, July 8th, 1817, with the Choctaws, October 18th, 1820, and with the Creeks, January 8th, 1821, constituted the primary steps towards the removal of the aborigines to the lands west of the Mississippi. Under these treaties, the hunter portions of these tribes voluntarily, and of their own accord, assumed the initiative, and made preparations for their migration to the Arkansas territory. The hunter bands, as contradistinguished from the agricultural bands of the Southern or Appalachian group of tribes, were the first to perceive that this land must be their national refuge. Hence the provision in the first article of the Choctaw treaty stipulates that they should be furnished with a western tract, "where all, who live by hunting, and will not work, may be collected and settled together."[1] This proviso was the natural suggestion of the Indian mind; oxen, ploughs, and implements of handicraft, were not attractive objects to the aborigines, who delighted in the pursuits of the chase, which were hallowed in their memories by reminiscences of their fathers. The whites did not so readily perceive that the stock of wild animals must soon decline, and the chase prove unreliable in the regions east of the Mississippi; or, if they did foresee this result, they were slow to propose the scheme of a general removal. But the Executive power favored such migrations as originated with the Indians themselves; and insensibly, perhaps, the system of removal became the policy of the Government. When it was discussed on its merits, and began to be put in operation, it became evident that the West was not only an outlet to the hunter population, but that all the means necessary for their improvement in arts, and progress in education also, in order to be permanently beneficial, must be applied in that quarter. Driven from their original residences, or from the reservations in the States, their attainments in civilization were shared with those portions of the tribes resident in the West; and all the tribes were thus, in a measure, assimilated in manners and arts.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 287.

The question of removal became one of much interest, and was freely discussed in all parts of the Union; the ardent friends of the Indians maintaining that it would have a tendency to make them retrograde toward barbarism; while the advocates for removal contended that it would be accompanied by the beneficial effects referred to. Another question of a grave character arose at the same time, viz.: the claim to sovereignty, asserted by some of the most advanced tribes, over the districts they inhabited. This claim was, however, principally confined to the Creeks, who had received a powerful national impulse during the occupancy of Florida by Great Britain. Their prominent chiefs had become wealthy planters through the medium of the labors of fugitive African slaves, from the contiguous States, who cultivated for them crops of cotton and corn. The result was, that they not only amassed riches, but also attained to a correspondent mental elevation, which led to the introduction of two classes among this, and other southern tribes, and produced an aversion to transferring their lands to Georgia, and emigrating westward.

The people of Georgia, feeling the expansive force of their population, clamored for the Creek lands, the Indian title to which the United States had promised to give them, as soon as it could be obtained. The Creeks, when they began to appreciate the benefits of civilization, through their experience of the agricultural and school systems, resisted all offers to cede their territory. A law, which was eventually passed by their council, was enacted, that if any one of the chiefs or rulers should sign a treaty ceding lands, he should incur the penalty of death.

General William M'Intosh, the presiding chief of the Cowetas tribe of the Lower Creeks, subjected himself to the penalty by signing the treaty of February 12th, 1825. The penalty was enforced by the dissenting part of the tribes, in a peculiar manner. They did not arraign and try the guilty party, but a large number of armed warriors surrounded his house, and poured into it an indiscriminate fire, so that the onus of the murder might not rest on any one individual. Fifty other chiefs, warriors, and head men, had signed the same treaty, but they were not held accountable; doubtless, on the Indian principle, that a crime should be revenged on the real instigator of it, whether he or another committed the act.

The United States made no attempt to carry this treaty into effect. Mr. Monroe, in a message previously quoted, mentions the difficulty which surrounded the subject, and expresses a hope that the negotiations with the tribe, then in progress, would result favorably. Agreeably to this intimation, a treaty was concluded at Indian Springs, in the Creek nation, March 7, 1825, three days after the expiration of Mr. Monroe's presidential term. This instrument was designed to enable the Government to comply with its contract of April 24, 1802, to transfer the Indian title to Georgia, as well as to remove the existing dissatisfaction with the treaty of February 12, 1825. But neither object was attained; Mr. Monroe went out of office, leaving the Creek controversy unadjusted.

CHAPTER VII.

ASSUMPTION OF THE RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY BY THE CREEKS, IN OPPOSITION TO GEORGIA.

1825. J. Q. ADAMS, PRESIDENT.

THE Creek question attained its highest point of interest about this time. Public opinion was much divided; some siding with the Indians in their assertion of the right of sovereignty within the territorial area of Georgia, and others as decidedly opposing it, as a new and inadmissible claim. Mr. Adams, who succeeded to the Presidency, directed the attention of the War Department to the subject, and authorized Mr. Barbour, the Secretary of War, to confer with the Creek chiefs. By the treaty concluded at Hopewell, in 1785, the United States had undertaken to extinguish and transfer the Creek title to the State of Georgia, at the earliest practicable moment. But the lapse of time only made the Indians cling more closely to the land. The period for the chase had passed away, and the plow began to be appreciated. The experience of forty years had so operated as to give them a more definite and just idea of its value, and they now undertook to ignore the laws of Georgia, and to dispute her sovereignty over the country. The political aspects of the controversy had been communicated to Congress, during the last few months of Mr. Monroe's second term. He had bestowed enlarged thought on the subject, and recommended the only plan which appeared adequate, at once to meet the question of the certain decadence and extinction of the tribes in the States, and to provide for their ultimate welfare and prosperity. Such was the origin of the Creek controversy.

Mr. Adams exerted himself to bring this vexed question to an equitable close; the Creek nation, and the people of the Union being much agitated by its discussion, and the friends of the Indians apprehensive that some great injustice was about to be done them. Georgia having demanded their expulsion, the Creeks appealed to the Government, and, early in the year 1826, sent a large and respectable delegation to Washington, to represent their cause. Negotiations were renewed, and resulted in the formation of the important treaty, signed January 24, 1826,[1] the first article of which abrogates the prior treaty of February 12, 1825, and declares every clause thereof "null and void, to every intent and purpose whatsoever."[1] By this treaty the Creeks ceded large tracts of their lands in Georgia, and agreed to remove to the West. The M'Intosh party, and all who signed the objectionable treaty, were reinstated in their just rights, and permitted to send a delegation to locate lands for their party in the West. A perpetual additional annuity of $20,000 was granted, and the Creeks agreed to remove within one year. Other stipulations were included in the treaty, which was in the highest degree liberal. The removal policy was thus sustained.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 391.

Under the authority of the treaty-making power, the President continued to receive such cessions of the exhausted and surplus tracts of all the tribes, situated east of the Mississippi, as they felt inclined to make, in view of the final relinquishment of their possessions and transfer to the West.

The treaty of January 24, 1826,[2] was the first effective step taken towards the transference of the Indian tribes to the West. This treaty, negotiated by Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War, made very extensive cessions of territory, retaining, however, important reserves for the Indians, who were confined to their particular localities. The followers of General M'Intosh, who had fallen in the contest about the land, were indemnified for the damages sustained by them, and a deputation of that part of the nation agreed to visit and examine the country, west of the Mississippi, designed for their residence. This treaty, which secured important advantages to the Eastern Creeks, was the initial movement toward a compromise.

It is impossible to conceive, unless by a perusal of the numerous public documents printed at that period, how numerous and complicated were the difficulties surrounding this subject.[3] Some of the tribes, more advanced in civilization than the rest, regarded it as an endeavor to drive them back into barbarism, and the moral tone of the community also sympathized with this view. The diurnal press, as well as the critical reviews, asserted that the Indian question had reached a point where it became necessary to pause, and ponder on the duties which the nation owed to the tribes, who, though at that time acting under delusive impulses, should be regarded with deeper sympathy, not only as our predecessors in the country, but also as individuals in whom Christianity felt a deep interest. It was then, as it still is, an unsettled question, whether these wandering, forsaken, and benighted sons of the forest, were not the probable descendants of the Abramic stock, whose history is inseparably connected with the destinies of the human race.

At this time, it appeared that nothing but the removal of the tribes from the jurisdictions of the several States to a separate territory, where they would be free from molestation, could avert their entire annihilation at no very distant period. Portions of the Cherokees seem to have realized their true condition as early as the year 1809, when they obtained Mr. Jefferson's sanction to their proposal, which was subsequently embodied in the treaty negotiated in 1816. From a clause of the treaty with the Shawnees, negotiated by General Clark in 1825, we learn that a small fragment of that tribe had crossed the Mississippi into upper Louisiana, and there located themselves on a tract of land twenty-five miles square, granted to them by Governor Carondolet, as early as 1795. This movement which was at first merely precautionary, and intended to furnish an outlet for their restless population west of the Mississippi, was followed by several other tribes at a later date, and at various epochs it became a portion of the tribal policy of the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the majority of the Cherokees, and finally, of the Creeks. Yet the dispersed hunter tribes, living on large reservations in the western and northern States, east of the Mississippi, regarded the measure with total aversion. They clung with tenacity to the land of their forefathers, in those latitudes, where the varying climate, and the happy alternation of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, gave a piquancy to the enjoyment of life. The chase was the poetry of their existence, war the true path to honor, and the traditions and reminiscences of their forefathers the proper intellectual food of the Indian mind. Books were for scholars, and labor for slaves. This was Indian philosophy.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 392.

[2] Ibid., p. 391.

[3] Vide Public Documents of the Senate of the United States, Vols. I., II., III., and IV.: Washington, Blair and Rives, 1840.

But, while the Indian indulged in his day-dreams, the race which labored at the plow, the anvil, and the loom, and chained the rippling and murmuring streamlet to the revolving wheel of the saw and grist mill, were rapidly encompassing him with the bonds of civilized life. There were then no railroads, but the steady and rapid advance of civilization foreshadowed their approach. The plan of removing and concentrating the Indian population was no sooner announced, than it was warmly advocated as the proper mode of arresting their decline and averting their final extinction. The result of careful scrutiny into their condition and future prospects by the President, whom they regarded as their great political father, was a provision, while yet the means were at hand, for their future prosperity and permanent welfare. As such, the plan was detailed to the tribes by the officers charged with the care of Indian affairs; not, however, with a view of forcing it upon them, but of submitting it to their calm consideration and decision.

The Indian, ignorant alike of history and of the progress of society, required time to consider any new propositions advanced, and to realize his own true position. All the northern tribes expressed fears as to the healthfulness of the southern latitudes, being accustomed only to the bracing northern seasons, and to the customs and arts of northern hunters. Their very mythology, singular as it may seem, warned them of the seductive manners and habits of the South.[1] It was a difficult matter for them to exchange their established customs for others entirely at variance with them.

The intestine wars and feuds of the Indians had been one of the principal causes of their decline, and, in some cases, of their utter destruction. These wars, which had no limits to their fury, and were waged without any ostensible object, began before America was discovered, and continued, at fitful intervals, throughout every period of aboriginal history. They have, in fact, exercised a more baneful influence on the prosperity of the Indian race, than any or all other causes combined, with the single exception of their passionate craving for ardent spirits. Efforts were frequently made to put a stop to these intestine wars, and as frequently defeated; but after the close of the war of 1812 they were again vigorously resumed. Mr. Monroe made strenuous efforts to enforce this policy throughout the entire eight years of his administration. The several expeditions of Long, Cass, and Schoolcraft, to the sources of the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, to the sources of the Arkansas and Red rivers, to those of other principal streams, and to the central portions of the Mississippi valley, in 1820, '21, and '22, had promoted this purpose, by accumulating accurate geographical statistics of the Indian territory, its inhabitants, and its resources. The visit of the venerable Dr. Jedediah Morse to the lake tribes, in 1820, to learn their dispositions, feelings, and social and moral condition, had the same tendency.[1] This period witnessed a practical renewal of the explorations originated by Mr. Jefferson in 1804. A more intimate acquaintance with the Indians afforded that knowledge of their peculiar habits which was necessary to their proper management, and to induce them to abandon their hunter mode of life, and adopt the more elevating pursuits of civilization.

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[1] Legends of Hiawatha. Bokwewa, p. 269.

As internal tribal wars were continually distracting the Indians, one tribe trespassing on the lands of another, and as the civilized population was, at the same time, pressing into the ceded districts, it was thought by the Government that one of the most practical methods of allaying their territorial disputes would be to establish definite boundary-lines between their possessions; a method of settling their difficulties which had never occurred to the Indians.

A series of conventions held with the Indian chiefs of the western and north-western tribes, marked the early part of Mr. Adams' administration; the first, and most important of which assembled at Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi, during the summer of 1825, under the auspices of General William Clark, the general superintendent at St. Louis, and of Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan, *ex officio* superintendent of the northern Department. This convention was attended by the Mendawacanton and Yanton Dakotahs, or Sioux, of the St. Peter's and the Plains, the Chippewas and Pillagers, of the sources of the Mississippi, and the Sacs, Foxes, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Menomonees, Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies, of the Lakes and the Illinois river. Maps, drawn on birch bark, giving the outlines of their hunting-grounds, were exhibited by the several tribes, and, after a full discussion with each of their respective agents, a treaty of peace and limitation was signed by them, August

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[1] Morse's Report to the Secretary of War, 1 vol. 8vo., 400 pp.: New Haven, S. Converse, 1822.

29, 1825.[1] The principles here annunciated were carried out by a similar convention of chiefs, which assembled at Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior, in 1826, and was attended by the chiefs of that region.

A treaty was signed by these representatives of the northern tribes, which established peaceful relations among the Indians, and definitely settled the boundary lines of their territories up to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude.[2] Under a treaty of a similar character, a convention was held at *Butte des Morts*, on Fox river, for the purpose of settling the north-eastern boundary between the Menomonees and Chippewas, and certain bands of the Oneidas and Stockbridges, better known by the designation of New York Indians, which resulted in the signing of a treaty at this place, August 11th, 1827.[3]

These treaties with the hunter tribes of the North secured for them accurate boundaries, and the acknowledgment by the United States, as well as by the other tribes, of their claims to the territory. They were likewise of the greatest advantage to them in their subsequent history, and served to teach them the benefits of system, when they began to exchange their surplus lands for annuities in goods and coin.

While the treaty of Butte des Morts was under consideration, the Winnebagoes committed some hostile acts at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi. They there fired into a boat, plundered several individuals, and endeavored practically to enforce an obsolete idea, that they had a right to interdict merchandise from passing the portage of the Wisconsin, without receiving some acknowledgment therefor, in the nature of toll. General Cass, who, as one of the Commissioners, was then in the vicinity, immediately embarked in his light canoe, manned by skilful Canadians, crossed the portage, and, entering the Mississippi river, journeyed night and day until he reached St. Louis, whence he returned with a body of troops, whose sudden appearance prevented any further trouble from this source.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 371.

[2] Ibid., p. 396.

[3] Ibid., p. 412.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRADUAL TRANSFERENCE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION TO THE WEST.

All causes of intestine quarrels and dissensions were ultimetely removed, during Mr. Adams' administration, by the negotiation of treaties defining the boundaries between the tribes;[1] and the policy of western migration was promoted by the force of convincing argument.

1828.
J. Q. Adams,
President.

The primary arrangements for the expatriation of the Cherokees and Choctaws had been commenced by the Indians themselves in 1817 and 1820. Their transference to the West was, however, a tedious operation, and only undertaken after a thorough exploration of their new territory had been made. The Indian exercises great caution, and is never in a hurry in the transaction of business; he must have time to think. One after another, the tribes residing in the southern and middle, and, finally, to a considerable extent, those in the northern latitudes, adopted the plan, and accepted locations west of the Mississippi, for those surrendered on the east of that river. It was an object to preserve pacific relations with those indigenous tribes in the west, on whose territories the eastern tribes were to be concentrated, and who yet possessed the title to the soil. These stern lords of the wilderness, the Osages, the Quappas, the Kanzas and their compeers, required to be kept at peace not only with the United States, but also with each other, and with the tribes emigrating from the east of the Mississippi. Parties of the migrating Indians required, from time to time, to be directed to the places on which they were to reside; and to be furnished with the means of beginning life there. It was likewise necessary that their annuities, derived from former cessions of country, should be apportioned between the eastern and western divisions of the tribes, in accordance with their respective numbers. Sometimes, the tribes settled in positions, whence their restless spirit induced them to remove and re-locate elsewhere. Murders not unfrequently occurred, and frontier wars were only prevented by judicious negotiations, military watchfulness, and by the system of compensation, customary among the Indians. These onerous official duties were ably performed by the veteran Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. The most important tribes of the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois Indians, had so far entered into arrangements for their removal, as to have sent out either pioneers or emigrant parties. Early in the month of April, 1827, Ellksattawa, the Shawnee prophet, arrived at St. Louis, from Wahpakenetta, with the Shawnee tribe, on their route to the West. This was the celebrated man, who, assuming the prophetic office, had, in 1811, incited the aborigines to wage the war against the United States, in which the Indian hosts were led to battle by Tecumseh. This war, instead of originating a new era of prosperity for the Indians, and limiting the advance of civilization, as Ellksattawa had assured them, had produced the diametrically opposite effect. After the defeat and death of Tecumseh, the prophet had himself fled to Canada, where he lived for some years, until the long continuance of peace removed all apprehension of further mischief from his oracular voice, when General Cass permitted him to return to his tribe at Wahpakenetta, where his people, having directed their attention to farming, and the raising of horses and cattle, had made considerable advance in arts, industry, and civilization. He was a man of original ideas, strong purpose, and much natural shrewdness, and was well adapted, by his easy manners, and by habits of extreme abstemiousness, as well as by his total lack of selfishness, to attract the favor of the Indians. In stature, he was considerably above the average height, his body was very spare, and his countenance always wore an austere aspect, which, with the loss of one eye, over which he constantly wore a patch or blind, tended to more deeply impress the Indians with an idea of his sanctity of character. His revelations were promulged with all that careful attention to manner, circumstance, time, and place, necessary to ensure them full credit; and but few men of his class, possessing such marked peculiarities, have figured in Indian history. Bowed down with the accumulated weight of years, he was now the leader of his tribe in their journey to a land of refuge; and, as such, was received by the Superintendent, and officials at the West, with friendship, respect, and kindness.

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[1] Treaties of Prairie du Chien, 1825, Fond du Lac, 1826, and Butte des Morts, 1827.

Assuming an oratorical attitude, he said, in effect, "that he had come, in obedience to the desire of the President, whose wishes had been communicated by the agent. His Great Father at Washington had seen that the Shawnees owned but a small piece of land, and that the whites were pressing upon them so much that they could not long remain on it in prosperity. That, to ensure their preservation, and enable them again to become a great nation, he would give them a new location in the West, where the sun shone as brightly, and the soil was as rich, on which they might live forever, under their own laws. He had advised them to send a party to view it, and judge of its fitness. He had promised to sustain them on the way, and pay them for their improvements, orchards, and agricultural implements left behind. They received this voice as the voice of wisdom and kindness. They regarded it as one with the voice of the Great Spirit, which he had himself heard. It came over the Alleghanies as the pleasing sound of many waters. The old men at first objected to the plan. At last, the young men reviewed the subject, and said, let us go and look at the land. He had got up and came with his people. There were 200 persons with him. There were some left behind, who would also come. They did not come of their own motion. It was the great Ruler of the land who sent them. It was his promises that he came to test. He now asked that they should be carried out. They were hungry, and had worn out most of their clothes. Their horses were lean and poor. They must rest to gain strength."[1]

The removal of all the Indians to the west of the Mississippi went forward, partly by their own volition, and partly under the influence of the Government officials. The movement was founded on the strength of treaty stipulations alone. The more closely the plan was examined by both white and red men, the more favor it received. Congress was much interested in the project, and several acts were presented to the consideration of both Houses, which had for their object to facilitate and give the force of legal security to the plan. February 1st, 1825, the Senate passed a bill "for the preservation and civilization of the Indian tribes within the United States;" but it failed to receive the sanction of the House of Representatives. December 27th of the same year, the House instructed their Committee on Indian Affairs, to devise a plan for allotting to each tribe a sufficiency of land, "with the sovereignty, or right of soil, in the same manner that the right of domain is secured to the respective States of the Union." In January, 1826, the bill brought forward in the House, at the previous session, was referred to the Secretary of War, with the view of obtaining such information as the subject demanded. Mr. Barbour made a very elaborate report, but no final action was taken in the matter. The principles then discussed were, however, incorporated in the treaty formed May 8th, 1828, with the Cherokees, which secured to that nation a permanent home in the West, under the most solemn guaranty of the United States, by which this territory was granted to them forever, with an appended stipulation that they should be provided with plain laws, and the individuality of the right to the land acknowledged whenever it should be desired.

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[1] MSS. Letters and Speech Book of the Superintendency. Vol. A., p. 103, *nobis*.

CHAPTER IX.

GEOGRAPHICAL PHENOMENA. SOIL, CLIMATE, AND TERRITORIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE PROPOSED INDIAN COLONIES.

1829.
J. Q. Adams,
President.

The suitability and the amplitude of the territory selected as a refuge for the Indians, were topics often mooted, and as frequently denied. Situate on the great geological slope of the Rocky Mountains, in latitudes but seldom visited, except by the hunter and the traveller, information regarding this territory was not easily accessible. Being remote, and in a measure unknown, its condition was easily misrepresented; and there were not wanting some, who supposed that the tribes were not only to be removed west of the jurisdictions of the States and Territories, but also beyond the isothermal limits, where the absence of arable soils had effectually barred the production of forest trees. General William Clark, the veteran explorer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, disabused the public of this notion, in a report which he made to the Government in the year 1825. "The great body of the cession," he observes, "lies west of Missouri and Arkansas, and is so extensive that, after leaving the country of the Kanzas and Osages, a district sufficient for their permanent residence, and after furnishing homes for the tribes, whose accommodation was the immediate object of the Government, and locating the Creeks, it will still leave enough to enable them to furnish permanent residences for other tribes in different States, who may be willing to remove to the West, in pursuance of the system for the gradual removal and collocation of the Indians.

"I find, from information derived from persons to be relied upon, that the country embraced in these cessions, is WONDERFULLY ADAPTED TO AN INDIAN POPULATION IN THE FIRST STAGES OF CIVILIZATION. Grass is universally abundant, and the winters, in a great portion of the cession, mild enough to winter cattle, horses, and other domestic animals, to subsist themselves without care from their owners. On all creeks and rivers, there are bottoms of rich lands, easily prepared for cultivation. The country is divided into woodland and prairie — but mostly prairie, and is well watered by springs and running streams, and is convenient to salt plains, and springs of salt water, from which an inexhaustible supply of salt can be obtained. It is also convenient to the great Buffalo range, from which supplies can be obtained, until they can resort to their own flocks."[1]

In 1830, during a subsequent presidency, General Eaton, Secretary of War, thus indicates his concurrence in these views: "As it regards the inquiry relative to the soil, climate, and productions of the country, all the information that has been obtained from persons who have visited this portion of our territory, leads to the conclusion that, in nothing of these is it inferior to the country proposed to be abandoned on the east of the Mississippi. It is for the most part, an open prairie country, fertile and easy to be cultivated, with timber sufficient for all agricultural purposes, and which is vigorously and freely reproduced in the prairies when they are settled and trodden by the stock. The climate is mild and agreeable, and produces cotton to advantage throughout that portion of it where it is proposed to locate the southern tribes."[2]

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[1] Indian Congressional Documents, Vol. IV. Document No. 91, p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

SECTION EIGHTEENTH.

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE COLONIZATION PLAN.—1831 TO 1841.

CHAPTER I.

CONGRESS AUTHORIZES THE COLONIZING OF THE INDIANS IN THE WEST.

1829. A. Jackson, President.

Every year increased the pressure of civilization on the Indian tribes; the tide of white emigration rolled westward with ever-increasing volume. For the Indians, the era of the chase had passed away forever, and they had now the alternative of employing themselves manfully in the pursuits of agriculture and the arts, or of perishing from indolence and want; to remain where they then were, within the jurisdiction of the States, was impossible. In his first message to Congress, delivered at the close of the year 1829, General Jackson introduced the subject in a very forcible manner.

"The condition and ulterior destiny of the Indian tribes within the limits of some of our States, have become subjects of much interest and importance. It has long been the policy of Government, to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. This policy has, however, been coupled with another, wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have, at the same time, lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them further into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but been led to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its expenditures upon the subject, Government has constantly defeated its own policy; and the Indians, in general, receding further and further to the West, have retained their savage habits. A portion, however, of the southern tribes, having mingled much with the whites, and made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. These States, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians; which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection.

"Under these circumstances, the question presented was, whether the General Government had a right to sustain those people in their pretensions? The Constitution declares, that 'no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, without the consent of its legislature. If the General Government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate State within the territory of one of the members of this Union, against her consent, much less could it allow a foreign and independent government to establish itself there. Georgia became a member of the Confederacy which eventuated in our Federal Union, as a sovereign State, always asserting her claim to certain limits; which, having been originally defined in her colonial charter, and subsequently recognised in the treaty of peace, she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States, in the articles of cession of 1802. Alabama was admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original States, with boundaries which were prescribed by Congress. There is no constitutional, conventional, or legal provision, which allows them less power over the Indians within their borders, than is possessed by Maine or New York. Would the people of Maine permit the Penobscot tribe to erect an independent government within their State? and, unless they did, would it not be the duty of the General Government to support them in resisting such a measure? Would the people of New York permit each remnant of the Six Nations within her borders, to declare itself an independent people, under the protection of the United States? Could the Indians establish a separate republic on each of their reservations in Ohio? and if they were so disposed, would it be the duty of this Government to protect them in the attempt? If the principle involved in the obvious answer to these questions be abandoned, it will follow that the objects of this Government are reversed; and that it has become a part of its duty to aid in destroying the States which it was established to protect.

"Actuated by this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Georgia and Alabama, that their attempt to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the Executive of the United States; and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or submit to the laws of those States.

"Our conduct towards these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct, and others have left but remnants, to preserve, for a while, their once terrible names. Surrounded by the whites, with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay; the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delaware, is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them, if they remain within the limits of the States, does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honor demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity. It is too late to inquire whether it was just in the United States to include them and their territory within the bounds of new States, whose limits they could control. That step cannot be retraced; a State cannot be dismembered by Congress, or restricted in the exercise of her constitutional power. But the people of those States, and of every State, actuated by feelings of justice, and a regard for our national honor, submit to you the interesting question, whether something cannot be done, consistently with the rights of the States, to preserve this much injured race?

"As a means of effecting this end, I suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory, now formed, to be guarantied to the Indian tribes, as long as they shall occupy it: each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier, and between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization; and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and to attest the humanity and justice of this Government.

"This emigration should be voluntary: for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed that, if they remain within the limits of the States, they must be subject to their laws. In return for their obedience, as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems visionary for me to suppose, that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain, or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the State, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population."[1]

In the month of May, 1830, Congress passed an act, authorizing the necessary exchanges and purchases of lands from the indigenous tribes west of the Mississippi. This act legalizes the removal of the Indians, guaranties them the possession of their new lands, and agrees to defend them in their sovereignty; grants compensation for improvements made on their late possessions, and appropriates $500,000, with which to commence the removal of the tribes.[1]

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[1] Indian Congressional Documents, Vol. IV. Doc. 1., p. 15.

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[1] An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any Territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any State or organized Territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from every other.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so as to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the States or Territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the Territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the States or Territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians. is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the State within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: *Provided always*, That such lands shall revert to the United States, if the Indians become extinct, or abandon the same.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And upon the payment of such valuation, the improvements so valued and paid for, shall pass to the United States, and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and assistance to be furnished to the emigrants as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to, and settle in, the country for which they may have exchanged; and also, to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe or nation to be protected, at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act, the sum of $500,000 is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

Approved, May 28, 1830.

CHAPTER II.

POLICY OF THE REMOVAL OF THE TRIBES TO THE WEST.

1830. In his message to Congress, sent to that body on the 4th of December, 1830, President Jackson again presented this topic to their notice, and, with an appreciative sense of its importance, solicited for it their mature consideration. "It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements, is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress; and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes, also, to seek the same obvious advantages.

"The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments, on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north, and Louisiana on the south, to the settlement of the whites, it will incalculably strengthen the south-western frontier, and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasion without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way, and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government, and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits, and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community. These consequences, some of them so certain, and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.

"Toward the aborigines of the country, no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits, and to make them a happy and prosperous people. I have endeavored to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and powers of the General Government in relation to the State authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the States within the scope of their reserved powers, they are not responsible to this Government. As individuals, we may entertain and express our opinions of their acts; but as a Government, we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws to foreign nations.

"With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes have, with great unanimity, determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river. Treaties have been made with them, which, in due season, will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these treaties, they were made to understand their true condition; and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the western forests to submitting to the laws of the States in which they now reside. These treaties, being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterized by great liberality on the part of the Government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

"Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and, one by one, have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race, and to tread on the graves of extinct nations, excites melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes, as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the West, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated, or has disappeared, to make room for the existing savage tribes.[1] Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests, and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms; embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute; occupied by more than twelve millions of happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

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[1] This question will be examined in the sequel.

"The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward; and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did, or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land, our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children, by thousands, yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy, that our country affords scope, where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds, and almost thousands of miles, at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new home from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

"And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States, and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

"In the consummation of a policy originating at an early period, and steadily pursued by every administration within the present century, so just to the States, and so generous to the Indians, the Executive feels it has a right to expect the co-operation of Congress, and of all good and disinterested men. The States, moreover, have a right to demand it. It was, substantially, a part of the compact which made them members of our confederacy. With Georgia there is an express contract; with the new States an implied one, of equal obligation. Why, in authorizing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama to form constitutions, and become separate States, did Congress include within their limits extensive tracts of Indian lands, and, in some instances, powerful Indian tribes? Was it not understood, by both parties, that the power of the States was to be co-extensive with their limits, and that, with all convenient despatch, the General Government should extinguish the Indian title, and remove every obstruction to the complete jurisdiction of the State governments over the soil? Probably not one of those States would have accepted a separate existence, certainly it would never have been granted by Congress, had it been understood that they were to be confined forever to those small portions of their nominal territory, the Indian title to which had, at the time, been extinguished.

"It is, therefore, a duty which this government owes to the new States, to extinguish, as soon as possible, the Indian title to all lands which Congress themselves have included within their limits. When this is done, the duties of the General Government, in relation to the States and Indians within their limits, are at an end. The Indians may leave the State or not, as they choose. The purchase of their lands does not alter, in the least, their personal relations to the State Government. No act of the General Government has ever been deemed necessary to give the States jurisdiction over the persons of the Indians. That they possess, by virtue of their sovereign power within their own limits, in as full a manner before as after the purchase of the Indian lands; nor can this Government add to or diminish it.

"May we not hope, therefore, that all good citizens, and none more zealously than those who think the Indians oppressed by subjection to the laws of the States, will unite in attempting to open the eyes of those children of the forest to their true condition; and, by a speedy removal, to relieve them from the evils, real or imaginary, present or prospective, with which they may be supposed to be threatened."[1]

Obvious as these views were, to men familiar with history, and the civil polity of nations, the Indians were slow to comprehend, and loth to admit them. Meantime, Georgia and Alabama sedulously pressed the subject on the notice of the Government, which, at length made provision for the settlement of the question, as a necessary measure for preserving the quiet, and promoting the prosperity of the States. Time was, however, required to adjust the controversy; the discussions, meantime, being continued with vigor. One year later,[2] the Executive again presented the subject to Congress, and acquainted them of the progress of the experiment, at the same time expressing his decided conviction, that colonization was the only feasible method of relieving both the States and the Indian tribes from their constantly accumulating embarrassments.

"Time and experience have proved that the abode of the native Indian within their limits is dangerous to their peace, and injurious to himself. In accordance with my recommendation at a former session of Congress, an appropriation of $500,000 was made, to aid the voluntary removal of the various tribes beyond the limits of the States. At the last session, I had the happiness to announce that the Chickasaws and

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[1] Indian Congressional Documents, Vol. V., Doc. 1., p. 19.

[2] Message, 6th December, 1831.

Choctaws had accepted the generous offer of the Government, and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river, by which the whole of the State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, will be freed from Indian occupancy, and opened to a civilized population. The treaties with these tribes are in a course of execution, and their removal, it is hoped, will be completed in the course of 1832.

"At the request of the authorities of Georgia, the registration of Cherokee Indians for emigration has been resumed, and it is confidently expected that one half, if not two-thirds, of that tribe, will follow the wise example of their more westerly brethren. Those who prefer remaining at their present homes, will hereafter be governed by the laws of Georgia, as all her citizens are, and cease to be the objects of peculiar care on the part of the General Government.

"During the present year, the attention of the Government has been particularly directed to those tribes in the powerful and growing State of Ohio, where considerable tracts of the finest lands were still occupied by the aboriginal proprietors. Treaties, either absolute or conditional, have been made, extinguishing the whole Indian title to the reservations in that State; and the time is not distant, it is hoped, when Ohio will be no longer embarrassed with the Indian population. The same measure will be extended to Indiana, as soon as there is reason to anticipate success.

"It is confidently believed that perseverance for a few years in the present policy of the Government will extinguish the Indian title to all lands lying within the States comprising our Federal Union, and remove beyond their limits every Indian who is not willing to submit to their laws. Thus will all conflicting claims to jurisdiction between the States and the Indian tribes be put to rest. It is pleasing to reflect that results so beneficial, not only to the States immediately concerned, but to the harmony of the Union, will have been accomplished by measures equally advantageous to the Indians. What the native savages become when surrounded by a dense population, and by mixing with the whites, may be seen in the miserable remnants of a few eastern tribes, deprived of political and civil rights, forbidden to make contracts, and subjected to guardians, dragging out a wretched existence, without excitement, without hope, and almost without thought.

"But the removal of the Indians beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the States, does not place them beyond the reach of philanthropic aid and Christian instruction. On the contrary, those whom philanthropy or religion may induce to live among them in their new abode, will be more free in the exercise of their benevolent functions, than if they had remained within the limits of the States, embarrassed by their internal regulations. Now, subject to no control but the superintending agency of the General Government, exercised with the sole view of preserving peace, they may proceed umolested in the interesting experiment of gradually advancing a community of American Indians from barbarism to the habits and enjoyments of civilized life."[1]

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[1] Indian Congressional Documents, Vol. VI. Doc. 2, p. 11.

CHAPTER III.

EFFECTS OF THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE STATES, ON THE INDIAN TRIBES WHO HAD LONG LIVED IN JUXTAPOSITION WITH THEM. THE POLICY TO BE PURSUED.

1831.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

PETITIONS were presented to Congress in favor of the rights of the Indians, and also remonstrances against their removal, some of which were the elaborate productions of benevolent societies, while others emanated from distinguished individuals. The citizens of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania took a prominent part in these efforts. In the autumn of this year,[1] the Secretary of War, to whom was entrusted the execution of the act of March 28, 1830, presented a comprehensive report to Congress, in which the subject is viewed in all its aspects, speculative and practical, theoretical and demonstrative.

"The condition and prospects of the aboriginal tribes within the limits of the United States, are yet the subjects of anxious solicitude to the Government. Circumstances have occurred within a few years, which have produced important changes in the intercourse between them and us. In some of the States, they have been brought within the operation of the ordinary municipal laws, and their regulations have been abrogated by legislative enactments. This procedure renders most of the provisions of the various acts of Congress upon this subject inoperative; and a crisis in our Indian affairs has evidently arrived, which calls for the establishment of a system of policy adapted to the existing state of things, and calculated to fix, upon a permanent basis, the future destiny of the Indians. Whatever change may be contemplated in their condition or situation, no one will advocate the employment of force or improper influence in effecting it. It is due to the character of the Government and the feelings of the country, not less than to the moral and physical imbecility of this unhappy race, that a spirit of kindness and forbearance should mark the whole course of our intercommunication with them. The great object, after satisfying ourselves what would best ensure their permanent welfare, should be to satisfy them of the integrity of our views, and of the wisdom of the course recommended to them. There is enough in the retrospect for serious reflection on our part, and for unpleasant recollection on theirs; and it is only by a dispassionate examination of the subject, and by prudent and timely measures, that we can hope to repair the errors of the past by the exertions of the future.

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[1] Indian Congressional Documents, Vol. VI. Doc. 2., p. 27.

"The Indians, who are placed in immediate contact with the settled portions of the United States, have now the alternative presented to them, of remaining in their present positions, or of migrating to the country west of the Mississippi. If they are induced to prefer the former, their political condition becomes a subject of serious consideration. They must either retain all those institutions, which constitute them a peculiar people, both socially and politically, or they must become a portion of that great community which is gathering around them, responsible to its laws, and looking to them for protection.

"Can they expect to maintain that *quasi* independence they have heretofore enjoyed? and, could they so maintain it, would the privilege be beneficial to them?

"The right to extend their laws over all persons living within their boundaries, has been claimed and exercised by many of the States. The Executive of the United States has, on full consideration, decided that there is no power in that department, to interpose any obstacle to the assumption of this authority. As upon this co-ordinate branch of the Government devolves the execution of the laws, and particularly many of the most important provisions in the various acts regulating intercourse with the Indians, it is difficult to conceive how these provisions can be enforced, after the President has determined they have been abrogated by a state of things inconsistent with their obligations. How prosecutions can be conducted, trespassers removed by military power, and other acts performed, which require the co-operation of the Executive, either in their initiation or progress.

"I do not presume to discuss this question; I find it determined, and the settled policy of the Government already in operation. Whatever diversity of opinion there may be upon the subject, those who are most opposed to these views will probably admit that the question is a doubtful one, complicated in its relations, and pregnant with serious consequences. The claim of exemption from the operation of the State laws, which is presented in favor of the Indians, must rest upon the Constitution of the United States, upon natural right, or upon conventional engagements. If upon the former, it may be doubted whether that instrument contains any grant of authority to the General Government, which necessarily divests the State Legislatures of their jurisdiction over any class of people, living within their respective limits. The two provisions which can alone bear upon the subject, seem to have far different objects in view. If the claim rest upon natural right, it may be doubted whether the condition and institutions of this rude people do not give, to the civilized communities around whom and among whom they live, the right of guardianship over them; and whether this view is not fortified by the practice of all other civilized nations, under similar circumstances, a practice which, in its extent and exercise, has varied from time to time, as the relative circumstances of the parties have varied; but of whose limitations the civilized communities have been, and must be, the judges. And, besides, if the Indian tribes are independent of the State authorities, on account of the natural and relative rights of both, these tribes are equally independent of the authorities of the United States. The claim, upon this ground, places the parties in the attitude of entire independence; for the question, then, is not how we have divided our political power between the confederated Government and its members, and to which we have entrusted the exercise of this supervisory authority, but whether the laws of nature give to either any authority upon the subject. But, if the claim rest upon alleged conventional engagements, it may then be doubted whether, in all our treaties with the Indian tribes, there is any stipulation incompatible with the exercise of the power of legislation over them. For if there were, the legislative power of Congress, as well as that of the respective States, would be annihilated, and the treaties alone would regulate the intercourse between the parties. But, on a careful investigation, it will probably be found that, in none of our treaties with the Indian tribes, is there any guaranty of political rights incompatible with the exercise of the power of legislation. These instruments are generally either treaties of peace, or of cession. The former restore and secure to the Indians interests of which they were deprived by conquest; and the latter define the boundaries of cessions or reservations, and prescribe the terms and consideration, and regulate generally the principles of the new compact. In both, every sound rule of construction requires, that the terms used should be expounded agreeably to the nature of the subject-matter, and to the relations previously subsisting between the parties. If general expressions are not controlled by these principles, then the term 'their land,' or, as it is elsewhere called, 'their hunting grounds,' instead of meaning what our own negotiators, and the Indians themselves, understood, that possessory right which they have heretofore enjoyed, would at once change our whole system of policy, and leave them as free to sell, as it would individuals or nations to buy, those large, unappropriated districts, which are rather visited than possessed by the Indians.

"It may be remarked, that all rights secured by treaty stipulations are wholly independent of this question of jurisdiction. If the Indians are subject to the legislative authority of the United States, that authority will no doubt be exercised so as not to contravene those rights. If they are subject to the respective States, such, too, will be the course of legislation over them. And if, unadvisedly, any right should be impaired, the Indians have the same resort as our own citizens to the tribunals of justice for redress; for the law, while it claims their obedience, provides for their security. The supremacy of the State governments is neither inconsistent with our obligations to the Indians, nor are these necessarily impaired by it. It may be difficult to define precisely the nature of their possessory right, but no one will contend that it gives them the absolute title of the land with all its attributes; and every one will probably concede that they are entitled to as much as is necessary to their comfortable subsistence. If we have entered into any stipulations with them, of which, however, I am not aware, inconsistent with the limited powers of the Government, or interfering with paramount obligations, the remedy is obvious. Let ample compensation be made to them by the United States, in a spirit of good faith and liberality. The question would be one, not of pecuniary amount, but of national character and national obligations.

"That we may neither deceive ourselves nor the Indians, it becomes us to examine the actual state of things, and to view these as they are, and as they are likely to be. Looking at the circumstances attending this claim of exemption on the one side, and of supremacy on the other, is it probable that the Indians can succeed in their pretensions? The nature of the question, doubtful, to say the least of it; the opinion of the Executive; the practice of the older States, and the claims of the younger ones; the difficulties which would attend the introduction into our system of a third government, complicated in its relations, and indefinite in its principles; public sentiment, naturally opposed to any reduction of territorial extent or political power; and the obvious difficulties inseparable from the consideration of such a great political question, with regard to the tribunal, and the trial, the judgment, and the process; present obstacles which must all be overcome before this claim can be enforced.

"But could the tribes, and the remnants of tribes, east of the Mississippi, succeed in the prosecution of this claim, would the issue be beneficial to them immediately or remotely?

"We have every reason to believe it would not; and this conclusion is founded on the condition and character of the Indians, and on the result of the efforts which have been made by them, and for them, to resist the operation of the causes that yet threaten their destruction.

"I need not stop to illustrate these positions. They are connected with the views which will be found in the sequel of this report. And it is not necessary to embarrass a subject already too comprehensive.

"A change of residence, therefore, from their present positions to the regions west of the Mississippi, presents the only hope of permanent establishment and improvement. That it will be attended with inconveniences and sacrifices, no one can doubt. The associations which bind the Indians to the land of their forefathers are strong and enduring; and these must be broken by their migration. But they are also broken by our citizens, who every day encounter all the difficulties of similar changes in the pursuit of the means of support. And the experiments which have been made satisfactorily show that, by proper precautions and liberal appropriations, the removal and establishment of the Indians can be effected with little comparative trouble to them or us. Why, then, should the policy of this measure be disputed, or its adoption opposed? The whole subject has materially changed, even within a few years; and the imposing considerations it now presents, and which are every day gaining new force, call upon the Government and the country to determine what is required on our part, and what course shall be recommended to the Indians. If they remain, they must decline, and eventually disappear. Such is the result of all experience. If they remove, they may be comfortably established, and their moral and physical condition ameliorated. It is certainly better for them to meet the difficulties of removal, with the probability of an adequate and final reward, than, yielding to their constitutional apathy, to sit still and perish.

"The great moral debt we owe to this unhappy race is universally felt and acknowledged. Diversities of opinion exist respecting the proper mode of discharging this obligation, but its validity is not denied. And there certainly are difficulties which may well call for discussion and consideration.

"For more than two centuries we have been placed in contact with the Indians; and if this long period has been fruitless in useful results, it has not been so in experiments having in view their improvement. Able men have been investigating their condition, and good men attempting to improve it. But all these labors have been as unsuccessful in their issue as many of them were laborious and expensive in their progress.

"The work has been aided by governments and communities, by public opinion, by the obligations of the law, and by the sanction of religion. But its history furnishes abundant evidence of entire failure, and everything around us upon the frontiers confirms its truth. The Indians have either receded as our settlements advanced, and united their fragments with some kindred tribe, or they have attempted to establish themselves upon reservations, in the vain hope of resisting the pressure upon them, and of preserving their peculiar institutions. Those who are nearest to us have generally suffered most severely by the debasing effects of ardent spirits, and by the loss of their own principles of restraint, few as these are, without the acquisition of ours; and almost all of them have disappeared, crushed by the onward course of events, or driven before them. Not one instance can be produced, in the whole history of the intercourse between the Indians and the white men, where the former have been able, in districts surrounded by the latter, to withstand successfully the progress of those causes which have elevated one of these races and depressed the other. Such a monument of former successful exertion does not exist.

"These remarks apply to the efforts which have been heretofore made, and whose history and failure are known to us. But the subject has been lately revived with additional interest, and is now prosecuted with great zeal and exertion; whether with equal effect, time must show. That most of those engaged in this labor are actuated by pure and disinterested motives, I do not question; and if, in their estimate of success, they place too high a value upon appearances, the error is natural to persons zealously engaged in a task calculated to enlist their sympathies and awaken their feelings, and has been common to all who have preceded them in this labor of philanthropy, and who, from time to time, have indulged in anticipations of the most signal success, only to be succeeded by disappointment and despondency.

"That these exertions have recently been productive of some advantage, may well be admitted. A few have probably been reclaimed from abandoned habits, and some, perhaps, have really appreciated the inestimable value of the doctrines which have been taught them. I can speak from personal observation only of the northern and north-western tribes. Among them, I am apprehensive the benefits will be found but few and temporary. Of the condition of the Cherokees, who are said to have made greater advances than any of their kindred race, I must judge from such information as I have been able to procure. Owing to the prevalence of slavery and other peculiar causes among them, a number of the half-breeds and their connexions, and perhaps a few others, have acquired property, and with it, some education and information. But I believe the great mass of the tribe is living in ignorance and poverty, subject to the influence of the principal men, and submitting to a state of things with which they are dissatisfied, and which offers them no rational prospect of stability and improvement.

"The failure which has attended the efforts heretofore made, and which will probably attend all conducted upon similar principles, may be attributed partly to the inherent difficulty of the undertaking, resulting from characteristics peculiar to the Indians, and partly to the mode in which the operations have been conducted.

"Without entering into a question which opens a wide field for inquiry, it is sufficient to observe that our primitive people, as well in their habits and opinions as in their customs and pursuits, offer obstacles almost insurmountable to any considerable and immediate change. Indolent in his habits, the Indian is opposed to labor; improvident in his mode of life, he has little foresight in providing or care in preserving. Taught from infancy to reverence his own traditions and institutions, he is satisfied of their value, and dreads the anger of the Great Spirit if he should depart from the customs of his fathers. Devoted to the use of ardent spirits, he abandons himself to its indulgence without restraint. War and hunting are his only occupations. He can endure without complaining the extremity of human suffering; and if he cannot overcome the evils of his situation, he submits to them without repining. He attributes all the misfortunes of his race to the white man, and looks with suspicion upon the offers of assistance that are made to him. These traits of character, though not universal, are yet general; and the practical difficulty they present, in changing the condition of such a people, is to satisfy them of our sincerity, and the value of the aid we offer; to hold out to them motives for exertion; to call into action some powerful feeling, which shall counteract the tendency of previous impressions. It is under such circumstances, and with these difficulties in view, that the Government has been called upon to determine what arrangements shall be made for the permanent establishment of the Indians. Shall they be advised to remain or remove? If the former, their fate is written in the annals of their race; if the latter, we may yet hope to see them renovated in character and condition by our example and instruction, and by their exertions.

"But, to accomplish this, they must be first placed beyond the reach of our settlements, with such checks upon their disposition to hostilities as may be found necessary, and with such aid, moral, intellectual, and pecuniary, as may teach them the value of our improvements and the reality of our friendship. With these salutary precautions, much should then be left to themselves, to follow such occupations in the forest or the field as they may choose, without too much interference. Time and prosperity must be the great agents in their melioration. Nor have we any reason to doubt but that such a condition would be attended with its full share of happiness, nor that their exertions would be stimulated by the security of their position, and by the new prospects before them. By encouraging the severalty of soil, sufficient tracts might be assigned to all disposed to cultivate them; and, by timely assistance, the younger class might be brought to seek in their farms a less precarious subsistence than is furnished by the chase. Their physical comforts being increased, and the desire of acquisition brought into action, a moral stimulus would be felt by the youthful portion of the community. New wants would appear, and new means of gratifying them; and the great work would thus commence, and, commencing, would go on.

"To its aid, the truths of religion, together with a knowledge of the simpler mechanic arts, and the rudiments of science, should then be brought; but, if our dependence be first placed upon these, we must fail, as all others have failed, who have gone before us in this field of labor. And we have already fallen into this error of adapting our efforts to a state of society, which is probably yet remote among the Indians, in withdrawing so many of the young men from their friends, and educating them at our schools. They are there taught various branches of learning, and, at some of these institutions, a partial knowledge of the mechanic arts, and of the principles of agriculture. But, after this course of instruction is completed, what are these young men to do? If they remain among the whites, they find themselves the members of a peculiar caste, and look round them in vain for employment and encouragement; if they return to their countrymen, their acquirements are useless: these are neither understood nor valued; and, with the exception of a few articles of iron, which they procure from the traders, the common work of our mechanics is useless to them. I repeat, what is a young man, who has been thus educated, to do? He has no means of support, no instruments of agriculture, no domestic animals, no improved farm. Taken in early life from his own people, he is no hunter; he cannot find in the chase the means of support or exchange; and that, under such circumstances, he should abandon himself to a life of intemperance, can scarcely excite our surprise, however it must our regret. I have been earnestly asked by these young men, how they were to live? and I have felt that a satisfactory answer was beyond my reach. To the Government, only, can they look for relief; and, if this should be furnished, though in a moderate degree, they might still become useful and respectable; their example would be encouraging to others, and they would form the best instructors for their brethren.

"The general details of a plan for the permanent establishment of the Indians west of the Mississippi, and for their proper security, would require much deliberation; but there are some fundamental principles, obviously arising out of the nature of the subject, which, when once adopted, would constitute the best foundation for our exertions, and the hopes of the Indians.

"1. A solemn declaration, similar to that already inserted in some of the treaties, that the country assigned to the Indians shall be theirs as long as they or their descendants may occupy it, and a corresponding determination that our settlements shall not spread over it; and every effort should be used to satisfy the Indians of our sincerity, and of their security. Without this indispensable preliminary, and without full confidence on their part in our intentions, and in our abilities to give these effect, their change of position would bring no change of circumstances.

"2. A determination to exclude all ardent spirits from their new country. This will, no doubt, be difficult; but a system of *surveillance* upon the borders, and of proper police and penalties, will do much towards the extermination of an evil which, where it exists to any considerable extent, is equally destructive of their present comfort and their future happiness.

"3. The employment of an adequate force in their immediate vicinity, and a fixed determination to suppress, at all hazards, the slightest attempt at hostilities among themselves.

"So long as a passion for war, fostered and encouraged as it is by their opinions and habits, is allowed free scope for exercise, it will prove the master spirit, controlling, if not absorbing all other considerations. And if, in checking this evil, some examples should become necessary, they would be sacrifices to humanity, and not to severity.

"4. Encouragement to the severalty of property, and such provision for its security, as their own regulations do not afford, and as may be necessary for its enjoyment.

"5. Assistance to all who may require it in the opening of farms, and in procuring domestic animals and instruments of agriculture.

"6. Leaving them in the enjoyment of their peculiar institutions, as far as may be compatible with their own safety and ours, and with the great objects of their prosperity and improvement.

"7. The eventual employment of persons competent to instruct them, as far, and as fast as their progress may require, and in such manner as may be most useful to them."

The Indian, although slow to investigate and decide, began to regard the plan with favor; and the better he understood it, the more did he approve of it. From this period, increased activity and efficiency was imparted to the colonization project.

April 4, 1832,[1] the Creeks entered into a treaty with the Secretary of War, by which they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi, to the United States Government, in consideration for a grant of 7,000,000 acres in the Indian territory, west of that river, to which they agreed to remove at the earliest practicable period.

At Payne's Landing, on the Oclawaha river, May 9, 1832, the Seminoles ceded all their lands in Florida, and agreed to migrate to the country of the Creeks, west of the Mississippi, there to reunite themselves with this cognate tribe.[2] This treaty provided for the immediate payment of $15,000 in cash, and the sum of $7000 was agreed to be paid as a reimbursement to owners of fugitive slaves. This, and other features of the treaty, the Seminoles did not, on reflection, deem satisfactory; and it has been referred to as one of the original causes of the Florida war.

October 11, 1832, the Appalachicolas renewed a prior agreement to remove to the west of the Mississippi, and to surrender the tract on which they lived, at the mouth of the Appalachicola river.[3] The Chickasaws, finding themselves surrounded by adverse circumstances, followed these examples by ceding, October 20, 1832, their entire territories east of the Mississippi river. This convention, concluded at, and known as the treaty of, Pontitock Creek, is remarkable for the introduction of a stipulation of a new character. The Chickasaws direct that the lands ceded be subdivided and sold for their benefit in the Land Office of the United States, which provision manifests more reflection and forecast than the tribes have generally evinced, and, in effect, has secured their future prosperity and independence.[4]

October 24, 1832, the Kickapoos, by the treaty of Castor Hill, in Missouri,[5] acceded to the plan of removal. On the 26th of October, the Pottawattamies ceded their lands in Indiana, taking in payment annuities in money, and agreed to accept a location in the Indian territory, west of the Mississippi. On the 26th of the same month, the Shawnees and Delawares, near Cape Girardeau, ceded their old Spanish location in that quarter, with the view of removing west,[6] and the same day the Piankashaws and Peorias also accepted a location in that region.[7] On the 29th, the Weas gave their assent to the project.[8] On the same day the Senecas and Shawnees, of the Neosho, relinquished the title to their lands, the more perfectly to accommodate themselves to the plan.[9]

Without these details it is impossible to form an adequate idea of the class of duties which originated from this scheme of colonization. The labor was incessant, and required to be renewed year after year. It was difficult to satisfy the Indians, as they were ignorant of all the primary elements of knowledge, and very suspicious of the white man's arts. Knowing nothing of the first principles of geometry, space and quantity were estimated in gross. To reduce miles to acres, roods, chains, and links, was an art requiring arithmetical accuracy. They had, likewise, no correct or scientific standard of value for coins. They required to be located and re-located, informed and re-informed, paid and re-paid. This was more especially the case with the hunter tribes, whose standard of value had not long previously been a beaver skin, and whose land measure had been a day's or a half day's walk.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 497.
[2] Ibid., p. 500.
[3] Ibid., p. 512.
[4] Ibid., p. 513.
[5] Ibid., p. 532.
[6] Ibid., p. 539.
[7] Ibid., p. 547.
[8] Ibid., p. 556.
[9] Ibid., p. 558.

BLACK HAWK.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

1832.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

WHILE the removal of the tribes from the south-west to their new location in the West was proceeding prosperously, a sudden and unexpected difficulty arose with some tribes residing along the banks of the Upper Mississippi.

The remote key-note of the war-song had been sounded by the Wyandot, Shawnee, and Delaware prophets in 1783, by Ellksattawa in 1812, and by the Creek prophets in 1814. The Government of the Union had, in various ways, been apprised of the dissatisfaction and threatened hostility of the Sacs, and their co-tribe, the Foxes. The Sac chief, Black Hawk, or Muccodakakake (Plate VIII.), was born in 1767, at the Sac village, on Rock river, Wisconsin.[1] His grandfather had lived near Montreal, whence his father, Pyesa, had emigrated to the boundless and attractive field of the great West. Black Hawk was one of those dreamers and fasters, of the aboriginal race, who mistake the impressions of dreams for revelations of the Great Spirit. In his own person he united judgment with courage, and had acquired much influence in the Indian councils. Pyesa having emigrated to the West while Great Britain exercised sway over it, his preference for that power was very decided. His son, inheriting the same views, kept up the bias by annual visits to Malden, where presents were distributed by the British Indian Department to the tribes, whether residents of the United States, or not. Tales of British supremacy, of their Indian policy, and of the grasping and acquisitive spirit of the Americans, have been circulated for years by every foreign subordinate in the Indian territory, who has selfish aims to promote thereby, and who is, at the same time, indebted to the clemency of the American system for permission to remain in the country, the policy of which he traduces. Black Hawk had brooded over the early history of his tribe, and, to his view, as he looked down the vista of years, the former times appeared so much better than the present, that the vision wrought upon his susceptible imagination, which pictured it to be the Indian golden age. He had some remembrance of a treaty made by General Harrison in 1804, to which his people had not given their assent; and his feelings were with difficulty controlled when he was desired to leave the Rock River valley, in compliance with a treaty made with General Scott. That valley, however, he peacefully abandoned, with his tribe, on being notified, and went to the west of the Mississippi; but he had spent his youth in that locality, and the more he thought of it the more determined he was to return thither. He readily enlisted the sympathies of the Indians, who are ever prone to ponder on their real or imaginary wrongs; and it may be readily conjectured that what Indian counsel could not accomplish, Indian prophesy would. Without doubt he was encouraged in his course by some tribes, who finally deserted him and denied their complicity, when he took up arms and began to experience reverses. Black Hawk claimed to have such relations with the Foxes, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Kickapoos, and others. Early in 1831 he sent a symbolical miniature tomahawk, made of wood, and smeared with vermilion, to the principal war-chief of the Chippewas. This warlike invitation was received at the Chippewa agency, Sault Ste Marie, at the lower end of Lake Superior, and a report of the effort to enlist the Chippewas in this confederacy communicated to the Government at Washington. Mr. Schoolcraft was directed to visit the suspected district, by passing through the interior Indian country, lying between the south shore of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, in light canoes, manned by Canadian voyageurs, and under a small escort of infantry—devoting the season to that expedition. He did not discover that any of the tribes were committed to open hostility; but there appeared to be a great familiarity with Black Hawk's plans, and the tribes in league with him were named. In consequence of these disclosures, and of the existing state of affairs, the spring and summer of the following year (1832) was, by direction of the Government, devoted to a further inspection of the Sioux and Chippewa tribes towards the north.[1]

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[1] Life of Black Hawk, 1 vol. 18mo, 155 pp.: Boston, 1834.

The Rock river valley, and the adjacent country, was ceded to the United States, November 3, 1804, by the Sac and Fox tribes,[2] with a proviso, permitting the Indians to continue to reside and hunt on the lands until they were required for settlement. The Sac chief, Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kai-kaik, or Great Kite, called Black Hawk, after an undisturbed occupancy of the lands for thirty-two years, subsequent to the negotiation of this treaty, affected to believe that the chiefs who ceded it, and who were then dead, had not been duly authorized to do so; or, that, after such a lapse of time, his tribe was unjustly required to comply with the terms of the treaty, by crossing the Mississippi to its opposite banks. At all events this plea furnished an excuse for giving vent to the hostility which he had long felt against the Americans.

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[1] These visits to the distant northern tribes were the immediate occasion of the discovery of the remote source of the Mississippi: a description of which has been previously given. The depth of water on the vast and elevated summits being favorable, the occasion was embraced to trace the Mississippi to its actual source; which was ascertained to be a considerable body of water, called Itasca Lake.—Vide *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, 1 vol.: New York, 1834.

[2] U. S. Treaties, p. 109.

Black Hawk was one of those aborigines who dwell so long on a single idea, that it appears to be possessed of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the entire Indian race. The theme of Black Hawk's delusion was the Americans, the hated Americans, who had unjustly supplanted the English in the country, and who were treating the Indians with injustice. A native of Rock river valley, where he was born about 1767,[1] he had been a regular attendant at the annual convocations of the aboriginal tribes in Canada, which has been the source whence so much evil political counsel has been transmitted to the Indians residing on the contiguous territory of the United States. It was there that presents were distributed to them, in acknowledgment of the services they had formerly rendered to the British armies, and as a means of securing their aid in future contingencies. Hither had Tecumseh come, for the benefit of British counsels, prior to, and during the war of 1812. The Indian tribes regarded Malden as the metropolitan centre, which Detroit had been, before the days of General Wayne. The writer may be pardoned for these remarks. He had served a long time on the frontiers, in the Indian Department, during which period he became familiar with Indian opinions, on the topic which attracted their attention at that era. The aboriginal chiefs, from Detroit to the Mississippi, as high up as the Falls of St. Anthony, and to the head of Lake Superior, never ceased boasting of the profuse liberality, the wealth, and the power of their British Father. So far as these demonstrations were confined to the limits of the British provinces, no objection, certainly, could be made to the policy; but on the tribes from the United States, who constituted generally by far the largest part of the assemblages, the effect was to disturb and distract their minds, and fan the flames of an enmity, which, if left to itself, would have died away. Meantime, the few blankets, kettles, and guns, which the United States tribes received, were no equivalent for the time lost, in long journeys, the occasional losses suffered on the road, and the actual moral degradation to which their families were exposed.

No theme is so popular with an Indian reformer as complaints of the existing state of things, compared with the years that are past, when, it is imagined, the people were wiser and better, and even spoke their language in greater purity.[2] The past is always referred to by the Indians as a golden age, and, while indulging in reminiscences of bygone prosperity, they are prone to overlook the future and neglect the means of providing for it. This was the argument used by the great Algic leader Pontiac, when he counselled resistance to the British, at the period of their conquest of the West from the French, in 1760. The same grounds were assumed by the Wyandot, Shawnee, and Delaware seers and powwows, when the Americans extended their sovereignty over the territory in 1783; and it constituted the theme of the harangues by which Tecumseh and his wily brother preached up the war of 1812. The olden time has ever been hallowed in Indian reminiscences. The evils of the present hour are magnified, and the future disregarded. Such were Black Hawk's teachings.

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[1] Life of Black Hawk; Boston, 1834.

[2] Vol V. Literature of the Indian Languages, p. 533.

In an evil hour, the chief determined to renew the experiment of keeping the intrusive feet of emigrants from his native valley, and from the flowing line of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was then about sixty-seven years of age.[1] His features denote great firmness of purpose, and his wisdom had acquired him great respect among the united tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, as well as the Winnebagoes, Iowas, and surrounding tribes. He had undertaken to form a confederacy of the tribes; a task much easier to propose than to effect, there being no certainty how far the tribes, who hearkened to his messengers and counsels, would fulfil their engagements when the trying hour arrived. But little alarm was excited by the details of Black Hawk's proceedings. At the St. Louis superintendency, not much importance appears to have been attached to the menaced hostilities, not only because the time was so unsuitable for the Indians to make another attempt to roll back the tide of civilization, but owing to the lack of reliable information, as to how far the other tribes had consented to act in concert with the Sac chief. The officials at the Michigan superintendency, being nearer to the Indian rendezvous at Malden, were more intimately acquainted with the state of Indian feeling, and, consequently, as considerable uneasiness was felt, the agents on the Chicago borders were instructed to watch closely the Indian movements. Everything denoted that there was an active combination forming among the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, extending to the waters of Lake Superior. The expedition directed to that quarter, in June, 1831, proceeded through Lake Superior in canoes and boats, to Chegoimegon or La Pointe, thence entered and followed the Maskigo, or *Mauvais* river, ascending through difficult rapids, to a lake at its source, passing numerous and intricate portages, and rafts of drift wood; crossing a portage into the Namakagan, or south branch of the St. Croix river, and then descending the main stream to Yellow river. At the St. Croix river, he was informed that the combination of Black Hawk embraced nine tribes. From the Yellow river he proceeded to Lac Courtonélle, or Ottowa lake, at the head of Chippewa river, and by a difficult portage to the Red Cedar fork, whence he descended the latter to the mouth of the Chippewa river, at the foot of Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi. In his course, he diverted from their purpose, and arrested, a war party of Indians, under Ninaba, who were en route to the Mississippi, to attack the Sioux. The Mississippi river was finally descended to Galena.[2]

Indications of immediate hostilities were apparent in the spring of 1832. Black Hawk, at this time, crossed to the eastern side of the Mississippi with all his tribe, took possession of the Rock river valley, and announced his intention to plant corn. Troops

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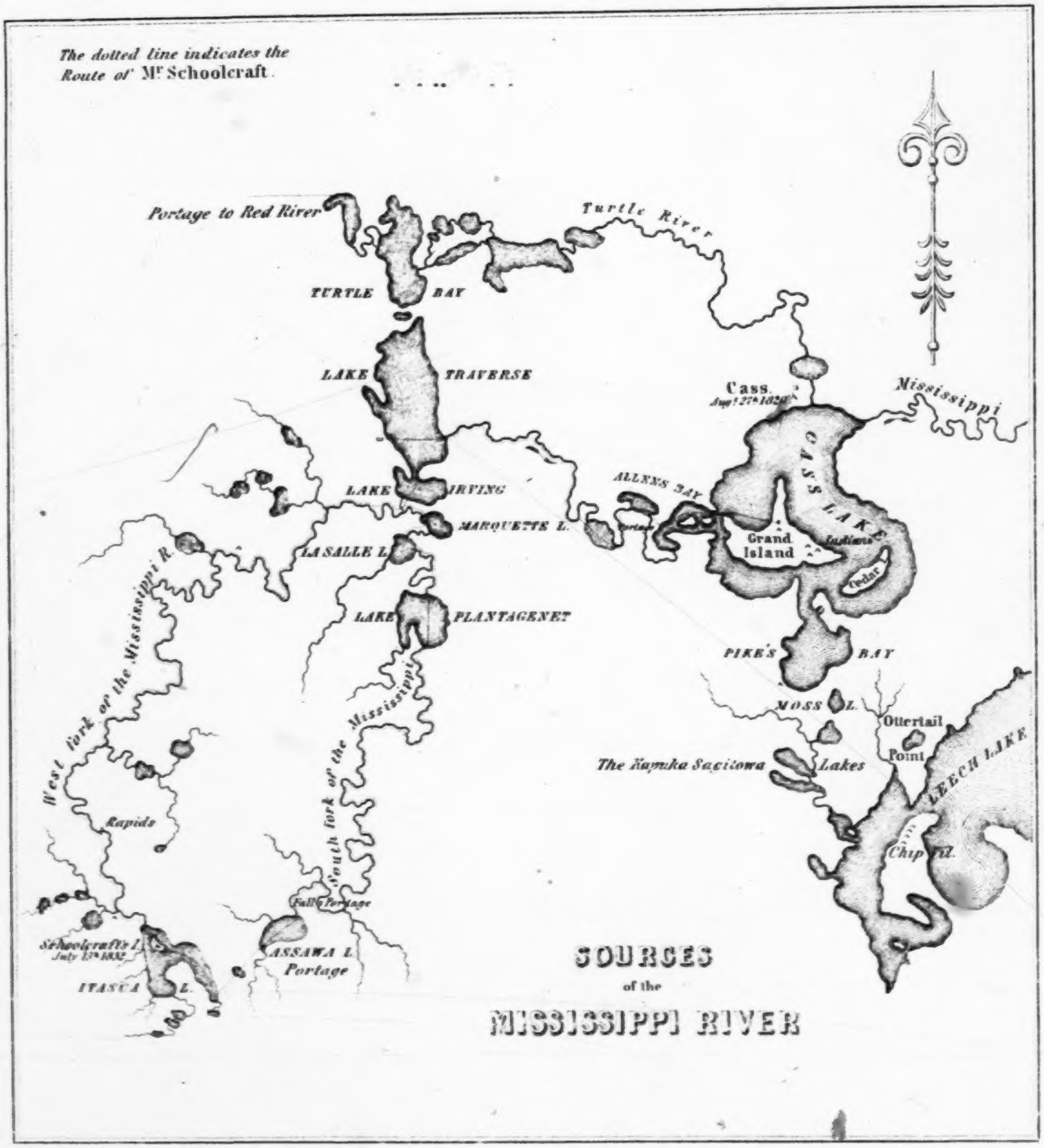
[1] Life of Black Hawk; Boston, 1834, p. 2.

[2] Schoolcraft's expedition to Itasca lake. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1834, p. 11.



The dotted line indicates the Route of Mr Schoolcraft.

SOURCES of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER

were ordered to ascend the Mississippi, and preserve the peace of the frontiers, while the utmost excitement existed in the contiguous Illinois settlements. As soon as the troops were known to be on their way, Black Hawk's warriors proceeded to the residence of the agent, Mr. St. Vrain, at Rock island, whom they regarded as the instigator of this military movement, and immediately murdered him, scalping, and mutilating his body. All the neighboring families received like treatment. The Illinois militia were promptly ordered to the frontier, and a battle was fought in the Rock river valley, in which the Indians appear to have had the advantage, as Major Stillman withdrew his forces, after a severe conflict. Black Hawk, in his narrative, says that they retreated before a determined fire from forty warriors.[1]

In the meantime, before any overt hostile acts were committed, the agent of the Chippewas was instructed to make a reconnoissance of the Indian country, extending north and west of the parts visited in 1831, for the purpose of acquiring more perfect information as to the extent of the dissatisfaction.

The following is an extract from the instructions received: "The Secretary of War deems it important that you should proceed to the country upon the heads of the Mississippi, and visit as many of the Indians in that, and the intermediate region, as circumstances will permit.

"Reports have reached the department, from various quarters, that the Indians upon our frontiers are in an unquiet state, and that there is a prospect of extensive hostilities among themselves. It is no less the dictate of humanity, than of policy, to repress this feeling, and to establish permanent peace among these tribes. It is also important to inspect the condition of the trade in that remote country, and the conduct of the traders. To ascertain whether the regulations and the laws are complied with, and to suggest such alterations as may be required. And, finally, to inquire into the numbers, standing, disposition, and prospects of the Indians, and to report all the statistical facts you can procure, and which will be useful to the Government in its operations, or to the community in the investigation of these subjects."[2]

To plunge into a vast and hostile Indian wilderness, required a confidence only derived from long experience. The agent was furnished with a small military force of but twelve men, under the command of Lieutenant J. Allen. Leaving the agency at St. Mary's early in June, he passed through Lake Superior to its extreme head, at Fond du Lac, ascended the River St. Louis to the Savanne portage, and thence entered Sandy Lake and the Mississippi. The latter was followed, through its windings, to the extreme point before visited, at Cass Lake, where an encampment was formed, and the baggage left. The height of the waters being favorable, he set forward from this point in Indian canoes, with a select party, fully resolved to discover the source of the

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[1] Life of Black Hawk, p. 119.

[2] Expedition to Itasca Lake: Harper & Brothers, New York, 1834, p. 5.

Mississippi. The search was pursued with the aid of an Indian guide, up falls, across lakes, around precipices, through defiles, over drifts, and through winding channels, for three days. The result of this toilsome journey was the arrival of the party at Itasca lake, its true source.[1]

The information obtained in this journey demonstrated that the Chippewas and Sioux, whatever sympathies they had with Black Hawk and his scheme, were not committed to his project by any overt participation in it. The Indians were vaccinated, as directed by an act of Congress, and their numbers definitely ascertained. While on a visit to the large band at Leech Lake, their leading chief, Guelle Plat, exhibited to the agent several British medals, which were smeared with vermilion, the symbol of blood; but it appeared to be done rather in a spirit of boastful self-importance, than as a threat of alliance with Black Hawk. Information obtained in these reconnoissances implicated the Winnebagoes, Iowas, Kickapoos, Pottawattamies, and some Missouri bands.[2] Meantime, while this expedition was pursuing its explorations, the Sac chief had commenced the war, and been driven by Generals Atkinson and Dodge to the mouth of the Bad Axe river, between the Falls of St. Anthony and Prairie du Chien. Without being apprized of the impending peril, the expedition eluded the danger, after ascending the river to the influx of the St. Croix, by passing up that river into the waters of Lake Superior.

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[1] Expedition to Itasca Lake: Harper & Brothers, New York, 1834.

[2] Ibid.

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A. from a sketch by H.R. Schoolcraft

Engraved by James Smillie

ITASCA LAKE.

[illegible]

CHAPTER V.

LEADING EVENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST BLACK HAWK.

1832.
A. Jackson,
President.

The effect of an Indian war on the frontiers is always appalling; a few hundred hostile Indians having the power of alarming the inhabitants, and disturbing the settlements throughout a wide extent of country. Their apparently ubiquitous character, their subtlety, and the facility with which they thread the mazes of the forest, the horrid cruelties practised on the defenceless inhabitants of the settlements, and their wild onset and noisy outcries when driven into open conflict, always make a deep impression. The ordinary militia are not adequate to the task of repelling such inroads. A man suddenly summoned from his plow, or his work-bench, to the field, has not sufficient discipline, or knowledge of camp duty, to render him of much service in sudden emergencies. Frequently, he neither knows the position nor the number of his enemies, and rather helps to increase the existing confusion and panic, than to allay it. Such was the effect of Black Hawk's inroad into Illinois and Wisconsin; and, before a sufficient force of the regular army could be drawn from remote points, the most that the militia and volunteers could effect, was to keep him in check. For a considerable time, the headquarters of the Sac chief was located at, or about, Lake Coshkinong, near the upper end of Rock River valley, or at the intersection, or on the line of the Four Lakes, now the site of Madison, the State capital of Wisconsin.

One of the most singular and appalling incidents of this campaign, was the fact that the Asiatic cholera first made its appearance among the United States troops while on their march to the scene of conflict. On the banks of the St. Clair, at Fort Gratiot, at Michilimackinac, at Chicago, and at every harbor for vessels and steamers, the most frightful mortality occurred. A characteristic feature of this disease was the rapidity with which it terminated in a fatal result — a few hours only intervening between the appearance of the first symptoms and death. The best medical men were at fault, and had to study the features of the disease before they could cope with it.

This calamity added to the delay in reaching the scene of action, and gave the wily chief a little breathing time. General Scott landed his army at Chicago with all practicable expedition, and instantly sent forward a detachment to reconnoitre the position of Black Hawk, and force him to give battle. A general action is, however, one of the very last resorts of an Indian captain. It is contrary to the Indian mode of warfare, which consists of operations in detail, secret and crafty attacks, and sudden movements, which are practicable only for an army unencumbered with baggage. General Atkinson pursued the Indians up the Rock River valley, where their trail gave evidence of their suffering from want of food. In this pursuit, the knowledge of woodcraft, of the Indian mode of warfare, and of the local geography, possessed by Colonel S. Dodge, enabled the commander to conduct his movements with great precision. After some skirmishing, Black Hawk was traced across the Wisconsin river, and hotly pursued towards the west. After a harassing march, his ill-fed, starving, and worn-down forces, were finally overtaken at the junction of the Bad Axe river with the Mississippi, where a steamer (the Warrior) opened her fire on him. While in the act of effecting a crossing, the American army arrived, and an immediate action ensued, in which the Indians were defeated. Some of the Sac warriors, and the women and children of the tribe, had, however, succeeded in crossing. Black Hawk escaped, but soon afterwards voluntarily delivered himself up to the agent at Prairie du Chien.

Black Hawk was carried a prisoner to Washington. Private vengeance clamored for his blood, in expiation of the foul murders perpetrated by his warriors; but, to the credit of the President, General Jackson, he promptly and decidedly resisted these importunities, saying that the chief had surrendered as a prisoner of war, and was entitled to, and should be, treated as such. After his advent at the capital, Black Hawk was taken to see the military works at Fort Monroe, by an officer of the army, who was appointed to escort him through the seabord cities, to his own country, that he might form adequate notions of the populousness of the Union. He was safely conducted to his home, on the distant Mississippi, where he lived many years, a wiser and a better man. After his death, his tribesmen gave to his remains those rites of sepulture which are only bestowed upon their most distinguished men. They buried him in his war dress, in a sitting posture, on an eminence, and covered him with a mound of earth.

CHAPTER VI.

SUBDIVISION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY INTO TRIBAL PROPRIETORSHIPS. CONGRESSIONAL SANCTION OF THE PLAN.

1833.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

THE settlement of a people ignorant of letters and figures, or of any mode of estimating quantities, in a new country, where all struggled to obtain the best locations, revealed another source of official care. The proper adjustment of boundaries between the tribes in the new territories became a subject of infinite perplexity. As the Indians acquired a better knowledge of arithmetical measures and quantities, they became astute, and strenuously demanded public action in the matter. It sometimes happened that boundaries conflicted, and, whenever an interest or right was surrendered to accommodate another tribe, the United States Government was ready to grant an equivalent in land, money, or right of occupancy. The volumes of treaties contain an amount of interesting matter on this subject, which is alike creditable to the Republic and to the activity of the Indian mind. An acre, an improvement, a salt-spring, or a stream of pure water was held at its just value.

On the 14th of February, 1833, the United States engaged to secure to the Cherokees, forever, 7,000,000 acres of land in the Indian Territory, including the smaller tract previously granted them by the Barbour treaty, signed May 6, 1828.[1] By a separate article, the Cherokees released the United States from providing "a plain set of laws, suited to their condition."

On the same day, a treaty was concluded, specifying the boundaries between the United States, the Creeks, and the Cherokees, which also provided that collisions between the tribes should be avoided, and compensation made to them by the United States for the improvements they surrendered, in order to enable the Government to furnish the Cherokees with their full quota of lands.[2] By a treaty concluded the 28th of March, 1833, a definite location was assigned to the Seminoles, who had migrated to the West, and settled down among the Creeks.[3] On the 13th of May, the Quapaws relinquished their territory to the Caddoes, a cognate tribe on Red River, in consideration of a tract of 150 sections of land granted them by the United States, on the Neosho, with liberal donations of cattle, oxen, hogs, sheep, agricultural implements, arms, ammunition, clothing, the services of a blacksmith and farmer, and other advantages.[1]

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 561.

[2] Ibid., p. 565.

[3] Ibid., p. 573.

1833. On the 18th of June, 1833, the Appalachicolas, of Florida, ceded certain lands, with the exception of some reservations, and were admitted, on the principle of a reunion, to share with the Seminoles the benefits of the treaty concluded at Payne's Landing. It was stipulated that they should sell their reservations, before leaving Florida and removing west, in which case they engaged to defray the expenses of their removal.[2]

On the 21st of September, the Otoes and Missourias surrendered their lands to the United States, for valuable considerations, agreeing to accept another tract in lieu thereof, and to engage in agricultural pursuits.[3]

1834. Under the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1832, three commissioners were appointed to proceed to the Indian territory, west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, to make an examination of its character and resources, and divide it into suitable districts for the expatriated tribes. These commissioners, after an elaborate examination and survey, occupying nearly two years, made a report on the 10th of February, 1834, accompanying it with the map herewith submitted. They had set apart, and recommended to be allotted to the tribes, the entire district west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, comprised between the latitude of Red River and that of the Platte, or Nebraska River, extending west to the line of Texas, thence north along the 100th degree of longitude to the banks of the Arkansas, and up the latter river to the Rocky Mountains.

Congress having now the requisite data, and being prepared to act definitely on the subject, the Hon. Horace Everett, Chairman of Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, made an elaborate report, reviewing the policy and action of the Government from the beginning, and submitting for consideration and approval, separate acts, for the organization of the Indian Department; for the revision of the original act of 1802, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and for the organization of the Indian territory. The former of these acts received the sanction of Congress; the plan of a mixed civil and Indian government, which was prepared, having been omitted, because it was regarded as in some respects incongruous, and, on the whole, rather in advance of their actual necessities. The act of March 28th, 1830 (p. 431), laying the legal foundation of the colonization plan, was the organic law; but these acts followed out the general features of that law, to which we may ascribe the completion of the colonization plan originally recommended to Congress by Mr. Monroe, nine years previously.

The passage of these acts forms a definite period in the administrative policy of the

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 575.

[2] Ibid., p. 578.

[3] Ibid., p. 582.

Government toward the Indians, and marks the absorption of the Executive power by Congress, which had been previously illimitably exercised over the affairs of the aboriginal tribes. By the organization act, no agent, superintendent, sub-agent, or other official, can be appointed for the Indian country, without a special act authorizing it, and fixing the amount of his salary. These appointments are also limited, by this act, to the presidential term of four years. All artisans or agriculturalists employed by the agents, under treaty stipulations, must be nominated by the respective agents under whom they are to be employed, and their nomination be confirmed by the Chief of the Indian Bureau. The accountability of the different officials is carefully provided for; the forms of issue of presents and provisions, prescribed; and additional safeguards imposed. Under the provisions of this act no person can hold two offices, or draw pay in two capacities; and any duties properly belonging to the department may be assigned to officers thereof, on the frontiers. These definitions had the direct tendency to impart the benefits of system to the Bureau.

CHAPTER VII.

PROMINENT TREATY STIPULATIONS WITH THE EMIGRANT AND INDIGENOUS TRIBES, TO PROMOTE THEIR CONCENTRATION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

1835.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

THE year 1835 was distinguished by several treaties of an important character. Hitherto the inchoate confederacy of the Pottawattamies, Chippewas and Ottowas of northern Illinois, had retained its ancient position in the vicinity of Chicago, at the head of Lake Michigan. On the 26th of September, 1833, they ceded to the United States their lands on the western shores of that lake, in exchange for a tract comprising 5,000,000 acres in the West, in consideration of very large annuities, to be paid in coin and its equivalents. It was stipulated that $150,000 should be appropriated to the purchase of goods and provisions; $100,000 to satisfy the claims of sundry individuals to certain reservations; $150,000 to liquidate the claims of debtors against the tribes, agreeably to a schedule annexed; $280,000 to the payment of annuities of $14,000 per annum, for twenty years; $150,000 for the erection of mills, farm-houses, shops, and the supply of agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of such artisans, smiths, and other mechanics, as were necessary to the inauguration of their colonial existence in the West; and $70,000 for educational purposes. This treaty encountered numerous objections in the Senate, and was not ratified until the 21st of February, 1835, and then only with certain exceptions.

The principle of acknowledging the individual debts of the hunter tribes as national obligations, had been previously recognised in a treaty with the Quapaws, concluded May 13, 1833, but the amount appropriated for that object in the Chicago treaty, and the extensive personal schedules accompanying it, excited remark in the Senate, and induced that body to question the propriety of nationalizing the debts of the tribes. The experience of the Senate also made them averse to granting large reservations in lands to the tribes, as well as to their blood-relations, especial local friends and habitual benefactors, out of the tracts ceded; since it was found that such reservations, being, in a few years, surrounded by a civilized population, acquired such a value as to render their purchase again necessary for the purposes of agriculture. General Jackson, whose experience in Indian affairs had been acquired by personal observation, censured this policy decidedly, and deemed it preferable, for many reasons, to compensate both the tribes and their blood-relations with payments in money.

In order to accommodate the emigrating tribes, it was necessary to procure the cession of large tracts from the aboriginal nations in the West, who roved over immense plains, cultivating nothing, and living principally on the flesh of the buffalo. By the treaty of October 9, 1833,[1] the Pawnees ceded a large district lying south of the Platte, or Nebraska, which afforded locations to several of the eastern tribes. The Kanzas, by the treaty of August 16, 1825,[2] ceded all their lands lying within the boundaries of the State of Missouri, as also the wide tracts lying along the Missouri river, to the west of the western line of the State, comprising the valleys of the Kanzas, Nodowa, and Namahaw.

The tract ceded by the Kanzas tribe comprehended a large part of the present Territory of Kanzas. It is somewhat remarkable, that while a geographical exploration was being made of this territory, a respected and intelligent agent reported to the Secretary of War, May 12, 1834,[3] that not over one-half the quantity of land lying within this parallel of latitude, north of the Osage reservation, and extending to the Nebraska, was adapted to the purposes of agriculture. So far from this being the fact, it is precisely this part of Kanzas which is now being settled most rapidly, is most esteemed for its fertility, and admired for its sylvan beauty. Such, however, has always been the case in forming estimates of new and unexplored countries; the mind being continually apprehensive of "cimmerian darkness, or serbonian bog." Michigan, one of the best regions in the West for the growth of wheat and corn, was at first pronounced unfit to bestow upon the soldiers of the late war as bounty lands. In 1680, that stout old joker, and unfrocked monk, Baron La Hontan, called the area of the upper lakes, now an immense mart of commerce and agriculture, "the fag end of the world." Not only subsequent to the explorations of the several expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi and Red rivers, in 1820 and 1823, but even as late as 1836, much of the country lying north of Green Bay, and nearly the entire area of Minnesota, at the period when the country of Superior was annexed to the State of Michigan, was considered to be unfavorable, if not wholly unsuitable for agricultural purposes. A large part of the Indian territory, located west of Arkansas, likewise, at the period of the inception of the colonization plan, was reported to be deficient, either in timber, water, or fertility.

The Chickasaw Indians evidently labored under this impression during some years; for, at the original sale of their lands at Pontitock, October 20, 1832, they expressed a determination to remain on their reservations, and there cultivate the soil. Two years' experience, however, caused them to change their views. In the preamble to a treaty negotiated at Washington, May 24, 1834, they express a regret that they "are about to abandon their homes, which they have long cherished and loved: and though hitherto unsuccessful, they still hope to find a country adequate to the wants and support of their people, somewhere west of the Mississippi, and within the territorial limits of the United States."[1] By this treaty they ceded their reservations east of the Mississippi, at the same time making some personal, beneficiary, and eleemosynary provisions. They also directed the proceeds to be added to their vested funds, and agreed to send a delegation to the West to seek a location. This delegation visited the West during the year 1835, and selected a location in connection with the Choctaws, a closely affiliated people, making their own terms, as tribe with tribe.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 604.

[2] Ibid., p. 369.

[3] Documents, No. 274: House of Representatives, 23d session, p. 76.

There now remained but one question of any importance to settle with the southern tribes; viz.: that with the Cherokees, who had been the first to suggest a western outlet for their hunter population. The nation had now become politically divided into two parties, the one being favorable to migration, and the other adverse to it. The latter numbered among its leaders the noted chief, John Ross, and comprised a majority of the nation. Their policy contemplated the retention of their lands, the continuance of the agricultural labors so successfully commenced, and the fostering of the ample educational facilities they then possessed, as well as of those arts and domestic industrial pursuits which had been developed by their location in a region eminently fruitful, healthful, beautiful to the eye, and hallowed by associations connected both with the living and the dead. The emigration party contended that these superlative advantages could not be permanently maintained; that the right of sovereignty to the country could not be wrested from the States who possessed it; that schools could be established and teachers obtained in the West; and that they were offered an ample and fertile country, beyond the limits of any State or Territory, under the solemn guaranty of Congress, over which they could extend their own laws and form of government, and where the arts, industry, and knowledge they had acquired, could not but hasten the development of their character, and make them a powerful as well as prosperous people.

A treaty ceding their lands was concluded at New Echota, December 29, 1835, with the party favorable to emigration. In consideration of the payment of $5,000,000, they ceded all their territory east of the Mississippi river, and agreed to remove to the West, and rejoin their brethren already there. Twenty chiefs of high character, and possessed of influence and intelligence, signed this treaty; Ridge, Rogers, Starr, Gunter, Belt, and Boudinot being of the number. A delegation of influential Cherokees, members of the opposing party, immediately proceeded to Washington, with the view of preventing its ratification by the Senate. The subject excited deep interest, but the validity of the treaty was finally sustained. Some supplementary articles were added to the original instrument, and the Senate, by a resolution, granted to the Cherokees an additional sum of $600,000, to liquidate claims held against them. In this form, the treaty was eventually ratified, May 23, 1836.[1]

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 607.

Other conventional agreements followed. A treaty was concluded with the Caddoes as early as July 1 of this year,[2] though not ratified until 1836. This tribe, in whom we recognise one of the bands descended from the indomitable Kapakas, of De Soto's era, ceded all their lands lying within the southern boundaries of the United States, and expressed their determination to remove within the boundaries of Texas.

The Comanches and Witchetaws, two important tribes residing in Texas, now first opened a political intercourse with the United States. A treaty with them was signed August 24, 1835,[3] and ratified on May 19, 1836. In order that it might effectually serve the ends sought, and be not only the evidence of peace and friendship with the United States, but also with the tribes by whom they were surrounded, and with whom they associated, it was assented to and signed by large delegations of the western Cherokees, Choctaws, Osages, Senecas of the Neosho, and Quappas. The Comanches stipulated to restrain their marauding parties from encroaching on the territory of the United States; to make restitution for injuries done; to receive friendly tribes and citizens of the United States on terms of amity; and to take the first steps toward progress in civilization.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 633. [2] Ibid., p. 621. [3] Ibid., p. 626.

SECTION NINETEENTH.

HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTHERN TRIBES, PREVIOUS TO THEIR FINAL REMOVAL.

CHAPTER I.

MOVEMENTS OF ALGONQUIN TRIBES IN THE REGION OF THE UPPER LAKES.

1836.
A. Jackson,
President.

From early times the Chippewas had, under their generic appellation, and the various local names of their several subdivisions, constituted one of the most powerful bodies of Indians in the North-West. In a region half covered with lakes, to be good canoemen, expert warriors, keen hunters, active foresters, and eloquent speakers, are most important qualifications in the members of the tribes. The name Chippewa appears to have imperceptibly taken the place of that of Algonquin, the language they speak. Having been friends of the French, from the period of their landing in Canada, they adhered to the fortunes of that nation until the final surrender of the country to the English, when they transferred their attachment to the latter power. They fought for the French on the bloody field which was the scene of Braddock's defeat, at Michilimackinac, and at Detroit; and aided their new allies, the British, at St. Clair's defeat, and in almost every battle fought during the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary wars. At length, having been defeated on the Thames, under Tecumseh, by General Harrison, they returned to their several haunts, vexed and dissatisfied. In 1820, they opposed the entrance of an official American exploratory expedition into Lake Superior, and hoisted the British flag in defiance. Two years subsequently, an American garrison was stationed, and an Indian agency located, at the foot of that lake, and intercourse opened with them. Some few years later, the British withdrew the post from Drummond Island, at the entrance of the straits of St. Mary, and, retiring to the foot of Lake Huron, at Penetanguishing, planted an Indian colony on the large limestone chain of the Manatouline, where the tribes were invited to settle by Sir Francis Head, without respect to the political boundaries of their home location. This policy was ill judged. The Indians, as a body, did not wish to engage in agriculture, and such as did, found the soil was poor, and that there existed no compensating advantages. Many of the tribes lived in the United States, and received annuities, which they must relinquish by permanently migrating to the Manatouline. Hence the failure of the plan. Having been warriors and hunters during all that period of their history known to us, that is, from 1608 to 1836, these tribes still continued to pursue the same vocations, with the difference, that the wars in which they had been allies of Europeans having terminated, they were destitute of employment, while, at the same time, their hunting-grounds were exhausted. War had reduced their numbers, and the declining fur trade had left them in debt. But one general mode of recruiting their affairs remained to them; they were possessed of immense tracts of lands, some of which were of a rich agricultural character; others contained valuable mines, and were covered with forests of timber; while the lake shores were valuable fisheries. Many millions of square miles intervened between their extreme borders. To cede a portion of their lands, in consideration of annuities, and to pledge a part for the establishment of schools, arts, and agriculture in their midst, was, clearly, the proper course to be pursued; and, for this purpose, a large delegation of the chiefs visited Washington, during the autumn and winter of 1835–36, where they were joined by a similar delegation of the Ottawas. With respect to the Manatouline scheme, it required means, which the British Government withheld, and industry, which the Indians did not possess. Besides, if they were inclined to form industrious habits, the most advantageous position for their exercise would be that pointed out by the American Government, in the fertile fields of the West.

A few of their oldest and most sagacious men having been made to comprehend this fact, and urged to turn their attention to a permanent state of future prosperity, other members of the tribes became favorably inclined towards the plan. The Canada colony caused some local disturbance among the tribes, but never made much progress. So long as ample presents were distributed, the Indians went to Canada for them; they spent the summer months on the Manatouline, but returned to winter on their lands in the United States.

The Chippewa tribe had always exercised an important influence. These natives were, personally, a tall, active, and brave race of men, renowned, in Indian story, for prowess in war, skill in the chase and diplomacy, and for their exellent oratorical powers. It was observed by the French, at a very early period, that they possessed a body of oral legendary lore which made their lodge circles attractive, and an ingenious mode of distinguishing family ties and clans, by totemic devices, or pictographic symbols.

A similar system of ideographic signs was used to supply the place of the art of notation, for their songs, and for brief memorials, displayed on their cedar grave-posts.[1]

The policy of the United States Government being, to remove all the tribes from the States to the lands west of the Mississippi, it became desirable to ascertain the wishes and feelings of a tribe which had figured so prominently in Indian history. The Chippewas and Ottowas speak dialects of the same language,[2] very much resemble each other in manners and customs, and either live in juxtaposition, or intermingle.

When the delegates of the co-tribes arrived at Washington, the Secretary of War, to whom the government of Indian affairs at that time pertained, and who, having formerly resided in the West, was aware that the two tribes were intercalated, and held their lands very much in common, directed the Chippewa chiefs to be present at the conferences, and entrusted the negotiation to their local agent, Mr. Schoolcraft. The conferences occupied the entire season, delegates having been invited from remote points, and the deliberations were protracted; but, on the 28th of March, they united in a general cession.[3] The Ottawas and Chippewas of Grand Traverse Bay ceded all their territories, extending from Grand River, on the lower peninsula, to the Straits of Michilimackinac, thence north of the basin of Lake Huron, along the Straits of St. Mary's, to Lake Superior, and up its southern shores to the influx of Gitche Seebi, or the Great River; thence to the river Menomonee of Green Bay, and, along a water line, to the place of beginning at Grand River Lake, Michigan.

The cession of 1836 was far the largest ever made by this tribe; including hunting-grounds, homesteads, burial-grounds, and ossuaries, which they had possessed and cherished for centuries. Seas were, in fact, comprised within the limits of the territory ceded; for the character and amplitude of the lakes entitles them to be so called. About 16,000,000 acres of these lands were located in the upper peninsula, or Algoma region, along the shores of Lake Superior, without estimating any portion of those situate in lower Michigan. Ample reservations of the best tracts were secured to them in different locations; upwards of $3,000,000 were stipulated to be paid them in annuities, within twenty years; $300,000 to be expended in liquidation of their debts; $150,000 to be distributed in gratuities to their half-breed descendants; and presents of goods and clothing, to the amount of $150,000, to be made them on the ratification of the treaty. Ample provision was made for their education, and for their tuition in agriculture and the arts. Their surplus lands, which had lost their value as hunting-grounds, thus furnished the means, not only for their present subsistence, but also for their instruction in arts and letters, and for their advancement in every element of civilized life. The number of persons who participated in these benefits was about 4500. In a report of the superintendent, made to the Government on the 30th of September, 1840, they are returned from the pay rolls, as organized in their separate bands and villages, at 5020 souls.[1] The results of four years' experience and observation of their habits and prospects, had, at that period, given data to decide whether a mixed occupation of the territory would be permanently beneficial. It is remarked that insuperable causes of dislike and dissension exist between the European and Indian stocks, and that the latter cannot long reside in prosperity on their reservations. The question of their removal and final location in the West, began to assume importance, and became the subject of animated discussion among themselves. "It is not probable" adds the agent, "that any provision can be made for the aboriginal race, which promises to be so effectual as their transference to, and colonization in, a separate territory, where they cannot be reached by the evils now pressing upon them, or thwarted in their peculiar government and laws. If the Indian is ever successfully to assert his claims to distinction among the races of men, it must be under circumstances which will give latitude to the peculiar bent and tastes of aboriginal intellect."[2]

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[1] Some of their descendants by Irish progenitors have evinced respectable tastes, and considerable mental powers in the walks of literature. John Johnson, Esq., a gentleman from the north of Ireland, intermarried in this tribe, and his female children having received their education in Ireland, there acquired highly polished manners and fine literary tastes.

[2] The interchange of the Chippewa *d* and *p* for *t*, of *b* for *p*, and the substitution of broad *ô* for *u*, in the Ottowa dialect, is a characteristic trait.

[3] U. S. Treaties, p. 650.

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[1] Official Report: Detroit, A. S. Bagg, 8vo., pamphlet, 28 pp.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES IN THE SOUTH.

1836.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

WHILE this favorable adjustment of the national policy took place in the North, difficulties arose with the southern tribes, which assumed a most threatening aspect. The causes of these troubles may be briefly referred to.

Two obstacles to the successful execution of the plan of removal had existed for several years; one of which was, the difficulties between Georgia and the Creeks. The treaty concluded with the Creeks at Indian Springs, February 12, 1825, had been the source of much discord, having been negotiated without the full consent of all the chiefs, who should have participated in it, and ratified only a few days prior to the close of the presidential term, before the objections to it were made known, or fully understood. Mr. Adams, in his first message, expresses his intention to communicate to Congress a special message on the subject;[1] and also respecting the general feeling of the Cherokees. Causes of dissension had been created with two of the principal tribes, such as had not before occurred in our Indian history. After the lapse of seven years, the Creek question was virtually adjusted by the treaty signed at Washington, March 24, 1832; but the difficulties were not terminated. By this treaty, they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi, making personal reservations for a limited number of years.

Among the Cherokees, the treaty of New Echota, concluded December 29, 1835, together with the policy of emigration, had created two distinct and violently antagonistic parties, one of which favored, and the other opposed, the removal. The leader of the former was John Ross, the ruling chief, who was supported by many other chiefs, and by the majority of the tribe. Being attached to their residence by historical associations, dating back to the era of the discovery of the country, possessing a fertile soil, and enjoying a mild climate, amid a district of hill and dale whose scenic beauty is hardly surpassed, this party, having in their own hands the means of civilization, were averse to exchanging it for territories beyond the Mississippi, with whose character they were imperfectly acquainted, and regarding the climate of which they were in doubt. Congress had, by a resolution passed in March, 1835, offered $5,000,000 to the Cherokees for their lands. December 29, 1835, a treaty assenting to the Government policy was formed at New Echota,[1] with the party favoring exchange and migration, at the head of which was Major Ridge. This treaty threw the nation into a tumultuous excitement, and a numerous delegation visited Washington to oppose its ratification by the Senate. While the terms of the treaty were under discussion at Washington, Congress granted $600,000 for the purpose of covering the incidental expenses of their removal, and to meet sundry contingent claims which it was apprehended might arise therefrom. The western Cherokees also appended their approval of the measure, without claiming any interest in the fiscal provisions of the compact. In this form, the treaty was ratified by the Senate, May 23, 1836.

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[1] Addresses and Messages of the Presidents of the United States, p. 306, 1 vol. 8vo., 732 pages: Edward Walker, New York, 1841.

The malcontent party of the Cherokees denied the validity of the treaty, averring that the majority of the nation should not be bound by the terms of a treaty to which they had not given their consent, and which they alleged had been surreptitiously negotiated. The minds of the people were intensely excited; one party contending that the removal policy would be their destruction, and the other that it would prove their salvation. The public press of the United States took part in the discussion, being governed in the expression of their opinions by their adhesion to existing parties, and by the different views they entertained of the true policy to be pursued with respect to the future disposition of the Indian tribes.

There was another element of disturbance. The Creeks, who, by the treaty of April 4, 1832, had compromised the disagreements, and settled the raging discord created by the M'Intosh treaty, negotiated at Indian Springs, February 12, 1825, were not disposed to comply with the terms of this treaty of general pacification. Whether, owing to the fact that the Indian mind has many concealments and mental reservations, or does not readily comprehend the true scope and bearing of legal constructions, many and long continued delays were interposed, and much difficulty was experienced in obtaining a prompt and general compliance with the strict terms of this treaty, and in adjusting questions of reservations and assumed rights, which had not been conceded by that instrument.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 633.

CHAPTER III.

OUTBREAK OF THE FLORIDA WAR.

1836.
A. Jackson,
President.

While this state of things existed in the South, the diurnal press teemed with rumors, which were not only frequently contradictory, but always appeared to originate from the apprehensions of exposed settlers. Early in the month of January, the astounding intelligence reached Washington, that Major Dade and his entire command, both officers and men, had been waylaid and massacred by the Seminoles in Florida.

The Seminoles[1] are connected with the Creeks, both by ties of blood and language. Their sympathies had, doubtless, been with the Creeks in their long controversy with Georgia, but their action on this occasion appears to have arisen from internal dissatisfaction. In an elaborate report,[2] made February 9, 1836, and communicated by the President to Congress, it is asserted that the Seminoles were not satisfied with the terms of the treaty concluded at Payne's Landing, May 9, 1832. The extent of this disaffection was not known. The difficulty does not appear in this light, in any of the reports made by the agents; and the Government, at least, was ignorant of it. On their failure to comply with their treaty agreement to remove to the West, and the expiration of the *time* and *times* granted for that purpose, troops were concentrated in the vicinity of the Seminoles, and the local commander, General Clinch, directed to organize companies of regulars. As early as February, 1835, he was authorized to draw from the North six additional companies, four of which were artillery. A spirit of dissatisfaction was evinced by the Indians during the summer and autumn. Several outrages occurred while keeping up the communications between fort and fort, and it was apprehended that the Creeks secretly participated in this feeling of animosity. In

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[1] The name Seminole designates their assumption of tribal independence, and was intended to be derogatory, in its first application by the Creeks. It may, as more or less censure is intended, be rendered "separatists, refractory men, rebels, or refugees" The period of the separation is uncertain. They withdrew from the parent tribe either while residing on the Altamaha, or at an earlier period, before the Creeks had reached the eastern terminus of their migration. When the Seminoles left the upland valleys of Alabama and Georgia, they withdrew to the intricate recesses of the interior lakes, lagoons, hammocks, and everglades of Florida.

[2] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 437.

November, General Clinch having reported that it would be necessary to call out volunteers for the protection of the frontiers, he was authorized to deliver arms from the public stores for their equipment. The maintenance of the lines of communication between distant posts, separated by a wilderness country, interspersed with deep creeks, and frequently with dense thickets and hammocks, was a difficult and harassing service. The lines were attacked at various points, and the defiles and quagmires offered singular facilities for the prosecution of the Indian mode of warfare. Fort King, the headquarters of the army, was situated about 100 miles from Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay, the Wythlacooche river intervening between them. The Indians burned down a bridge over a deep stream, within six miles of Fort Brooke, but it was rebuilt. At this time there were upwards of 600 regular troops in the field.[1]

A mail-carrier had been murdered in August, within six miles of Tampa Bay;[2] Charles Emathla, a chief friendly to emigration, had been scalped; the Mickasukies were hostile, and held a strong position on the Wythlacooche river; the Tallassees were accused of holding secret councils; and the Pea creek band were engaged in continual depredations. The aspect of affairs was extremely threatening.

While matters were in this position, on the 23d of December, Major Dade marched from Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay, for Fort Clinch, with a detachment of two companies, one six-pounder, and the usual complement of military stores and supplies. The entire force numbered 100 muskets. The first day he halted at a stream, distant seven miles from Fort Brooke, called the Little Hillsboro river, the bridge over which had been burned by the hostile Indians, and subsequently rebuilt. The following day he progressed six miles, reached the Big Wythlacooche on the 27th, and on the 28th arrived at the defile, where he was waylaid by the Indians, distant only sixty-five miles from Fort Brooke. He was attacked about ten o'clock on the morning of the 28th. It appeared that the Indians had narrowly watched his march, disturbing his barricades at night, but keeping out of sight, on his flanks, during the day, until he had proceeded a few miles beyond the Wythlacooche, where 100 Pea creek warriors, under the negro Harry, and, as has been estimated, more than double that number[3] of the Mickasukies, and of the bands of Eufollahs and Alafiers, under the chiefs Little Cloud and Alligator, formed an ambuscade on both sides of the road. The column, marching in ordinary open order, was suddenly attacked on all sides with showers of arrows and balls; Major Dade was shot dead from his horse at the first onset. The command immediately closed their ranks and unlimbered the field-piece, from which forty-nine rounds were fired.[4] But the shots were fired at random, no body of the enemy being visible at one spot, while their arrows and balls were discharged from their places of concealment with deadly aim. Seven commissioned officers were killed in quick succession; the ranks were riddled, and every effort to re-form the men failed. The Indians picked up and used the muskets of the dead soldiers against their surviving comrades.[1] Lieutenant Basinger, after being fatally wounded, had his throat cut by a negro. The most horrid butchery occurred. Several of the wounded, who knew the leaders of the enemy, appealed for their lives in vain; the cry for quarter was answered by the knife or tomahawk. Not an officer nor any of the command escaped, except two soldiers who crept off.[2] After being badly wounded, but yet remaining perfectly conscious, they laid motionless among the dead until an opportunity offered for escape. Some accounts estimate the American loss at 112 men. How many men the Indians lost has never been ascertained.

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[1] The Adjutant General states the force at 535. On the 31st of December it included two field and twenty-four company officers.—Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 438.

[2] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 51.

[3] The force was estimated, at the time, at "800 or 1000:" vide Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 368.

[4] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX. p. 367.

Such was the massacre (for battle it was not) of the Wythlacooche, the news of which operated like an electric shock, and made as deep an impression on the Americans, as the massacre at Cabul did, in after times, on the British in India. An officer, writing from Fort Brooke, on the 1st of January, four days after the sanguinary event, says: "Such are the Indian combinations, that it is not considered practicable to force or keep open a communication with Fort King, with less than a well-appointed and instructed force of 1000 men. Three out of four bridges are destroyed, and two fords are very difficult; and the country may generally be described as a series of ambuscades and defiles."[3]

On the 31st of December, General Clinch, with 200 regulars and a large force of militia volunteers, marched to the Wythlacooche, and fought a sharp action on the banks of that stream, near the scene of Dade's defeat, with the same Indians, who manifested as much determined intrepidity as they had previously evinced. In this engagement, Osceola was noticed to have been actively engaged in marshalling the Indians. The action was severe; General Clinch had nine of his force killed, and ninety-eight wounded.[4] In a letter from St. Augustine, of the 6th of January, 1836, it is said, "General Clinch has fought, and got the worst of it; driven back to his pickets."[5]

It is difficult to depict the political and social commotion created in Florida by these events. The Indians attacked every defenceless house and plantation; murders and conflagrations devastated the country; and the accounts of the atrocities of the savages, were they collated, would fill a book. "The newspapers," says a writer from St. Mary's, in Georgia, under date of January 16th, "have, perhaps, abundantly informed you to what a deplorable situation we are now reduced. The temporising policy of General Thompson, the Indian Superintendent, and the forbearance of our Government, have set the merciless savages upon our plantations, our crops, and our dwellings; and, really, I do not see what is to become of us and this country, if military succors do not IMMEDIATELY arrive. The Indians seem to be fully bent on the most determined resistance, and, in the action on the Wythlacooche, displayed a firmness and desperation never exceeded in the history of Indian warfare."[1]

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[1] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 367.

[2] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 367.

[3] Pr. John Thomas and Ransom Clark.

[4] Ibid., p. 366.

[5] Ibid., p. 368.

A simultaneous outbreak took place throughout Florida. On the 28th of December, the day of Dade's massacre, a party of ten men were dining with Rodgers, the sutler at Fort King, in a dwelling distant not 250 yards from the block-house, when they were suddenly beset, and fired on by a party of Indians. A hundred shots, it is estimated, were discharged through the open window, by which the host, who was sitting at the head of his table, and four of his guests, were killed. Among the latter were General Thompson, the Indian agent, Lieutenant Constantine Smith, U.S.A., and two others. Five persons, who fled to the fort, escaped. The officials and attendants sought refuge in a hammock, but were shot down before they reached it. The cook, a negro woman, who hid herself behind a barrel, and succeeded in effecting her escape, was a spectator of all the barbarities committed. Osceola, who was the leader of the party, entered first, overthrew a table, gazed sternly round for a moment, and then went out.[2] The body of Thompson, the agent, was found to have been pierced with fifteen bullets, and sixteen entered that of Rodgers, the post-sutler. The Indians scalped all the dead to the very ears, and then beat in their skulls.

Between the day of the massacre and the middle of the ensuing January, a wide extent of country was made a scene of desolation. Houses were burned, the occupants killed, cattle and stock driven off, the mail routes interrupted, and a general panic and confusion created.

The causes which originated this war become apparent, when attention is directed to the peculiar prejudices and mental reservations of the Indians. By the treaty negotiated at Payne's Landing, on the Ochlawaha, May 9th, 1832, the Seminoles ceded their lands, and all claims to lands, which they held in Florida, in consideration of the payment to them of a yearly annuity of $15,400. They also agreed to send a delegation of their most respected chiefs to view the territory offered them west of the Mississippi, and to ascertain whether the western Creeks would allow the Seminoles to rejoin them. It was stipulated in the treaty, that the improvements left in Florida should be paid for by the United States; their cattle be estimated and paid for; and the blacksmiths' services, sanctioned by a prior treaty, be continued to them in the west. Provision was made that each person, on reaching the new location, should receive a blanket and a home-spun frock; and an additional annuity of $3000 per year, for fifteen years, was to be divided among them. Claims having been made on them for runaway slaves from the southern plantations, $7000 were allowed for the satisfaction of such demands. Under the seventh article of this treaty, they agree to remove within three years, at the expense of the United States, by whom they are to be supplied with one year's subsistence in the new territory. A treaty concluded with the Creeks, at Fort Gibson, March 28th, 1833, provided for the rebel tribe an ample country. The Seminoles living north of the boundary line, designated by the treaty of Camp Moultrie, began to remove to the West; but these removals proceeded slowly, being delayed by embarrassments. At the close of the time stipulated by the treaty of May 9th, 1832, it having been decided that the emigrants should proceed by water, across the Gulf of Mexico, to their western home, vessels for their transportation arrived at Tampa Bay, and their speedy embarkation was urged. Throughout the year 1835 there appeared to be strong objections to emigration, on the part of all the principal Seminole bands, and they finally refused to go.

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[1] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 369.

[2] Ibid., p. 368.

In a full report, made by the War Department, February 9, 1836, and communicated to Congress,[1] this general dissatisfaction with the treaty of Payne's Landing is the cause assigned for the war. In the prosecution of this war, geographical phenomena singularly favored the cause of the Seminoles, and it may be figuratively said that the country itself fought for them; every swamp and hammock was a fortress.

Nature has rendered the peninsula of Florida peculiarly attractive to the Indians. Its tangled morasses, its dense and impenetrable hammocks, and its serpentine streams, form so many natural defences against European enemies; and spontaneous means of subsistence are also abundant. The rivers are covered with the greatest abundance of water-fowl; the adjoining seas abound in turtle; and the soil, where arable, yields a profusion of vegetable nourishment in the contee-plant, which is the arrow-root of commerce.[2] The Florida war was, in truth, a contest waged against geographical and climatic laws. To elude the pursuit of an enemy in these labyrinths was such an easy matter, that an Indian hid in a hammock could not be discovered at the distance of ten feet. Cattle, originally introduced by the Indians, were found to reproduce on the prairie meadows with the greatest rapidity.

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[1] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 440.

[2] Bartram's Travels.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN OF THE SEMINOLE HOSTILITIES.

1836.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

IN a debate which took place in the Senate on the 25th and 27th of January, on a resolution and a bill offered by Mr. Linn, to make appropriations to suppress hostilities with the Seminoles, Colonel Benton made the following graphic remarks concerning the origin of the Seminole war:

"Some years ago I was a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. At that time, these Indians in Florida were in a state of starvation; they would not work, and it was necessary that they should be fed by the United States, or they must subsist on the plunder of our citizens. I am under the impression that for these Indians there was appropriated by Congress a very large sum, perhaps 30,000 or $40,000, to place them where they would be enabled to live without plundering. These Indians are a very bad tribe, as their name signifies; the word SEMINOLE, in Indian, being 'wild, runaway Indians.' They were therefore considered a bad race. It was obviously the best policy to remove these Indians to a place where they would be able to obtain plenty. Treaties were consequently made with them on the subject of their removal, and the process has been going on for some years; but when the time arrived when they should be removed, they declared that they had no wish to go; and so again last summer, when there was another attempt to remove them. The disturbances began by their shooting their chiefs, and from this increased to the extent described in the report of Captain Belton, from which, and from private letters, it is understood that, in the massacres which have taken place, the runaway negroes of the South were the most conspicuous. They traversed the field of the dead, and cut open the throats of those who were expiring. Two weeks ago, I stated here, that what had already resulted from the movements of abolitionists was sufficient to cast upon them a sin for which they never could atone. Great as that mass of sin is, they may yet have a greater mass to answer for, in comparison with which the past is but as a drop in a bucket."[1]

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[1] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 372.

CHAPTER V.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE CHEROKEES.

1836.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

THE dissensions which convulsed this tribe, originated by the removal policy, reached their acme in 1835. On the 29th of December, 1835, the day after the Dade massacre, the treaty of New Echota was concluded with the Cherokees. As this treaty became a fruitful source of discord, a detail of some of the circumstances which preceded its negotiation, is important to the right understanding of events, which subsequently transpired in the West; events which finally led to painful and tragic scenes. The Cherokee nation had been divided in opinion on the subject of emigration from the year 1817, at which period the Western Cherokees removed to the West. The chiefs and leaders of each party did not differ very widely on leading questions, though as the discussion of the project progressed, the spirit of rivalry, aroused by their antagonistic position, engendered considerable feeling. The secret springs of this rivalry, and the bitterness of the controversy were, doubtless, the result of the counsels of white men.

On the 18th of January, 1836, Judge Hugh L. White of Tennessee, then an aspirant for the Presidency in 1837, and, consequently, very sensitive to political movements in the South, submitted to the Senate a resolution, respecting a Mr. Curry, who had been employed as an agent in the Cherokee country. This resolution was apparently introduced only for the purpose of preferring ill natured charges, or of introducing to public notice some transactions, which were calculated to cast odium upon the administration. From the detailed statement made by him, which he corroborated by reference to letters, it appears, that Mr. Curry was an agent for enrolling the Cherokees, and valuing their improvements, in anticipation of their emigration, in which business he had been employed some time; taking, meanwhile, an active interest in the political movements of that period, and opposing the ambitious aspirations of Mr. White. The adjoining States of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Mississippi, were then deeply interested in the Indian emigration question, and whatever had any bearing upon the negotiations with the tribes, or their removal from the limits of those States, became a topic of general interest. Any opposition to the removal policy was, therefore, in these States a cause of unpopularity. In his speech, Mr. White averred that his position had been misrepresented by Mr. Curry, who, in a letter written on the 1st of December, 1835, asserts, that a Mr. M'Connell, "has for some years, under the procurement of Judge White, of Tennessee, been receiving pay from the United States Government, as a secret and confidential agent, while all his visible efforts have been to defeat the measures of the ostensible agents in bringing about a treaty."[1] It is also asserted by Mr. Curry, that a private interview took place between Mr. White and Mr. John Ross, the prominent chief of the Cherokees, who opposed the execution of the New Echota treaty. Both these assertions of individual treachery, and tampering with the malcontent chief, Ross, were false.[2] The accusation and subsequent refutation have been long since forgotten, and would not now be referred to, were it not for some facts which they incidentally revealed.

It appears that Mr. Ross and his coadjutors had made an agreement with a functionary of the Government, long prior to the treaty of 1824, to accept for the Cherokee lands and claims, situate east of the Mississippi, whatever sum the Senate might award, on the submission of the question to that body. The Senate, to whom the question was eventually submitted, awarded $5,000,000, and, on this basis, the treaty of New Echota was negotiated, but not with *him* and *his colleagues*. During the pendency of the negotiations, certain influences were brought to bear upon Mr. Ross, and he became apprized of the fact, that there was a large body of the people of the United States, who not only concurred with the malcontent party of the Cherokees, in their ideas of aboriginal sovereignty within the limits of the United States, but approved of their reluctance and refusal to exchange their lands, and deemed the compensation awarded by the Senate inadequate. Individuals of high moral and legal standing in the North promulgated these views, in which they were supported by a part of the diurnal and periodical press of the Northern and Middle States. It was affirmed that an agent, of the party in the North opposed to the policy of the administration, visited the Cherokees, held interviews with the malcontent chiefs, and encouraged them in their resistance to the Government.[3] The opposition to the execution of the treaty of New Echota thus assumed the character of resistance to the legal officers of the Government, who were charged with the duty of removing the tribe. When, therefore, Commissioners Carrol and Schermerhorn visited the Cherokee country, and offered to conclude a treaty on the five million basis, the Ross party declined to negotiate. The authority of these commissioners was, at one time, questioned and denied, and at another, their character was unjustly assailed. Finally, the Ridge party, who regarded the compensation offered as amply sufficient, and the removal policy as one suited to advance their permanent prosperity, concluded the treaty; and thus the Cherokees became distinctly divided into Rossites and Ridgeites; a division which produced a state of discord, eventually terminating in the shedding of blood.

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[1] Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX., p. 374.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. 375.

It has been previously stated that a delegation proceeded to Washington to oppose the ratification of the treaty; that the treaty laid before the Senate from December until May; that an increase of $600,000 was granted, to cover expenses; and that the full assent of the Western Cherokees was obtained, who were anxious to facilitate the measure, and to welcome their brethren to the West. During the attendance of this delegation of the Rossites at Washington, they evinced the morbidly suspicious character of the aborigine, who doubts when he should decide, and hesitates when he should act. It is stated that, when it was intimated to the Rossites, by a senator in the confidence of the administration, that a new treaty might be entered into with Mr. Ross and his party, if he should propose it, true to their native instincts, the Cherokees assumed the position that such a measure, if contemplated, should be, officially and *pro forma*, communicated. The influence of the delegation at Washington may be deemed to have procured the appropriation of the sum to defray the expenses of their emigration; but Congress deemed the $5,000,000 an adequate allowance for the territory relinquished. When it is considered that, in addition to this sum, the nation was gratuitously furnished with an ample domain in the West, of a fertile character, and abounding in all the requisites for an agricultural colony, the compensation awarded by this body cannot but be considered as, not only liberal, but munificent.

The ordinary method of negotiation, through agents, commissioners, and governors, having been resorted to without any beneficial result, troops were ordered into the field under commanders of acknowledged repute. There was no occasion for a war of extermination. Generals Gaines, Jessup, Scott, Taylor, and others, to whom the conducting of the war was entrusted, kept the Indians in check, and evinced their abilities by their conciliatory, yet firm, mode of operation.

With the Choctaws and Chickasaws no difficulty had been experienced. They had joined the Creeks in their hostilities during the Revolutionary war, the incidents of which have been particularly mentioned. They had in early times valiantly opposed the Spaniards; but, from the first colonization of Louisiana, they had evinced a disposition to live in peace and engage in commerce. This policy they persevered in during the great excitement engendered among the Indians by their migration to the West. Neither the difficulties with the Creeks nor with the Cherokees induced them to take part in the contest. But, while these tribes were pursuing the even tenor of their way, the war with the Seminoles assumed a more desperate character; ambuscades, murders, and predatory incursions, superseded open engagements and general movements; and it required a large force to guard a small district. A few Indians, concealed in a hammock, could assault a train of wagons, or a detached party of soldiers, with perfect impunity. It was generally impracticable to pursue them at once, and, by the time a sufficient force could be detached for this purpose, the Indians had fled to other recesses. The soldier could seldom or never meet his antagonist in the open field, and he risked his life daily in the service of his country, with scarcely the hope of obtaining the ordinary rewards of bravery and heroism.

The summer of 1836 was characterized by fatiguing marches, skirmishes, and appalling murders. There seemed to be but little prospect of striking an effective blow, and thus bringing the war to a close. In his last annual message to Congress,[1] General Jackson takes the following view of the subject:

"The war with the Seminoles during the summer was, on our part, chiefly confined to the protection of our frontier settlements from the incursions of the enemy; and, as a necessary and important means for the accomplishment of that end, to the maintenance of the posts previously established. In the course of this duty, several actions took place, in which the bravery and discipline of both officers and men were conspicuously displayed, and which I have deemed it proper to notice, in respect to the former, by the granting of brevet rank for gallant services in the field. But, as the force of the Indians was not so far weakened by these partial successes as to lead them to submit, and, as their savage inroads were frequently repeated, early measures were taken for placing at the disposal of Governor Call, who, as commander-in-chief of the territorial militia, had been temporarily invested with the command, an ample force, for the purpose of resuming offensive operations in the most efficient manner, so soon as the season should permit. Major-General Jessup was also directed, on the conclusion of his duties in the Creek country, to repair to Florida, and assume the command.

"The result of the first movement made by the forces under the direction of Governor Call, in October last, as detailed in the accompanying papers, excited much surprise and disappointment. A full explanation has been required of the causes which led to the failure of that movement; but it has not yet been received. In the mean time, it was feared that the health of Governor Call, who was understood to have suffered much from sickness, might not be adequate to the crisis; and, as Major-General Jessup was known to have reached Florida, that officer was directed to assume the command, and to prosecute all needful operations with the utmost promptitude and vigor. From the force at his disposal, and the dispositions he has made, and is instructed to make, and from the very efficient measures which it is since ascertained have been taken by Governor Call, there is reason to hope that they will soon be enabled to reduce the enemy to subjection. In the mean time, as you will perceive from the report of the Secretary, there is urgent necessity for farther appropriations to suppress these hostilities.

"Happily for the interests of humanity, the hostilities with the Creeks have been brought to a close, soon after your adjournment, without that effusion of blood which, at one time, was apprehended as inevitable. The unconditional submission of the hostile party was followed by their speedy removal to the country assigned them west of the Mississippi. The inquiry as to alleged frauds in the purchase of the reservations of these Indians, and the causes of these hostilities, requested by the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 1st of July last, to be made to the President, is now going on, through the agency of commissioners appointed for that purpose. Their report may be expected during the present session.

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[1] 6th December, 1836.

"The difficulties apprehended in the Cherokee country have been prevented, and the peace and safety of that region and its vicinity effectually secured, by the timely measures taken by the War Department, and still continued."[1]

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[1] Presidents' Messages: New York, 1841, p 579.

CHAPTER VI.

ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIZED TRIBES.

1837.
A. JACKSON,
PRESIDENT.

THE removal of the friendly portion of the Seminoles was entrusted to General Jessup, about the middle of February, 1836. The whole number of this nation did not probably exceed 1500. The friendly portions of the tribe separated themselves from the hostile, to the number of 450, and fled for protection to the military post at Tampa Bay. On the 10th of April, 407 persons were enrolled and mustered, preparatory to embarking on the transports which were to convey them to the West. Of this number, 308 arrived at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 5th of May.

After the commission of hostile acts by the Creeks, their removal was also entrusted to the efficient management of General Jessup. Under contracts which secured them every comfort, and the attention of careful emigrant agents, they were located at different points in the Indian colony, in bands of 2300, of 165, and of 1300, leaving behind 700 warriors to operate against the Seminoles.[1]

The removal of the Creeks was commenced through the influence of the chief, Roly M‘Intosh, under the provisions of the original M‘Intosh treaty, concluded February 12, 1825, as modified by the treaty signed at Washington, January 24, 1826, and finally determined by the treaty entered into at Washington, March 24, 1832. During the year, the respective emigrant parties arrived in the territory, and were satisfactorily located on their lands. The agent remarks; "They have a rich country, and those that emigrated with M‘Intosh have been engaged busily in making corn; they usually have a large surplus, as high some years as 30,000 bushels, besides stock of every description. As there is now a large emigration coming into the country, they will find a sale for all they have to sell."[2]

The number of the Choctaws was then estimated at 18,000 in all, a large proportion of whom were in the territory, or in the process of removal to the fine tract of country they had acquired in it. They had, immediately on their arrival, turned their attention to labor, in which they evinced striking proficiency. They had adopted a form of government, which was administered by an elective council and presiding magistrates, and had a written code of laws. They had introduced the culture of cotton; erected cotton-gins; planted large fields of corn; raised horses, hogs, and cattle, which were pastured on the natural prairies; erected smiths' shops; and pursued various mechanical trades. They conducted their own mercantile operations, importing large stocks of goods, for which they exchanged their products.[1]

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[1] Documents accompanying the President's Message of September 2d, to the 24th Congress. Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[2] Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 14.

In 1835, a census of the Cherokees, east of the Mississippi, placed their number at 18,000. The western Cherokees had segregated themselves from the nation under the provisions of the treaties of July 8, 1817, and February 27, 1819, after which time they had emigrated to the West in parties under their own organization, and settled on the lands which were assigned to them. At the era when the census was taken, these western Cherokees constituted, to a great extent, a separate nationality. The Government agent, in his report,[2] represents them "as gradually progressing in civilization and the cultivation of the soil; and depicts their society as containing many intelligent men. He remarks, that they raise corn, beef, pork, sheep, &c., to a considerable extent, and in travelling through their country, you are quite comfortably entertained. Many of them are engaged in trade with their own people. They have some mills erected amongst them, and, with a wide extent of country, a portion of it finely watered, they bid fair, with frugality and temperance, to become a leading tribe."[3] In this report, the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, are stated to have collectively seventeen churches within their territorial limits, viz.: ten in the Choctaw, four in the Cherokee, and three in the Creek country.[4]

Regarding the other, and for the most part minor, tribes, the report gives data of which the following is a synopsis. The Seminoles, who had recently arrived, were reported to be in possession of one of the finest sections of the Indian country, and, with their advantages, could soon prosper. The Osages, an indigenous people, were still absorbed in the chase; raised no corn except what their women cultivated; hunted the buffalo, and stored the jerked meat for winter use. They are stated to have little, or no stock; all their extra means of support being derived from their annuities. The Quappas, advantageously located on the banks of the Neosho, are in possession of 160 sections in one place, surveyed and marked off, adjacent to the Cherokees and

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[1] Documents accompanying the President's Message of September 2d, to the 24th Congress. Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 14.

[2] December 1st, 1836.

[3] Documents accompanying the President's Message of September 2d, to the 24th Congress. Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 14.

[4] Ibid., p. 15

Osages. The Senecas, and the mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees, have 60,000 acres. The Senecas of Sandusky, 67,000 acres. These lands adjoin, are fertile and well watered. The Senecas cultivate the soil, have a mill in operation, which is of great service to them, and are improving.

Nine tribes are located north of the district just mentioned. They comprise the Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Kanzas, Weas, Piankashaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Ottowas. These nine tribes have an aggregate population of 4467 souls. The Shawnees and Delawares, who are agriculturists, are industrious, temperate, and thrifty, possess a fertile country, and are supplied with schools, shops, mills and churches. They successfully cultivate the various cereals, and raise large stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs. The Kickapoos began to turn their attention to agriculture in 1835, and both men and women labor assiduously. The Kanzas, like the Osages, are indigenous, and live by the chase. The small bands of the Weas, Piankashaws, Peorias, and Ottowas, are cultivators of the soil. The manners, habits, dress, and deportment of all the agricultural tribes and bands, denote a decided advance toward civilization.

The Indian population of the above-mentioned colonized tribes, with the exception of the Creeks, was estimated, on the 1st of October, 1836, at 37,748. To this computation must be added, 16,500 for the Creeks who have emigrated, making an aggregate of over 50,000 persons now on the soil. The tribes still in the east, who are under treaty obligations to remove, are 4000 Creeks, 5400 Chickasaws, 16,000 Cherokees, and the Seminoles of Florida. The Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies, who, by the treaty concluded at Chicago, in 1833, entered into engagements to remove, are estimated at 9400. It is estimated that the entire Indian population of the territory will, by these additions, be increased to 90,148.[1]

The general result of the negotiations with the Indians, during eight years prior to January 1, 1837, was the cession of 93,401,637 acres by the tribes, for which $26,982,068 were paid, together with the grant to them of 32,381,000 acres west of the Mississippi, valued at $40,476,250, the total compensation amounting to $67,458,318.[2]

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[1] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

SECTION TWENTIETH.

CONSUMMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY OF REMOVAL.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHIPPEWAS OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI CEDE THEIR TERRITORY TO THE MOUTH OF THE CROW WING RIVER.

1837.
M. VAN BUREN,
PRESIDENT.

MR. VAN BUREN, on assuming the reins of government on the 4th of March of this year, recognised the Indian colonization plan as a settled policy of the Government. In his first annual message, he informed Congress that their transfer from the limits of the States had been steadily progressing during the year. "The decrease in numbers, of the tribes within the limits of the States and Territories, has been most rapid. If they be removed, they can be protected from those associations and evil practices which exert so pernicious and destructive an influence over their destinies. They can be induced to labor, and to acquire property; and its acquisition will inspire them with a feeling of independence. Their minds can be cultivated, and they can be taught the value of salutary and uniform laws, and be made sensible of the blessings of free government, and capable of enjoying its advantages."[1]

The policy of removal had been fully vindicated by its practical operation.

Mr. Monroe uttered a momentous truth, when, in 1824, he expressed his conviction that, if the tribes remained in the locations they then occupied, they must necessarily perish. The Presidential influence had been, from an early period, directed toward averting such a catastrophe; but, subsequently to 1824, this truth became more forcibly impressed upon the minds of all well-wishers of the aborigines; and the dread of being surrounded by a dense white population, as were their co-tribes in the Southern and Middle States, also operated on the tribes in the north and north-west. The experience of thirteen years had made obvious the truth of an assertion which, in 1824, appeared more like the deductions of a philosopher than those of a statist; and experience proved that the policy was not less sound as a political than as a moral question. While the tribes lived in a condition of acknowledged dependence, within the jurisdiction of the States, in the tracts of wilderness on the frontier borders of those States, or on the reservations allotted them, their position excited the public sympathy; but when the white population expanded, and the Indians were brought more immediately into contact with influences which degraded them, it became evident that they could not permanently reside in their existing locations. When these moral considerations were strengthened by the addition of a political question, originated by some of the more advanced tribes, claiming the right of framing their own laws, and establishing their own institutions, irrespective of the State sovereignty, they sealed their own political doom, and their expulsion became imperatively necessary. Interference with State rights could not be permitted by the General Government; and its toleration in aboriginal tribes, however advanced in the scale of civilization, would have been subversive of every maxim of government, and contrary to all historical precedents.

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[1] Presidents' Messages, p. 642.

The entire mass of the tribes, and remnants of tribes, still residing east of the Mississippi, was still much disturbed by the discussion of the question of their removal; and the hope of improving their social condition by the acceptance of lands in the West, induced them to make frequent treaties. A retrospect of the succession of these is essential to the proper understanding of their history.

The important treaty and cessions made at Washington, March 28, 1836, by the Ottowas and Chippewas, and the beneficial effects of it on the affairs of those tribes, caused their more westerly brethren and kinsfolk, on the Upper Mississippi, to meditate seriously on pursuing the same course. The Odjibwas[1] comprise an infinity of bands, scattered over an immense surface of territory. A treaty with the western and northern bands of these people was concluded by General Henry Dodge, at St. Peters, July 29, 1837. By this treaty, in which the Pillager tribe of Leech lake is first introduced to notice, the Chippewa nation ceded the country from a point opposite the junction of the Crow Wing river with the Mississippi, to the head of Lake St. Croix, and thence along the ridge dividing the Ochasawa river from a northern tributary of Chippewa river, to a point on the latter, twenty miles below the outlet of Lac de Flambeau. From this point, the cession absorbed the whole Chippewa boundary to the lines of the Menomonees, on the Wisconsin and the Sioux rivers.

This important compact ceded a large part of the present area of Southern Minnesota, with its valuable pineries, fertile prairies, beautiful lakes, and flowing rivers. By this cession they secured an annuity of $38,000 for twenty years, payable in money, goods, and provisions, beside obtaining the services of mechanics and farmers, and a supply of agricultural implements. The sum of $70,000 was appropriated to the payment of their debts, and $100,000 to be divided among their half breed descendants.

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[1] This term has been Anglicized by the term Chippewa; the native pronunciation appertaining to the most remote tribes. The original term, I have been informed, refers to the power of *virility*.

This treaty collected into one group, families and bands of the same stock, who had wandered over hundreds and thousands of miles of country, comprising the far-reaching shores of Lake Superior, and the almost illimitable steppes of the Upper Mississippi.

The Chippewas of Saganaw, in Michigan, by a treaty concluded December 20, 1837, ceded their lands in the region of the Flint, the Shiawassa, the Titabawassa, and the Saganaw rivers. By this treaty, the United States granted them the entire proceeds of the sales of their lands in the public land office, together with an amount of fertile lands in the West equal to those ceded, and an annual appropriation for schools and agricultural purposes, while resident during a limited period in the country. The Saganaws had previously been regarded as refugees from various bands of the Algonquin stock. Their central location had been occupied in former times by the warlike tribe of the Sauks; hence the term Sauk-i-nong, from which originated the name Saganaw. About the year 1712, the Sacs united with the Foxes, and made an attack on the French at Detroit. The failure of the attempt of these two restless and warlike tribes, drove them at first to the banks of the stream, since known as the Fox river of Wisconsin, whence they afterwards migrated to the west of the Mississippi.

On the 17th of January, 1837, the co-tribes of the Chickasaws and Choctaws entered into a treaty,[1] under the auspices of the United States, which provided that the Chickasaws should be located in a separate district of the Choctaw territory, west of the Mississippi, and should enjoy equal political rights and privileges with them, excepting only in questions relative to their fiscal affairs. In consideration of this location, and of the rights and privileges granted them, the Chickasaws agreed to pay the Choctaws $530,000; $30,000 of this sum to be paid down, and the remainder to be invested by the United States in stocks for their benefit, under prescribed regulations. This initial step toward the reunion of tribes speaking dialects of the same language, is important, as foreshadowing a further and final tribal reunion.

The tendency of affiliated tribes to coalesce, after long periods of separation, weary wanderings, and disastrous adventures, was first demonstrated in the history of the Iroquois, who, we are informed, in ancient times warred furiously against each other.[2] By the confederation, in the fifteenth century, of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, a native power was created, which made itself feared and respected by the other tribes; and, at the period when the colonies were sent west, they held a position among the other savage tribes which fully verified the axiom, that in union there is strength. Nothing analogous to this organization existed among the Algonquins, the New England tribes, or the Illinois. These had no public council, or general convocation, where important questions relative to their political affairs were discussed. The Dakotah tribe is also composed of discordant materials; there being no controlling organization for the public welfare, each tribe being the sole and independent judge of what it considers right and politic.

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[1] U. S. Treaties, p. 697.

[2] Notes on the Iroquois, p. 50.

The Sacs and Foxes coalesced on a firmer basis, social, it is true, but so closely united by the ties of language, intermarriage, customs, and by local influences, that they have preserved the co-tribal relation.

Very similar, and only weakened by their dispersion over the wide country they occupy, is the coalescence, or social league, existing between the Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies.

CHAPTER II.

PREVALENCE OF THE SMALL-POX AMONGST THE WESTERN INDIANS.

1837.
M. Van Buren,
President.

The summer of 1837 is rendered memorable in Indian history by the visitation of one of those calamities which have so much reduced the Indian population, viz: the ravages of the small-pox, which then swept through the Missouri valley. The disease was introduced among them from a steamboat, which ascended that river from the city of St. Louis, in July. On the 15th of that month the disease made its appearance in the village of the Mandans, great numbers of whom fell victims to it. Thence it spread rapidly over the entire country, and tribe after tribe was decimated by it.

The Mandans, among whom the pestilence commenced, are stated to have been reduced from an estimated population of 1600 souls to 125.[1] The Minnetarees, or Gros Ventres, out of a population of 1000 persons, lost one-half their number. The Arickarees, numbering 3000, were reduced by this pestilence to 1500. The Crows, or Upsarokas, lost great numbers, and the survivors saved themselves by a rapid retreat to the mountains. The Assinaboins, a people roughly estimated at 9000, were swept off by hundreds. The Crees, living in the same region, and numbering 3000 souls, suffered in an equal degree. The disease appears at length to have exhausted its virulence on the Blackfeet and Bloods, a numerous and powerful genus of tribes. One thousand lodges are reported to have been desolated, and left standing, without a solitary inhabitant, on the tracts and prairies, once the residence of this proud and warlike race: a sad memorial of this dreadful scourge.

Visitors to these regions, during the year when this dread pestilence was raging there, represent the Indian country as being truly desolate. Women and children were met wandering about without protection, or seated near the graves of their husbands and parents, uttering pitiable lamentations. Howling dogs roamed about, seeking their masters. It is reported that some of the Indians, after recovering from the disease, when they saw how it had disfigured their faces, threw themselves into the Missouri river.

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[1] Vide Colonel Mitchell's letter, Vol. III., p. 254. In 1836 this tribe was reported to the Indian Office as having a population of 3200: Vol. III., p. 249. In 1852, the number returned was 385: Vol. III., p. 254. Mr. Catlin was mistaken, when he reported the extinction of this tribe.

Language, however forcible, fails to give an idea of the reality. On every side was desolation, and wrecks of mortality everywhere presented themselves to the view. Prominent among these was the tenantless wigwam: no longer did the curling smoke from its roof betoken a welcome, and its closed door gave sad evidence of the silence and darkness that reigned within. The prairie wolf sent up its dismal howl, as it preyed upon the decaying carcases; and the lonely traveller, as he rapidly passed through this scene of desolation and death, was frequently startled by the croaking of the raven, or the screams of the vulture and falcon, from trees or crags commanding a view of these funereal scenes.

CHAPTER III.

EMIGRATION OF THE TREATY PARTY OF THE CHEROKEES, THE CREEKS OF GEORGIA, AND THE CHICKASAWS.

1837.
M. VAN BUREN,
PRESIDENT.

DURING the year 1837, the removal of the Indian tribes, and the negotiations with them for that purpose, kept pace with the progress made during previous years. It was marked by the migration of separate colonies from the Ridgeite Cherokees, the Creeks of Georgia, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the south. From the northern section of the Union, emigrant parties of the Pottawattamies and Ottawas departed for the West. There were still remaining, in this region, the Wyandots of Ohio; the Menomonees, Stockbridges, Munsees, and Oneidas, of Wisconsin; the Iroquois, of New York; the Miamies, of Indiana; and the Chippewas, of Lake Superior.

By the terms of the treaty negotiated by General Scott, September 15th, 1832, immediately succeeding the close of the Sac war, the Winnebagoes ceded their lands, lying east of the Mississippi, in the State of Wisconsin, and accepted a location west of that river, on a tract designated in the treaty as "the Neutral Ground;" a fine district of country, abounding in game, and possessing a very fertile soil, situated between the territory of the Sioux and that of the Sacs and Foxes. As Wisconsin filled up with a white population, and the position of the Winnebagoes, as a hunter tribe, became more and more inconvenient, they were urged by the local authorities to remove to the Neutral Ground, which they hesitated to do, from a dread of being embroiled in the fierce and sanguinary wars constantly raging between the Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux. Strenuous exertions were made by the Government to quell these hostilities, and the removal of the Winnebagoes was finally effected during the year 1837. A treaty was concluded with the Saganaw Chippewas, of Michigan, on the 20th of December of this year, by which the tribe ceded their reservations in that State, and agreed, after a residence of five years on a tract designated, to remove to the west of the Mississippi.

In 1834, the Miamies had ceded their lands on the Wabash, for a heavy consideration, and agreed to remove west; but this treaty, which was communicated by the President to the Senate, for their approval, was not, owing to certain modifications requiring the concurrence of the Indians, finally confirmed by the Senate until the close of the session of 1837.

In order to protect the emigrant tribes on the south and west, treaties were concluded on the 25th of May, with the barbarous tribes of the Kiowas, Katakas, and Takawaros, of the prairies; and friendly relations were established with the Comanches, or Niūnas, of Texas, a powerful and dominant tribe in that quarter.

But the most arduous field of operations for the administration of Indian affairs, was that in the south. The increasing population of the Southern States pressed rapidly on the territories ceded by the Indians, and made it more and more objectionable to have, residing in their midst, a people with whom they could not coalesce, and who were rapidly perishing under the adverse influence of their general habits and indulgences, stimulated by the receipt of large annuities. To complicate these difficulties, and add to the delay, the Seminoles and the Cherokees assumed an attitude of defiance, which appeared tantamount to a repudiation of their treaty obligations.

CHAPTER IV.

CRISIS OF THE CHEROKEE DIFFICULTIES. THE ARMY IS MARCHED INTO THAT QUARTER

1838.
M. VAN BUREN,
PRESIDENT.

EVERY year's delay in the removal of the Cherokees, and other malcontent tribes, only increased the difficulties interposed, and allowed the opponents of the measure time to originate new causes for procrastination.

To overawe the malcontents, and give support to the Government authorities, 4000 men, nearly the entire disposable force of the army at that time, were kept in the field. Not only was the war with the Seminoles of Florida protracted in an extraordinary manner, but the difficulties with the Cherokees, arising out of the treaty of New Echota, at this time reached their culminating point. The Rossites refused to remove under the provisions of that treaty; and this party, being a majority of the nation, assumed a position of defiance to the Government. The Senate had originally assessed the value of their lands at $5,000,000, and, after great deliberation, and the allowance of $600,000 more, to cover claims for improvements, and for expenses of removal, ratified the instrument. It then became the imperative duty of the Executive to see that these treaty engagements were complied with, and not suffer them to be overslaughed by a system of factious delays and wily subterfuges. No attempt was made to show that the compensation was not adequate or liberal. A territory of greater extent and equal fertility, situated in a fine climate, and abounding in all necessary facilities for an affluent agricultural community, was granted to them, in addition to the award of $5,600,000. This new territory west, being under no state or territorial jurisdiction, their own institutions and laws could be established and enforced, and the Indian mind and character have ample scope for development. No new system of policy was introduced by Government, it was merely desired to enforce the old. The course of the preceding administration had been marked by foresight, comprehension, justice, decision, and a due regard for the advancement and permanent prosperity of the nation. The people of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi having earnestly demanded the removal of the Cherokees, General Scott was ordered to the Cherokee country, to enforce the treaty stipulations, and preserve order during their transportation; a delicate and difficult duty, which the excellent judgment of that officer enabled him to perform with decided success.

On reaching the scene of operations, he issued the following proclamation to the Cherokees, dated at the Cherokee agency, May 10th, 1838:

"Cherokees! The President of the United States has sent me, with a powerful army, to cause you, in obedience to the treaty of 1835, to join that part of your people who are already established in prosperity on the other side of the Mississippi. Unhappily, the two years which were allowed for that purpose you have suffered to pass away without following, and without making any preparation to follow; and now, by the time that this solemn address shall reach your distant settlements, the emigration must be commenced in haste, but, I hope, without disorder. I have no power, by granting a farther delay, to correct the error that you have committed. The full moon of May is already on the wane, and before another shall have passed away, every Cherokee man, woman, and child, in those States, must be in motion to join their brethren in the far West.

"My friends, this is no sudden determination on the part of the President, whom you and I must now obey. By the treaty, the emigration was to have been completed on or before the 23d of this month; and the President has constantly kept you warned, during the two years allowed, through all his officers and agents in this country, that the treaty would be enforced.

"I have come to carry out that determination. My troops already occupy many positions in the country that you are to abandon, and thousands and thousands are approaching, from every quarter, to render resistance and escape alike hopeless. All those troops, regulars and militia, are your friends. Receive them and confide in them as such. Obey them when they tell you that you can remain no longer in this country. Soldiers are as kind-hearted as brave, and the desire of every one of us is to execute our painful duty in mercy, We are commanded by the President to act towards you in that spirit, and such is also the wish of the whole population of America.

"Chiefs, head men, and warriors! Will you, then, by resistance, compel us to resort to arms? God forbid! Or will you, by flight, seek to hide yourselves in mountains and forests, and thus oblige us to hunt you down? Remember that, in pursuit, it may be impossible to avoid conflicts. The blood of the white man or the blood of the red man may be spilt; and if spilt, however accidentally, it may be impossible for the discreet and humane among you, or among us, to prevent a general war and carnage. Think of this, my Cherokee brethren! I am an old warrior, and have been present at many a scene of slaughter; but spare me, I beseech you, the horror of witnessing the destruction of the Cherokees.

‘Do not, I implore you, even wait for the close approach of the troops; but make such preparations for emigration as you can, and hasten to this place, to Ross' Landing, or to Gunter's Landing, where you will be received in kindness by officers selected for the purpose. You will find food for all, and clothing for the destitute, at either of those places, and thence, at your ease and in comfort, be transported to your new homes according to the terms of the treaty.

"This is the address of a warrior to warriors. May his entreaties be kindly received, and may the God of both prosper the Americans and the Cherokees, and preserve them long in peace and friendship with each other!"

By the treaty ratified May 23, 1836, the Cherokees had stipulated to remove within two years. Early in the year 1837, several parties of the Ridgeites had successfully emigrated to their new location, and been received in the most friendly spirit by the Western Cherokees. These parties, in the aggregate, were estimated to number 6000; but the mass of the nation still remained. After the arrival of General Scott, and the disposition of his forces at suitable points of observation, it was no longer doubted that the day for decision had arrived.

On the 23d of July, in a general council of the nation, it was resolved to propose to the commanding general that they be allowed to conduct their own migration, and delegates were appointed to communicate this request.[1] To this the general replied approvingly, if certain conditions, necessary to ensure it, were agreed to; the migration to begin on the 1st of September, and the parties to succeed each other at intervals, not exceeding three days. These terms being assented to, and the stipulation being repeated, that the migration must commence on the 1st of September, and be terminated by the 20th of October, reservations being made for the sick and superannuated, General Scott demanded estimates of the expenses attending these removals. The Cherokees furnished details, estimating the removal of each 1000 persons at $65,880,[2] and proposed that the Indians employ physicians. To this he assented, although he criticised some of the items, adding that the entire expense of their migration would be paid out of an appropriation of Congress, the surplus of which was directed to be paid over to the Cherokees, thus furnishing them an incentive for their economical expenditure of the sum. On announcing the conclusion of this business to Mr. Poinsett, the Secretary of War, General Scott remarks,

"The Cherokee agents do not think a military escort necessary for the protection of the emigrants on the route, nor do I. We are equally of the opinion that sympathy and kind offices will be very generally shown by the citizens throughout the movement; and the Indians are desirous to exhibit, in return, the orderly habits which their acquired civilization has conferred. The parties (of about 100 each) will march without arms, under Indian conductors and sub-officers, of intelligence and discretion, who are ready to promise to repress and to punish all disorders among their own people, and, if they commit outrages on the citizens, or depredations on their property, instantly to deliver the offenders over to the nearest civil officers of the States."[1]

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[1] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for 1838, p. 22, 23.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

This arrangement being entered into, the removal was made, under the personal superintendence of Mr. Ross. On reaching the Mississippi, the parties ascended it to the junction of the Arkansas, and, following the latter, in due time arrived at their new homes in the Indian territory. No disturbance occurred at any point on the route, and they conducted this exodus of the tribe with order and propriety. In this manner, 12,000 Cherokees were removed; which, added to the 6000 who had migrated during the previous year, coincides with the former estimate of their population at 18,000.

Thus was a measure finally and peaceably accomplished, to the satisfaction of all parties, which had kept the country in turmoil for several years, and threatened serious results. The conduct of General Scott was entitled to commendation; but the initiative of this final movement was due to a higher quarter. A delegation of the Cherokees visited Washington in the month of May, and called on the Secretary of War. Mr. Poinsett told them that the most strenuous efforts of the administration would be exerted, to prevail on the Southern States interested in their removal to refrain from pressing them inconveniently, and from interfering with their migration; that this migration should, if they desired, be conducted by their own agents; that he thought the entire expenses of it should be borne by the United States; and that a military escort should be provided for them while on the route. Mr. Van Buren sanctioned these terms, and received the delegation with great courtesy. He recommended to Congress that an adequate provision should be made to meet the expenses of their removal, in such a spirit of liberality and good-will as should justly mark all the national dealings with that people. The result was, an appropriation of $1,147,067. This was the foundation of success. General Scott did not therefore go to the Cherokee country with his hands tied, but was enabled to dispense the liberality of the Government in a manner at once just and munificent. The Rossites were conciliated, and, instead of being sour and discontented, as they would have been had they been rudely driven from their country (albeit they had sold it, and been paid for it, beside receiving a gratuity of an equal territory), they emigrated to the West, completely pacified, and entertaining friendly feelings toward the United States.

In a letter of December 18th, to Governor Gilmer, of Georgia, General Scott sums up a narration of his exertions, and of his success in removing the Indians, in the following words:

"The Cherokees, as it is known, were divided into two political parties; friends and opponents of the treaty of New Echota. Of the former, there were remaining east, in May last, about 500 souls; of the latter, including 376 Creeks,[1] a little more than 15,000. About 2500 of the anti-treaty party emigrated in June last, when (on the 19th) the movement was suspended by my order, until the 1st of September, on account of the heat and the sickliness of the season. The suspension was approved by the War Department, in anticipation, by an order to that effect, received a few days later. The Indians had already, with but very few exceptions, been collected by the troops, and I was further instructed to enter into the arrangement with the delegation (Mr. John Ross and his colleagues), which placed the removal of the 12,500 immediately in their own hands.

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[1] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for 1838, p. 29.

"The drought, which commenced in July and continued till the end of September, caused the loss of a month in the execution of the new arrangement. Four detachments are, however, now in march for the West; three or four others will follow this week, and as many more the next—all by land, 900 miles—for the rivers are yet very low. The other party, making a small detachment, is also on the road, after being treated by the United States, in common with their opponents, with the utmost kindness and liberality. Recent reports from these five detachments, represent, as I am happy to say, the whole as advancing with alacrity in the most perfect order. The remainder of the tribe are already organized into detachments, and each is eager for precedence in the march—except the sick and decrepit, with a few of their friends as attendants, who will constitute the last detachment, and which must wait for the renewal of steam navigation.

"By the new arrangement, not an additional dollar is to be paid by the United States to, or on account of, the Cherokees. The whole expense of the removal, as before, is to be deducted from the moneys previously set apart by the treaty and the late act of Congress in aid thereof.

"Among the party of 12,500, there has prevailed an almost universal cheerfulness since the date of the new arrangement. The only exceptions were among the North Carolinians, a few of whom, tampered with by designing white men, and under the auspices alluded to above, were induced to run back, in the hope of buying lands and remaining in their native mountains. A part of these deluded Indians have already been brought in by the troops, aided by Indian runners sent by Mr. Ross and his colleagues, and the others are daily expected down by the same means.

"In your State, I am confident there are not left a dozen Indian families, and at the head of each is a citizen of the United States.

"For the aid and courtesies I have received from Georgia, throughout this most critical and painful service, I am truly thankful; and I have the honor to remain, with high consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant."

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[1] "The whole number found here the last summer; most of whom had long been domesticated with the Cherokees, and with whom many of their warriors fought by our side at the battle of the Horse-Shoe."

CHAPTER V.

PAWNEE CRUELTY. THE SACRIFICE OF HAXTA.

1838.
M. Van Buren,
President.

The Pawnees have, from the earliest times, possessed the reputation of being one of the wildest and most barbarous tribes. De Soto, who encountered them in 1541, on reaching the grass-lands, or prairies, west of the broad Ozark chain, calls them Apani. Three centuries appear to have produced no improvement in their manners. Living in discord with the tribes around them, they seem to have no regard for the remote affinities, which once linked the majority of the prairie tribes together, if they even have the slightest notion of such distant connection, but pursue the savage career of glory, wielding the tomahawk and the scalping knife with unrestrained fury. Their wars with the Sioux tribes have, it is asserted, continued 200 years. Their greatest ambition has ever been to scalp a Sioux, and shake the gory trophy in defiant triumph, shouting at the same time the horrid *Sa-sa-quon*. [Plate IV.]

In the month of February, 1838, they captured a Sioux girl, only fourteen years of age, named Haxta. She was placed in one of their lodges, on the same terms as other members of it, and treated with even more kindness; attention being paid that she should not lack the best food, which was supplied abundantly. Offers to purchase her were made by two of the traders on the Missouri, but they were declined. After being detained as a prisoner about two months, a council of the Pawnee chiefs and war captains was convened, to deliberate on her fate. Their decision was known only to themselves, being kept secret from every person who might communicate it to her.

On the breaking up of this council, the prisoner was formally brought forth, and led from lodge to lodge, accompanied by all the Indian warriors and their leaders. The inmates of each lodge gave her a small billet of wood and some paint, which she handed to the war chief who conducted her. This course was pursued until the entire village circle had been visited, and every household had contributed its quota of tiny billets and paint.

On the 22d of April, there was a grand assemblage of all the inhabitants of the villages, to which Haxta was invited, she being ignorant of the purport of it. She was conducted by two stout Indians to a post between two trees, which grew within five feet of each other. Three small bars of wood were fastened from tree to tree, at a moderate height above the ground, so as to construct a scaffolding. A small fire was then kindled beneath, the flames of which were barely sufficient to reach, with their highest flickerings, to the feet of the victim placed on it. Not until she was conducted to this place, did she conjecture the object of her tormentors. The two savages, having lifted her on to the bars, stood beside her, holding her firmly. The little fire beneath was then increased, and, at the same time, the men held splinters of burning pine under her arm-pits. Meanwhile, the warriors and chiefs stood in a circle around her, armed with bows and arrows, and all the inhabitants of the village were spectators. When the lighted splinters were placed under her arms, a signal was given, and, in an instant, her flesh was pierced with innumerable arrows, shot with such unerring aim, that there was scarcely an inch of her body untouched: it was literally riddled with sharp arrows.

These arrows being quickly withdrawn from her still quivering frame, the flesh was all cut off in small pieces, down to the bones, and put in little wicker-baskets, which were quickly carried to an adjacent field, just planted with corn. The leader of the ceremonies then took one of these pieces of flesh, and squeezed the blood from it on a newly-planted hill of corn. His example was followed by others, until the little baskets were all emptied. Indian cruelty presents no parallel.

Was this a sacrifice to Ceres, or to Moloch?

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE YEAR, WITH THE MINOR TRIBES.

1838.
M. Van Buren,
President.

The removal of the Cherokees in a peaceful and conciliatory manner produced a favorable effect, although the other events of the year were of equal interest to the public mind. Positions requiring energy of action were taken by several tribes. The Pottawattamies of Indiana ceded their lands in 1833, and agreed to remove west; Indiana and the adjoining State of Illinois having filled up very rapidly with settlers on their northern borders; the rich prairies, and fine commercial marts and outlets, presenting great attractions to an enterprising people. This tribe, being the recipient of large annuities, was counselled by the traders and other interested persons[1] to remain where they were, that the distribution of these sums might be made in the country. The emigrant agent, finding his operations impeded, and fearing an outbreak, and consequent bloodshed, called on the Governor of Indiana for aid, who authorized General John Tipton to raise 100 volunteers, to assist the agent in the removal of the Indians. This duty was promptly performed, and, from the report of that officer,[2] 859 Pottawattamies were delivered to the emigrant agent on the Illinois, on the 18th of September; these were sent west, escorted by dragoons to preserve order, and safely conveyed to their location; every attention being paid to their health, comfort, and convenience. Such as were over-fatigued with the rapidity of the marches, and were sickly, or invalids, were allowed to ride the horses of the dragoons, while the men walked.[3]

There were removed, during this year, 4106 Creeks, chiefly comprising the families of the warriors of this tribe who had been engaged in the Florida war; 177 Choctaws, 4600 Chickasaws, 151 Chippewas, and 1651 Appalachicolas and Florida Indians, making an aggregate of 29,459. The Winnebago Indians, of Wisconsin, evinced great tardiness and unwillingness to leave the country. The isolated tribes in the settlements became entangled with associations which it is difficult for a people of so little decision of character to abandon. This tribe, by a treaty made at Washington, on the 28th of October, renewed the engagements entered into and endorsed by the treaty concluded at Rock Island, in 1832, after the close of the Sac war, and agreed to remove to the Neutral Ground in eight months. As this limitation expired in the winter, they solicited permission, and were allowed to remain in Wisconsin until Spring. A treaty was concluded with the Saganaws by the acting superintendent of Michigan, guaranteeing them the minimum prices for their lands ceded by the treaty of 20th December, 1837; a measure necessary to prevent combinations to control the sales, which were designed to be exclusively for their benefit.

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[1] Annual Report of Comm. of Indian Affairs, 1838, p. 31.
[2] Ibid., p. 30.
[3] Ibid., p. 32.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Michigan, in his annual report[1] for this year, makes the following allusions to the Saganaws:

"This isolated tribe has lived down to the present time with all the essential traits common to the darkest period of their history. They are heady, bad tempered, fond of drink, and savage when under its influence. Yet they are a people of strong mental traits, of independent and generous feelings, and warmly attached to their ancient mode of living and superstitions. They speak a well characterized dialect of the Chippewa language, holding nearly the same relation to the great Algic family of the North that the Seminoles do to the Creeks of the South. Their country appears to have been a place of refuge to the other tribes. They succeeded to the possessions of the Sauks, who were driven from the banks of the Saganaw about the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. They have been observed for at least a century to have had a ruling chief, who exercised more of the powers of a dictator than is usual with the other tribes. They are known to have indulged their predatory and warlike propensities, by participating in the scenes of attack and plunder which marked the early settlements of western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

"The country occupied by the Saganaws is fertile, densely wooded, and abounds in streams affording valuable water-power. It is still but sparsely settled, but in proportion as the lands are taken up, the natural means of subsistence of the Indians must diminish, although it is stated that portions of the public lands west and north of the Tittahawassa will afford a theatre for hunting for many years. The recent ratification by the Senate of the treaty of January 14th, 1837, with this tribe, extinguishes their title to all their possessions in Michigan, saving the right to live for five years on two of the ceded reservations on Saganaw bay. In 1837 this tribe lost 354 persons by the small-pox; of whom 106 were men, 107 women, and 141 children. Their present population, by a census just completed, is 993; 221 of whom are males, 298 females, and 474 youths and infants. In 1837 their corn-fields were either damaged or wholly destroyed by high water in the Saganaw and its tributaries. The present year they have raised, collectively, 760 bushels of corn, besides potatoes and vegetables. Two traders purchased of them, within the year, 40 bears, 65 deer, 35 otters, 33 pounds beaver, 570 muskrats, 140 minks, 55 fishers, 40 foxes, 17 elk, 4 moose, 890 raccoons, and 19 cats. How many they sold to others, is not known.

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[1] Page 45.

"The Department maintains for them a sub-agent, an interpreter, a blacksmith and assistant, and one principal and several subordinate farmers. They appear to have been overlooked by philanthropists, having, up to this date, neither schools nor teachers of any description."

On the 6th November, a treaty was entered into with the Miamies at the forks of the Wabash, by which this tribe ceded 170,000 acres of reservations in that quarter, for which they received $335,000. They were compensated for all buildings and improvements, and furnished by the United States with a location in the Indian territory west of the Mississippi, "sufficient in extent, suited to their wants and wishes," and contiguous to that occupied by the tribes which emigrated from the States of Ohio and Indiana. They agreed to send a delegation to explore the country proposed to be given them; their expenses to be defrayed by the Government. This treaty and exploration led to the eventual removal of this tribe, once the terror of the West, and so numerous and warlike that, during Washington's administration, they defeated successive armies under Harmer and St. Clair, and for years prevented the settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West. This tribe finally migrated to the Indian territory, diminished in numbers, degraded in morals and habits, wanting in industry, and lacking education, but affluent in Government funds and annuities. After their final defeat by Wayne, in 1793, they submitted to the authority of the United States, and located their residence in one of the richest valleys of the West, abounding in game and all the requisites for Indian subsistence. They pursued the usual course of hunters, being satisfied if the exertions of the year afforded them the means of living; little heeding that they would soon be surrounded by an industrious population, and finally supplanted by them. In this thoughtless, careless, idle manner, they lived in the Wabash valley until their lands became valuable. They began to cede their territory in 1809, and continued that course in 1814, 1818, 1826, and down to the date of their removal. But the large sums they received through this channel had the effect to destroy their self-reliance and native independence of character, to degrade them in habits and morals, to introduce disease, and lead in every way to a rapid depopulation. This tribe, which, in 1764, was estimated in its divisions at 5000 souls, or 1000 warriors,[1] and at the commencement of the American Revolution at 350 warriors, or 1750 souls,[2] was reduced at the time of their removal to about 700 persons; and, when a census of them was taken in 1850, they had dwindled to 500 souls,[3] who were in receipt of an annuity of $44,000.[4]

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[1] Vol. III., p. 555.
[2] Ibid., p. 559.
[3] Vol. I., p. 523.
[4] Vol. II., p. 569.

CHAPTER VII.

DISCORDS BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHEROKEES. BOUDINOT AND THE RIDGES ARE ASSASSINATED.

1839.
M. VAN BUREN,
PRESIDENT.

THE dissensions between the antagonistic parties of the Cherokees, called the Rossites and Ridgeites, originated by the treaty of New Echota, reached their crisis during this year. The smothered dislikes and hatred of four years burst forth with a fierceness which threatened to drench the territories with blood. The brutal murder of the Ridges, father and son, and of Elias Boudinot, will long remain as foul blots on their tribal escutcheon, for, however ignorant the Eastern Cherokees may have been of moral law and the theory of government, such pleas cannot shield them from deserved censure for the assassination of their fellow-men on account of political dissensions, or independent differences of opinion. The example of civilization and liberality set them by the United States, prior to their migration west, should have caused them to forget all former causes of animosity, produced good-will and friendliness of feeling, and induced in them a lofty spirit of mutual forbearance.

To comprehend the subject, it is necessary to premise that the Western Cherokees, who had emigrated with the sanction of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and located their residence in Arkansas as early as 1817, had established a form of government and adopted written laws. When the treaty party migrated, under the supervision of Messrs. Ridge and Boudinot, they united with the old settlers, and lived contentedly under the established order of things. But the malcontent party, who migrated with Mr. Ross, in 1838, went thither with embittered and revengeful feelings against the treaty party and the old settlers, and refused to submit to the existing government and laws of the Western Cherokees. On reaching the country, the Rossites, finding that they outnumbered the Ridgeites in the proportion of about two to one, at once became sticklers for the democratic doctrine that majorities should rule. It would have been well if, in grasping at power, they had not forgotten right. But it soon became evident that they were determined not only to ignore the old form of government and laws, but to establish new ones, and to compel the minority to submit to them, right or wrong. The Western Cherokees, however, so stoutly contested the ground, that within an incredibly short time a most desperate feud was enkindled, and the entire country plunged into discord. Neither party were as conciliatory in their views and opinions, or in their deportment and manners, as men of twenty years' experience in self-government ought to have been, and neither appeared to have duly estimated the importance of compromise and union. The words, though spoken, had no place in their hearts: one party was unyielding, the other was furious and aggressive.

A convention for the adjustment of their difficulties was summoned to meet at Tukatokah on the 20th of June, 1839, which remained in session for eight or nine days. Its discussions were exciting, discordant, and bitter. The Rossites, who were in the majority, resolved to hold their power, and the Ridgeites determined not to succumb. When it became evident that a compromise could not be effected, threats were used, whereupon some of the Ridgeite chiefs withdrew to their homes, and the council adjourned without effecting anything, except the manifestation of a deep and settled prejudice on both sides, and of the irreconcilable character of the feud. It appears, from a document before us,[1] that, on the evening when this council was dissolved, a secret conclave of the leaders of the Rossites was held, who selected forty men, to whom was assigned the duty of assassinating the leaders of the Ridgeites, that hateful party who had signed the treaty of New Echota, of the 28th of December, 1825. For fourteen years had this grudge been nourished in the hearts of the malcontent party, until it at last resulted in the commission of a cowardly murder. However true may be the assertion regarding the session of this dark conclave, it is certain that on the following day the inhuman and cruel murders of Boudinot, and of the Ridges, both father and son, were perpetrated. Boudinot was in the act of superintending the erection of a building, when he was accosted by four Indians, who solicited him to visit a house some hundreds of yards distant, and administer some medicines; he being a physician. With his usual promptness he complied, and had proceeded about half the distance, when he was suddenly assassinated. The fiends were not satisfied with killing, but they cut him into pieces in the most shocking manner. The younger Ridge was the next victim of this secret band of executioners. He was dragged from his bed, in the midst of his family, and dispatched. The elder Ridge, who was absent on a visit into the adjoining limits of Arkansas, was waylaid and shot by persons who occupied an eminence beside the road; and his body, when discovered by his friends, was found to have been pierced with five rifle-balls.

This violence excited great commotion in the nation, and, so far from checking the zeal of the Ridge party, it only inflamed it. Discord reigned everywhere, and Mr. John Ross, who was accused of concerting the plot of the assassination, surrounded his house with a guard of 500 of his adherents. Several chiefs of the opposite party took shelter within the walls of Fort Gibson, where they were protected by General Arbuckle, who also offered a refuge to Mr. Ross, which he declined. In the correspondence which ensued between the commandant of the fort and Mr. Ross, the latter disclosed a subtle, cautious, illogical, evasive policy. Extreme positions were taken by both parties, evincing a bitterly discordant and hostile spirit. The darkest of the ensuing transactions, on the part of the Rossites, was the calling of a convention, or general council, almost exclusively composed of their own party, which passed a resolution granting an amnesty to the murderers! They also, subsequently, declared some of the leading Ridgeites outlaws. These proceedings were disapproved by the local military and officers of the department, whose suggestions for effecting a reunion were unheeded. The Government at Washington instructed its officers to demand the surrender of the murderers, that they might be brought to trial; and directed them to withhold the Cherokee annuities while this discordant state of society existed.

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[1] Statement of Stand-Water.—*Congressional Documents*, Vol. XXVI.

Mr. Ross, having evaded any direct issue in the correspondence, sought to procure an investigation of the matter at a distant point, where witnesses could not be so readily summoned, and, for this purpose, sent his brother, Lewis Ross, and two other Cherokees to Washington. A personal interview with the Secretary of War was obtained, and an appeal made by Lewis Ross in favor of his brother, in which he spoke of the murders as *private* acts, and of the decree of their general party council, extending pardon to the actors therein, as being conclusive of the matter. He urged that an investigation should be instituted at the seat of Government. This Mr. Poinsett denied, remarking that, if John Ross were innocent, he would not oppose the arrest of the murderers, or attempt to shield them; that, with his known influence over the nation, he might have prevented the commission of the savage deeds; but he could now contribute to the ends of justice by surrendering the criminals, whose barbarities had been countenanced, and themselves exonerated by the national council. The Secretary said that the council had no legal right to sanction a violation of all laws, human and divine; and that no investigation was required, so long as John Ross, the chief magistrate, refused to deliver up the murderers to justice. He was not charged, it was conceded, with having ordered the murderers to perform the criminal act, but with permitting it to be done, when a word from him would have spared the effusion of innocent blood. He might justify himself by withdrawing his protection from the murderers, and giving them up; but the Government would continue to regard him as the instigator and abettor of these foul deeds until that was done. Mr. Poinsett concluded by saying that the majority ought to rule, while guided by law and principle; but that they had, by their cruel, savage, and lawless course, forfeited all right to govern the old settlers, who were in a minority; that they had proved themselves tyrants in the worst sense of the term; and the Government would not for a moment uphold or sanction tyranny; least of all, brutal, savage tyranny.[1]

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[1] Congressional Documents, No. 347, p. 9

CHAPTER VIII.

CLOSE OF THE FIRST DECADE OF THE COLONIZATION PLAN.

1840.
M. VAN BUREN,
PRESIDENT.

THE transactions of this year were resultant from the final performance of the remaining treaty stipulations with the minor tribes, which evidenced the complete removal of all the tribes, and parts of tribes, from the limits of the States and Territories, to a land where they could themselves exercise the sovereign power, and where they could not fail to, and did, annually prosper. But few allusions to the details of this period will be necessary.

The Cherokees, whose discordant relations had reached their acme in 1839, developing themselves in the internal discords and crimes which have been described, were convulsed by political turmoils for some years, during which unmistakeable tokens gave evidence that, however much dissensions prevailed, the ultimate result would be a union of all the jarring elements, and the institution of a permanent government. Strong wills and clear minds were to be found in their councils. The rivalries and jealousies of the chiefs had been fearfully excited by the transaction of New Echota, which, it was hoped, the conciliatory measures of the Government would have soothed; but, like a violent and stubborn disease, it could not be cured by palliatives, and required stronger applications, which, while they relieved, at the same, infuriated the patient. It required time to quell discords which had distracted the Cherokee nation to the centre; and the result has proved that time was the true remedy. No tribe of the same aggregate population had emigrated, and no other tribe which removed to the territory had been so long and so successfully the subject of instruction. A people who had invented a new alphabet, who had long participated in the school system; who had learned the arts of the loom and spindle, and had reached a condition of domestic society and manners, the refinement, tastes, and elegance of which may be judged of by the bright example of Catherine Brown,[1] could not lack clearness of conception, or the power of distinguishing between the principles of right and wrong. To deny this, as there was a Scottish element in the nation, would be as absurd as to aver that the mental calibre of the Scottish people, at a distinct era of Caledonian history, should be judged by the examples of Rob Roy, or the actors in the brutal atrocities of Glencoe.

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[1] Vide Anderson's Life, Boston.

The smaller tribes, who yet lingered in the States, may be regarded as occupying the relative position of boulders in the geological system. They had been removed from their natal positions, and located in questionable situations. The flood that swept them forward before its resistless waves was the European race, and it seemed doubtful whether they would ever again find a permanent foothold on the soil. Mr. Monroe uttered a truth, in 1824, when he said that such a resting place was only to be found west of the Mississippi; and in 1830, Congress, by clothing it in the language of a legal enactment, gave vitality to the suggestion.

One of these boulder tribes, who, of their own accord, sought refuge in the colonized territory, was the so-called Stockbridges, comprising the remnants of the ancient Mohicans. At the period of the discovery of the rivers Hudson, Chatemuc, the Mohigan,[1] of their own vocabulary, and the Cohahatatea of the Iroquois, this people resided on its western banks, opposite to, and south of Albany. When the population of the colonies pressed upon them, they crossed the Taconic range, and concentrated their people in the valley of the Housatonic, in Massachusetts, where for years they received tuition from the eminent theologian, Edwards. They espoused the cause of the colonies during the Revolutionary war, their services as runners, flankers, and gun-men, having been highly appreciated. After the close of that contest, they removed to the upper waters of the Oneida creek valley, by virtue of an arrangement with the Oneida canton — then under the government of the benevolent Skenandoah.[2] About the year 1822 they entered into negotiations with the Menomonees of Wisconsin, and subsequently removed to, and settled on Fox river, of Green Bay; but ten or twelve years' residence in this quarter was sufficient to satisfy them, that the white population would soon hem them in as closely there as they had done in New York. They entered into frequent negotiations with the Government, first accepting a tract on the banks of Lake Winnebago; but subsequently selling this, they stipulated for a location on the banks of the Mississippi. In 1840 a considerable number of the tribe, located on Lake Winnebago, in Wisconsin, withdrew from the others, and emigrated to the Indian colony west of the Missouri. They were accompanied by the Munsees, whose ancestors had been their neighbors on the west bank of the Hudson in ancient times, and by an emigrating party of Delawares, from the river Thames, in Canada, under command of the chief, Thomas T. Hendrick. The entire party, numbering 174 persons,[3] were received by their tribal relatives, the Delawares, who furnished them with a residence on their large reservation near Fort Leavenworth, on the Kanzas river.

The oft-tried temporizing and erroneous policy of removing Indians from one location, within the States, to another, however remote, also within their limits, has uniformly proved to be a failure. The experience of the Stockbridges, Munsees, and segregated Delawares was now added, to prove the evil results arising from this policy. Such removed tribes and bands were speedily surrounded by a white population, with whom they did not coalesce, and naturally wasted away under the influence of adverse manners and customs.

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[1] Mohican-ituc.

[2] Vol. IV., p. 509.

[3] Annual Indian Report, 1840., p. 3.

The same attempt to remove a tribe from one State to another was made with the Winnebagoes. Having been implicated in the Sauk war, they agreed in 1832, at Rock island, where the American army was then encamped, to leave the east banks of the Mississippi, abandoning their favorite Rock river, Wisconsin, and Fox river valleys, and remove to a position west of the Mississippi, denominated the Neutral Ground. For them, however, it was not "neutral ground." It was, in fact, the war ground of the Sacs and Foxes and Sioux; and they had, under the influence of the presence of a military force, agreed to a proposition, which they had not the ability, and were unwilling, to perform. Though ethnologically of the Sioux stock, their affinity was not to be relied on; they possessed a nationality of their own, and could not, after ages of separation, take shelter under the Sioux flag. The plan of the neutral ground was a benevolent theory, which it was hoped and believed would work well, but it eventually proved to be an utter fallacy. It had, however, strong advocates, being favored by many persons who did not wish to see the Winnebagoes removed, with their large means and annuities, beyond the reach of a peripatetic pedlar's footsteps, or to lose sight of the distribution of their annual per capita dollars.

In 1837 the Winnebagoes renewed by treaty their engagement to remove to the Neutral Ground, in Iowa, within eight months after the ratification of that instrument. The treaty was not ratified until June, 1838, which would limit the period for their removal to February, 1839. They still lingered in the valleys of their ancient home, until the matter of their removal was placed in the hands of General Atkinson. When they discovered that the United States were in earnest, the mass of them removed across the Mississippi without causing much difficulty; but, though still urged to proceed to the Neutral Ground, they encamped on the western margin of the river, where they were allowed to remain until the following year. Meantime they were afflicted by considerable sickness, and surrounded by whiskey shops, together with every temptation that Indians, possessing heavy annuities, are sure to encounter. Their agent established his buildings and shops on the Neutral Ground, where the tribe was eventually induced to settle, by the announcement that there only would they be paid their annuities. It will be seen in the sequel, that in a few years it became necessary to remove the Winnebagoes from the limits of Iowa.

A mistake of a similar kind was made with the united Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies, who ceded their lands in Illinois by the treaty concluded at Chicago in 1833. A part of the consideration named in it was the grant of 5,000,000 acres of land in the West; in accordance with which they were placed on a tongue of land situate between the western boundary of the State of Missouri and the Missouri river. The progress of the settlements in Missouri made this tract of land so essentially a geographical part of that State, and so necessary to its agricultural and commercial development, that Congress annexed it thereto; which act rendered it imperative for the Government to provide these Indians with the stipulated 5,000,000 acres west of the Missouri river.

Other bands of Pottawattamies, residing in Indiana, who had ceded their possessions in that quarter, were removed during this year, under the immediate surveillance of General Brady. There were also some accessions of the Seminoles from Florida, and of fragments of the segregated bands of the Black river and Swan creek Chippewas, of Michigan. The whole number of Indians removed in 1840 was 5671.[1] The Cherokee difficulties had, this year, been so far compromised between the two contending parties, that Mr. Poinsett, the Secretary of War, directed the annuities to be paid.[2]

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[1] Annual Indian Report, 1840, p. 29

[2] Ibid., p. 51.

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army

Pl. 8

Jno. C. McRae

SPEARING FISH FROM A CANOE

SECTION TWENTY-FIRST.

PRINCIPLES CONTENDED FOR BY THE INDIANS DURING THREE CENTURIES.

CHAPTER I.

ANTAGONISM OF BARBARISM AND CIVILIZATION.

1857.
J. BUCHANAN,
PRESIDENT.

"WHY," said Apaumet, "do you believe letters and arts superior to the pursuits of the bow and arrow? Do they more truly fulfil the ambitions of the human heart, according to the measure of light and knowledge, which determine the actual conditions of the different races of men?" Apaumet was a Mohican scholar, who had been carefully educated at Princeton, in New Jersey, where he was named John Calvin, and where he acquired a knowledge of classical and English Literature, of which, as he had a retentive memory, he was, on some occasions, not a little vain. He returned to his tribe on the Housatonic, and accompanied them to the banks of the Oneida, in western New York, where, as he was neither a hunter nor a fisherman, he became a schoolmaster: being disappointed with civilization, and discouraged with life, he tried to drown his sorrows in the intoxicating bowl, and often, while inebriated, would recite some of the finest passages of Homer. He said that his knowledge was useless to him, because he had no letters to write, and no accounts to keep; and that his study of history had taught him that his people were savages, and he himself a lettered savage, alike unfit for Indian or civilized life.

Apaumet would neither have warred against the European race, nor laid a straw in the way of civilization; but the Indian race lacked his intellect, his knowledge and his Christianity. Their minds were obscured by the gloom of barbarism, and, when aroused to action by their prophets, or excited by the eloquence of their chiefs and sachems, they became uncontrolable; their ardor being in a great measure proportioned to their ignorance.

It has been ever thus from the discovery of this continent. Their affection for ancient rites, manners, and customs, was a succedanum for patriotism; and their old traditions supplied their entire store of information. They regarded themselves as having once been the peculiar favorites of the Great Spirit, and they looked back to that period as to a sort of golden age, when every want was supplied. Their old men were then wiser; their laws, and their very language, was purer. Savages they never suspected themselves to be, and one common thought pervaded the whole mass. There were no facts from which to draw inferences, except those derived from Indian life; and these taught, that bravery and endurance were the chief objects of human attainment. The Indian mind is a unit; the likes, dislikes, and objects of contention of one member, being participated in by the rest of the tribes. Before the present condition of the tribes, who have been tranferred from the east to the west of the Mississippi, is adverted to, it may be appropriate to refer more fully to those leading principles which give uniformity to the Indian history. The condensed view of it which has been presented, from the day when the first European foot trod the soil of this continent, renders it evident that the contest has not been so much between particular races of Europe and the Indians, as between them and all races who upheld civilization against barbarism. It was not so much a struggle between colonies and tribes, as between conditions of society. True to his instincts, the Indian desired to preserve his territories as hunting-grounds, on which the entire race of animals might increase, and his offerings to a class of imaginary gods, at once propitiate their favor, and avert the penalty of past neglects or ingratitude. He did not wish for a religion whose teachings were diametrically opposite; and coveted not letters, which he did not understand or appreciate, and could not employ in the nomadic life which he led. Industry was to him a weariness he could not endure, and which he was ever ready to confound with slavery, of which the surveyor's compass and chain, the plough, and the loom, were regarded as the talismanic emblems. Possessing a marked character for secresy, deception, and endurance, he only tolerated what he could not resist. The conspiracies of Opechanganough, in Virginia, of the Chicoras and Tuscaroras in the Carolinas, of Sassacus and Pometacom, in Massachusetts, of Pontiac and Tecumseh in the West, and of Tuscaloosa and Osceola in the South, of Black Hawk in 1832, and of the Seminoles in 1835, were alike in accordance with the generic principle which they professed, and three centuries have not varied the issue. What the Indian contended against in 1622 and 1675, he tried to resist in 1712, 1763, and 1812. It was civilization he warred against; and letters, labor, and Christianity, were the potent and mysterious powers he supplicated his gods to resist.

Keeping in view this great truth, we have been enabled to present the preceding sketch of Indian history, without breaking it up by geographical lines; for the theatre of contest was America, not this, or that State; and the actors were the subtle and energetic groups of Vesperia. Whether encountered on the plains of New England or New York, or in the valleys of the Susquehanna, the Wabash, or the Mississippi, it was the same race, possessing similar characteristics, and actuated by like vindictive principles, that was to be encountered.

Discords like those which existed among the Cherokees, between the Ross and Ridge party, are exceptional cases to this rule. This side contest may be likened to the war between Uncas and Sassacus, which was originally based on rivalry and personal ambition. These feuds introduced no new principle, and do not disclose a new trait of character.

CHAPTER II.

PHILOSOPHICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ARGUMENT ON THE DIFFERING MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE RACES OF MEN.

1857.
J. BUCHANAN,
PRESIDENT.

WHEN, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake visited the Pacific coast, he conferred the name of Albion on a part of it, which was inhabited by a tribe who lived almost in a state of nudity, sheltering themselves in pits excavated in the ground, and who, mingling traits of kindness and simplicity with their barbaric manners and customs, exhibited savage society in some of its most suggestive lights. In a biography of this intrepid adventurer, written by Dr. Samuel Johnson, he carefully depicts those traits of the Albionenses, subjoining the moral conclusions deducible from the state and condition of the nomadic races on the face of the globe, which tower above the ordinary scope of humanitarian philosophy.

"Whether more enlightened nations ought to look upon them with pity, as less happy than themselves, some skeptics have made, very unnecessarily, a difficulty of determining. More, they say, is lost by the perplexities than gained by the instruction of science; we enlarge our vices with our knowledge, and multiply our wants with our attainments, and the happiness of life is better secured by the ignorance of vice, than by the knowledge of virtue.

"The fallacy by which such reasoners have imposed upon themselves, seems to arise from the comparison which they make, not between two men equally inclined to apply the means of happiness in their power to the end for which Providence conferred them, but furnished in unequal proportions with the means of happiness, which is the true state of savage and polished nations; but between two men, of which he to whom Providence has been most bountiful, destroys the blessings by negligence or obstinate misuse; while the other, steady, diligent, and virtuous, employs his abilities and conveniences to their proper end. The question is not, whether a good Indian, or bad Englishman, be most happy? but, which state is most desirable, supposing virtue and reason the same in both?"[1]

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[1] Johnson's Works, Vol. II., p. 336: Harper & Brothers, New York.

Comment on such a conclusion is vain. The libertines of philosophy, who fill the world with new theories, have not failed to inculcate the idea that the heathen nations of the globe are subject to a peculiar moral responsibility, different from the ordinary code, and may derive happiness from obedience to axioms, rightful or erroneous, not recognised by the canons of revelation. By far the greatest part of the world, since the era when paganism first predominated, are thus placed on a basis differing from, and antagonistic to, the rest. To reconcile this notion with reason, there must be two gradations of intellectual truth, two of virtue, and two of moral accountability. The Indian must be justified, by this theory, in his submission to barbarism, because it constitutes his happiness; and the skeptical world is satisfied to witness the progress of idolatry, and the spread of the empire of the tomahawk. They affirm that education should not be forced on the Indians, because it is not an element essential to their happiness; and that the revelations of Christianity should be withheld, because they do not desire to become Christians.

CHAPTER III.

SUBSIDENCE OF THE INDIAN FEUDS.

1857.
J. Buchanan,
President.

Close association in civil communities for a series of years has had a tendency to allay discords. The great principle for which all the aboriginal tribes struggled, was to prevent the hunter state of society from being overslaughed and annihilated by civilization. The happiness of the Indian was centred in forests and the chase: schools and churches were abhorred by him. There have been no contentions on this score between tribe and tribe, nor between divisions of the same tribe; internal dissensions have invariably arisen from private jealousies and ambitions. These have been the real, but secret source of tribal discords. Questions regarding the disposition of funds, and the regulation of their internal policy, have been discussed and settled in both general and tribal councils. The object for which these bodies are now convened is not, as formerly, during the hunter state of the tribes, to discuss the policy of proclaiming war or concluding peace, and to wrangle with each other respecting trespasses on tribal boundaries, but to adjust their civil affairs. Morals, education, arts, and agriculture, respectively, occupy a share of attention in these public assemblies; and the progressive improvement in the Indian character has been so easy and imperceptible, that their councils and assemblies have been completely changed, in a few years, from arenas for the display of wrangling, and disputatious and declamatory elocution, to legislative bodies, whose meetings are characterized by calm and sober discussion and dispassionate decision. Reference is had particularly to the Four Tribes. The representative principle has been generally adopted for limited periods and definite objects. The beneficial effects of temperance, a virtuous life, and habits of industry, on the manners of society, and on public as well as private prosperity, have been recognised and acknowledged as the true elements of political economy. These leading tribes have, indeed, fairly embarked in their national career, which perseverance, energy, and decision will enable them to pursue triumphantly.

The Cherokee disturbance, once so threatening, has entirely subsided, and it is now evident that the prosperity of the nation was well secured by the treaty of New Echota, although the execution of that instrument by the minority gave the political and personal preponderance to the majority, and took the power from the leading, pacific, and progressive chiefs. The act was regarded by the malcontent chiefs as a usurpation of authority, and their feelings were more highly excited by the loss of personal power than by that of national wealth.

Events occurring among the Indian tribes are slow in development, and years elapse before discords are forgotten, or opinions become nationalized. This may be fully demonstrated by reference to the history of the Cherokees. Nineteen years have passed away, and the blood of Boudinot and the Ridges has not, to use an Indian metaphor, been washed from the assassins' hands. The sanguinary deeds which once harrowed up the feelings of the nation, and aroused the sympathies of the Union, have been succeeded by peace, though the atrocities are not forgotten; and the government of the Cherokees, the great bone of internal contention for so many years, remains in the hands of the Rossite party. A detail of the incidents which occurred in Cherokee history during this period, would impart but little additional interest to the narrative, and add nothing at all to the knowledge of Indian character. Notwithstanding the feelings of indignation entertained at the time against the perpetrators of these foul murders, the scene of the transactions was too remote to enable the Government to act with certainty and promptitude; and the object to be attained, however just and right, was too delicate and difficult to risk; for it involved the sacrifice of the lives of a valuable part of the nation, and, at the same time, the hazard of the possible outbreak of a general Indian war in that quarter. The true friends of the nation may feel a consolation in reflecting, that the wise forecast and decision of character which induced the Cherokees to relinquish their ancient residences east of the Mississippi, and begin a new career of industry in the West, have laid the foundation of the permanent prosperity and civilization of the tribe; and that the respected names of Elias Boudinot and John Ridge will long be remembered as the great benefactors and moral heroes of their country. Those who stained their hands in the patriotic blood of these men, failed thereby to arrest the onward progress of the Cherokees.

The present condition of the Cherokees is one of industrial and educational prosperity. They are the owners, in fee simple, of 7,000,000 acres of the most fertile and beautiful lands, diversified with prairie and forest, and watered by the clearest streams. This tract, which is amply sufficient for their growing population for many years to come, is situate on the great level, intermediate between the buffalo plains, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and the forest country on the borders of Arkansas; and is favored with a fine, equitable climate, conducive to vigorous health, and beneficial to agriculture. On its prairies, cattle, horses, and hogs are raised, without other labor than that of tending them. They cultivate the zea maize and cereal grains, and pursue agriculture profitably. Lumber and grist mills, and manufactories, are located in every advantageous position. Their style of building, and the fences which enclose their fields, are altogether equal to those of their white neighbors. They conduct their own mercantile operations, send their own products to market, and receive their annual supplies. Their government is a representative one, with presiding officers, whose terms of office are limited. They have courts for the adjudication of civil suits, and the trial of criminal offenders. The number of their schools and churches, as returned at stated periods, is found to increase regularly. Their population feels the impulses of the industry and vitality imparted by plenty and prosperity, equitable laws, general education, and habits of temperance; and all observers, official and unofficial, bear testimony to the fact, that the stability of their nascent government, the elevated tone of society, and their general improvement, become more apparent with every decade.

SECTION TWENTY-SECOND.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERALLY IMPROVED STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS AMONG THE COLONIZED TRIBES.

1857. J. BUCHANAN, PRESIDENT.

ATTENTION must now be directed to the working of the colonization plan. In the preceding pages, the history of the Indians has been traced from the period of the discovery of North America to that of the successful completion of the plan for their colonization west of the Mississippi; which may be considered as having been actually closed with the removal of the Cherokees in 1838—that people having been the last of the great tribes which opposed it — although protracted to 1841. They were also the most numerous, and, perhaps, the most thoroughly instructed and intelligent, of the group of tribes formerly resident within the limits of the old States. Their migration was followed, in the sequence of time, by the removal of the small and advanced tribe of the Wyandots from Sandusky, Ohio, the Miamies of Indiana, the Sacs and Foxes of Iowa, and some minor bands inhabiting lower Michigan and the Maumee valley, Ohio.

Sixteen years, comprising four presidential terms, have elapsed since the completion of this colonial experiment, during which the policy of removal has been regarded by each successive administration as settled and approved, and as equally beneficial to the Indians as to the United States. From the period of the completion of their removal, the question has ceased to be a theme of discussion in American political circles. We may now inquire into their condition and prospects, in order to determine how far the expectations entertained have been realized. From the South there have been removed, of the Appalachian group, the Creeks, and their affiliated tribe, the

Seminoles, the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the Cherokees. Of the widely diffused generic stock of the Algonquins, in the North, there have been transferred, the Delawares, Shawnees, southern Chippewas and Ottowas, Pottawattamies, Miamies, Weas, Piankashaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Mohigans, or Stockbridges, Munsees, and the Sacs and Foxes of Iowa and Missouri. The tribes of the Iroquois lineage, and speaking that language, which have migrated, comprise the Wyandots, Senecas, the mixed Senecas and Shawnees, and portions of the Cayugas; and of the Dakotah stock, the Quappas. These twenty-four tribes have been the objects of philanthropic solicitude for two centuries, during which period, they have received instruction in arts and morals, industry and manners. The effort has been continuous, from the earliest period of British colonial history, having been originated in 1644, by the apostolic labors of John Eliot, acting under the auspices of the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and the new impetus which the work received from Edwards and Brainard has been continued to the present time.[1]

All the means for the dissemination of knowledge, which the Indians possessed while they resided east of the Mississippi river, were transferred with them to the West. Their annuities in coin and kind were paid in the West, and their tutors in letters, mechanics, and agriculture accompanied them thither. Not only was there no diminution of the care or interest previously manifested for their welfare by the Government, by benevolent societies, and by individuals, but, on the contrary, they received increased attention, and were more amply provided with means. Every candid mind must admit that the results of their removal have been, in every respect, beneficial. It had been apprehended that the removal of the tribes to the wilderness, after having received instruction and made considerable improvement, would be attended with adverse results; that they would again resort to the chase to obtain the means of subsistence; and that, by contact with the wild, indigenous tribes of the prairies, they would acquire the manners and contract the vices of barbarism. This view appeared more plausible than substantial, and the apprehension expressed proved to be unfounded. Those of the tribes who had acquired industrious habits, and had for years practised them in the East, did not flag in their endeavors after their removal to the West. The territory is well adapted to the raising of cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses; the natural meadows, or prairies, spontaneously furnishing the most luxuriant pasturage. The convenience of dwelling-houses, out-houses, and fences having become necessary to the tribes, they did not attempt the experiment of living without them; and education became more important to them when they had business to transact, accounts to keep, and correspondents to answer. The remark of Apaumet, previously quoted, was no longer applicable, when the value and utility of knowledge was practically demonstrated.

Their condition may be assimilated to that of a valetudinarian on the banks of a river, who, by the advice of a physician, is suddenly seized, and to his affright and conternation, plunged under the water; but who subsequently perceives, by the benefits derived therefrom, that the warmth and vitality thus generated are salutary and healthful. In like manner, the tribes who distrusted the remedy proposed to prevent their extinction in the States, have found that the attendant results agreeably disappointed their expectations. They have been compelled to improve. Jefferson, Monroe, Adams, Jackson, and their respective successors, had correctly foreseen that they must soon be surrounded and annihilated in the States, and wisely provided a remedy, which, though it seemed to them violative of their ideas of happiness, raised them to the dignity of men, and conferred on them the privileges of citizens and nations.

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[1] Vide Moral Statistics.

The detail of facts, however, will more clearly prove the truth of these assertions. In the autumn of 1838, the Rev. Mr. Fleming visited the office of the agent and superintendent of Indian affairs in Michigan. His attention having been directed to the removal policy of the Government, the character of the country, and the condition of the tribes, he stated, in a familiar and unpretending manner, the following facts: He had been one of the missionaries expelled from Georgia, after having labored there four years, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Creek language to be able to preach in it, by first writing out his discourse. The order from the political authorities to quit that station had been abruptly given. He had since visited the Indian territories in the West, assigned to the expatriated tribes; and had been in the region of the tribes located on the Osage and Neosho rivers. He spoke highly of its fertility, and of the advanced state of the Indians who had emigrated; and described the belt of country lying immediately west of the Missouri State line, as decidedly the most fertile spot in that region. In reply to what has been alleged regarding its bleakness, he stated, that there was considerable wood of excellent quality on the streams; and on the hills, hickory, hackberry, cottonwood, cypress, and blackjack, which make excellent fire-wood. He bore testimony to the general excellence of the territory.

He stated that the first party of Creeks who removed from Georgia, immediately after the M'Intosh treaty, were the most degraded in the nation; but that recently, on the arrival of a large body of Creeks in the West, they found their brethren, who had preceded them several years, in the possession of every comfort, and decidedly more advanced than themselves. The Maumee Ottowas, so besotted when leaving Ohio, had already improved, had become planters, given up drink, and were listening to teachers of the gospel. The Shawnees were in a state of enviable advancement; they were thrifty farmers; possessed good habitations, well-fenced fields, and large stocks of horses, cattle, and domestic animals; and had public roads, ferries, schools, and meeting-houses. They dressed in the English style, most of them speaking English, and their horsemen were provided with superior saddles, and bridles. To the observer, the settlers present every appearance of thrift and contentment. The industrial and other statistics are furnished under the appropriate head.

In contrast to this exhibit may be placed the condition of the tribes east of the Mississippi, prior to their removal, which had been, from the earliest dates, adverse to every improvement. In 1607 and 1620 they were residing on their ancient locations, which they occupied long after the settlement of the European colonies. But they made no permanent advance; they appeared to be doomed to sink lower and still lower in the industrial scale. Each succeeding century but added its adverse testimony to that of the preceding. Not being able to withstand the shock of civilization, many of the tribes became extinct. South of the Chesapeake the Indian tribes were exterminated by their vices within one century. North of this geographical point there were still in existence at the time of removal, some of the leading and most vigorous branches of the great Algonquin and Iroquois stocks. Some of these yet occupied portions of the very territories upon which they had been first found. They had, to some extent, resisted the flood of sensual destructive agents, which had swept off so many of their brethren. Others had, at an early day, commenced their migration to the West, always, however, fleeing further into the wilderness, just in advance of the enlarging circle of civilization. As the settlements advanced, their policy was to make new cessions, and further removes, adapting themselves to the pressure, until the land they held finally passed from their possession.

At the time when their systematic removal was commenced by the Government, there still remained, within the States east of the line of the Mississippi and Missouri, 110,349 souls.[1] At the close of the year 1836, 45,690 of this number, comprising portions of nineteen tribes, had been transferred to the West.[2] At this time, there had been established for these tribes, in their new locations, 51 schools, at which 2221 pupils were instructed. In addition to this, 156 pupils, of an advanced grade, were instructed at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, and four of the graduates were studying the legal profession in New York, Vermont, and elsewhere.[3]

In 1855, the four southern, or Appalachian tribes, namely, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, including the Seminoles, had an aggregate population of 62,176.[4] The twenty small tribes and tribal bands, located in the Territory of Kansas, numbered 13,481,[5] making a total aggregate population of 75,657. These tribes, protected on the west by a line of military posts, stretching from the Red River to the Nebraska, in a genial climate, on a fertile soil, and possessing agricultural habits, could not, it would seem, in all America, have been located in a territory more favorable to their advance in every element of civilization.

To determine the degree in which the several tribes, removed from the area of the old States, have availed themselves of these advantages, it will be necessary to refer to official records, and to details drawn from official reports and documents, for statements of their actual condition.

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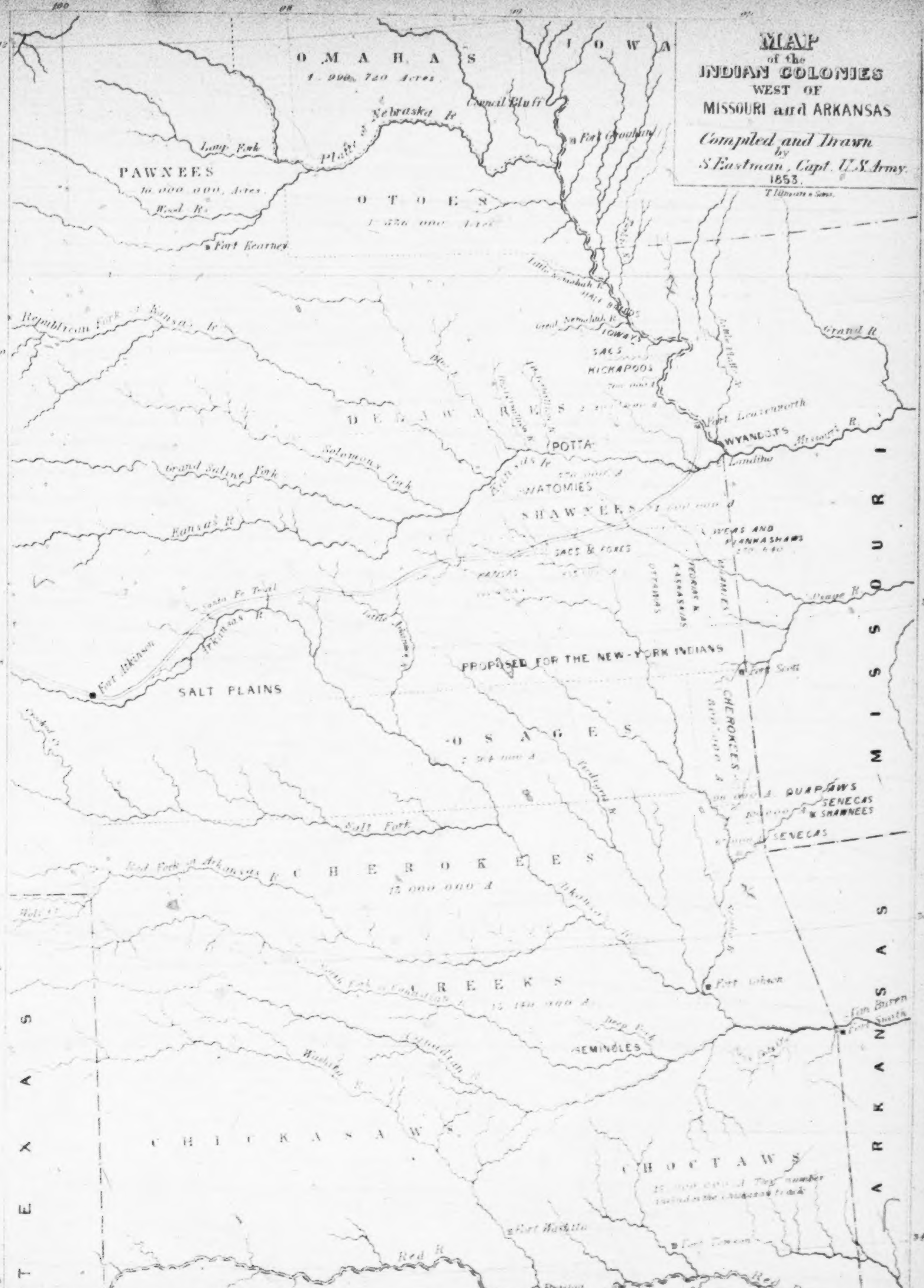
[1] Vol. V., p. 480.

[2] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for 1836, p. 41.

[3] Ibid., p. 43.

[4] Vol. V., p. 498.

[5] Vol. V., p. 495.

MAP
of the
INDIAN COLONIES
WEST OF
MISSOURI and ARKANSAS
Compiled and Drawn
by
S. Eastman, Capt. U.S. Army.
1853.
T. Illman & Sons.
OMAHAS
4,900,720 Acres
IOWA
Council Bluff
Fort Croghan
Nebraska R.
Platte
Loup Fork
PAWNEES
10,000,000 Acres
Wood R.
Fort Kearney
OTOES
Little Nemahah R.
HALF BREEDS
Great Nemahah R.
IOWAYS
SACS
KICKAPOOS
Republican Fork of Kansas R.
Blue R.
DELAWARES
Fort Leavenworth
WYANDOTS
Missouri R.
Grand R.
POTTA
WATOMIES
Kansas R.
Solomons Fork
Grand Saline Fork
SHAWNEES
WEAS AND
PIANKASHAWS
SACS & FOXES
KANSAS
OTTAWAS
PEORIAS & KASKASKIAS
MIAMIES
Osage R.
Santa Fe Trail
Little Arkansas
Arkansas R.
Fort Atkinson
SALT PLAINS
PROPOSED FOR THE NEW-YORK INDIANS
Fort Scott
OSAGES
Verdigris R.
CHEROKEES
QUAPAWS
SENECAS
& SHAWNEES
SENECAS
Salt Fork
Red Fork of Arkansas R.
CHEROKEES
13,000,000 A.
Arkansas R.
Neosho R.
CREEKS
South Fork of Canadian R.
Fort Gibson
Van Buren
Fort Smith
Deep Fork
SEMINOLES
Washita R.
Canadian R.
CHICKASAWS
CHOCTAWS
They number included in the Chickasaw lands
Fort Washita
Fort Towson
Red R.
Preston
Red R.
TEXAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
100
98
96
94
40
38
36
34

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, RELATIVE LOCATION, AND ADVANTAGES OF THE TRIBES.

1857.
J. BUCHANAN,
PRESIDENT.

THE geographical position of the colonized tribes is shown by the accompanying map.[1] Located on a territory bounded by the Red River and the Nemaha, or the Nebraska, of Missouri, west of the limits of Arkansas and Missouri, they occupy an area between the 34th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and the 94th and 100th degrees of west longitude. First in the order of location, commencing on the south, are the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who own, together, 15,000,000 acres. Next, the Creeks and Seminoles, who possess 13,140,000 acres; then the Cherokees, who have 15,000,000 acres along the north banks of the main channel of the Arkansas river, with an adjacent tract of 300,000 acres, making an aggregate of 43,440,000 acres. These comprise the family of the Ausonian and southern tribes. Adjacent to them, on the east, are the Quappas and Senecas, and mixed Senecas, who possess, respectively, 96,000, 67,000, and 100,000 acres. The Indian colony is located on the great geographical slope of the Rocky Mountains, within the limits of the forest range; embracing, in some positions on its western borders, a portion of the great buffalo plains. Major Long, who, in 1820–21, conducted an exploring expedition across it from north to south, commencing about north latitude, 42°, and west longitude, 96°, passed through these vast grassy steppes and plains, where the bison feeds on the short sweet grass growing amid boundless solitudes.[2] Colonel Fremont, who crossed the north section of this slope, in 1842, from the mouth of the Kanzas to the foot and summit of the Rocky Mountains, gives the altitude of this plain, at the mouth of the Kanzas, at 1000 feet, and states that it has such a gradual rise, that he reached the first range of the Rocky Mountains without impediment to his teams; the barometer denoting an altitude of 8000 feet above the Atlantic.[3] Schoolcraft, who had, in 1819, passed the broad Ozark range, tracing the Gasconade, Merrimac, White, and Osage rivers to their sources, and entered the level and fertile plains on the west, found it to be a tract of country characterized by exuberant fertility and sylvan beauty.[1]

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[1] Plate XXIV., Vol. IV., p. 180.

[2] Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains.

[3] Report of Fremont's Exploring Expedition in 1843–44: Washington, 1845, p. 174.

Geologically viewed, its surface consists of a drift deposit of sand, loam, clay, marl, and comminuted gravel, arising from the broken down silurian series, in which the leading strata of sandstone, limestone, and slate, are the parent elements. Over this, deposits of leaves, of the decayed forms of organic life, and of carbonaceous matter from the forests, have formed a rich mould, making the soil mellow and easy to cultivate. Much of it is level, or lying in gentle slopes, unencumbered with a heavy forest, difficult to be removed by the axe. It is, nevertheless, well watered, and there is a full supply of timber for building fences, and for firewood.

Among the advantages of the country may be mentioned the saline formation. Salt springs exist in many localities, and this geological trait is attended with the usual accompaniment of this formation, namely gypsum and coal. The discovery of efflorescent bodies of salt on the prairies, originated the once prevalent opinion that masses of rock-salt were deposited beneath the soil. Through these beds, which lie on gently sloping hills and in valleys, the Red river, the Washitaw, the Arkansas, and the Kanzas, flow out of, or from the direction of, the Rocky mountains, and, with their numerous affluents, water the entire country; the Missouri washes its borders for several hundred miles; the Red river bounds its southern line to the distance of six degrees of longitude; and the States of Missouri and Arkansas lie between its eastern limits and the Mississippi.

Geographically, this great tract of arable land is bounded by the Ozark hills, or mountains, a very broad midland range, resting on azoic rocks, extending from the Hot Springs of Arkansas, to the head waters of the River St. Francis, of Missouri. At both terminal points there arises a series of these rocks; that at the south, consisting of slate, schist, and quartz; and at the north, of granite, sienite, trap, and porphyry. Superimposed upon these, and frequently concealed altogether for a considerable distance, are the characteristic sandstone and limestone formations of the region. Through these the Red river, Washitaw, Arkansas, White river, and St. Francis, pursue their way to the Mississippi, producing rapids, but no striking falls. Connected with this central upheaval of the old rocky strata, are developments of mineral wealth, which it is not designed to notice particularly in this place.

Of the climatic phenomena of the Indian territories, thus bounded, we cannot speak from instrumental observations. It may suffice to observe that travellers, official agents, and missionary teachers, all concur in describing the climate as mild, genial, and favorable to the growth of all the varieties of cereals and esculents. The cotton plant thrives, and is cultivated in the southern portion. Wheat and Indian corn are its staples; and grazing is nowhere more profitably pursued. Its water-power is sufficient for the purposes of mills and manufactories. That this region, possessing such a soil and climate, and abounding in natural resources, is destined to sustain a large industrial Indian population, can admit of little doubt; and, if the tribes are but true to the moral, political, and industrial principles they have embraced, their future history may be written in glowing language.

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[1] Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains in 1819, p. 109: Philadelphia edition.

Regarding the numerous tribes of Indians who rove over the interior of the continent, between the Missouri river and the Pacific Ocean, and who are yet fascinated with the pursuit of the chase — who yet reject the principles of civilization, and still delight to rob and murder — it requires no spirit of prophecy to predict their progress, or their end.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL, POLITICAL, AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF THE CREEKS, CHICKASAWS, CHOCTAWS, AND CHEROKEES.

1857.
J. BUCHANAN,
PRESIDENT.

A FURTHER and more detailed review of the present condition of the expatriated tribes, their numbers, advance, characteristics, and condition will enable the reader to judge of their present state and future prospects. At the period of the inauguration of the policy of emigration, many of the tribes who had sustained the shock of the colonial period, had dwindled away to mere remnants; others had been entirely annihilated. Such of the original littoral tribes as had not fallen victims to indulgence, idleness, and excess, had removed into the interior, retreating, from time to time, farther and farther into the wilderness, as civilization advanced.

The entire number of Indians remaining in the States and Territories, east of the Mississippi and of the Missouri, at the period of the official commencement of their removal, in 1825, was 110,000, exclusive of some 19,000, resident within the limits of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas.[1] The latest returns of the colonial population, in the Indian territories west of the Mississippi, give an aggregate of 95,657, exclusive of 7,355 persons of the indigenous tribes within the same territory, comprising principally the Osages, Kanzas, and Quappas.

Analyzing the return of the transferred tribes at that date, we find that the aggregate of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, with the affiliated Seminoles, is 82,176 persons, who occupy the principal locations south of the Territory of Kanzas. No census returns having been received from this quarter for several years, and the tribes having, meanwhile, been reported by the agents as increasing and prosperous, it may be estimated that the gross population of these four important tribes, together with the semi-segregated Seminoles, reaches, at the present time, if it does not exceed, 100,000. On these four native tribes, transferred from the Ausonian, or Appalachian range, the attention and expectations of the country have been principally centered during many years, as constituting the probable nucleus of a future independent Indian government, west of the Mississippi. Having attained the ratio of Congressional representation,[1] it would appear due to their advance and character, that they should be received as a member of the commonwealth, or, at least, that the first steps toward their recognition as such should be taken.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 586.

Desire for applause has induced the wild hunter, for centuries, to concentrate his attention on the two only objects by which he could obtain it while in that state, namely, feats in hunting and bravery in war. The prospects are now reversed; the strongest incentives to the educated Indians in their present condition are mental and social distinction. If industry, arts, and education have not qualified them for these, then the efforts made for their elevation have been in vain. The great obstacle to the advancement of the Indian communities has been their innately suspicious character and the over-estimate they attached to independence. These have made them refuse to confederate. Perhaps, if we examine this tribal independence more closely, it may be found to resemble, in some measure, the cherished non-interference in communal rights. Tribal rights were strenuously maintained and supported by all the barbarous tribes; and it is conceded that these rights are more strongly cherished as they advance in knowledge, and pique themselves on their greater capacity for the enjoyment of them. Certain it is, that they have, thus far, opposed every project for political union. Legislative plans of this nature have been submitted to them, and urged upon them, without effect. It is a matter worthy of grave consideration, whether sufficiently minute attention has been bestowed upon the objects desired by the Indians, or such a discrimination made between tribal and general powers, as the case demands. Local and police laws properly belong where our own system leaves them, to the integral members of the compact; and it is found, as the system is developed, that the greatest importance is attached to these reserved rights. If the Indian communities could agree on the formation of a general Territorial or State assembly, on a basis similar to the Congressional ratio of representation, leaving to each division its own tribal council, and tribal reserved rights, it is apprehended the objections of the tribes would be obviated. The laws, imposing a tribal tax for the construction of roads, the erection of bridges, council-houses, schools, or churches, to establish public offices, and to award the punishment for offences, constitute so many items for separate action, on which every tribe, as with us every State, retains the invaluable right to determine for itself. The adjustment of a fiscal system, the designation of the powers and compensation of officers, the management of the general funds, and the regulation of federal officers, could be appropriately conceded to a general Indian government. To this government would also be confided the duty of making the laws by which the representatives in the Congress of the United States should be elected; and to it would justly appertain the supervision of the moral, social, and intellectual codes of the country, and the true development of Indian nationality. Each tribe, or tribal district, would thus assimilate in power to one of the States of the Union. The Cherokee would no longer distrust the Choctaw, nor the Choctaw the Chickasaw; or a Chickasaw regard with jealousy a Creek or Seminole, or other member of the league.

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[1] Fixed at this time at 93,702.

A single territory, organized on these principles, would thus become the nucleus of a State. The plan of separate territories for each of the four tribes, reported to the Senate, is manifestly impracticable, even were not its provisions expensive in a four-fold degree, and some of its other features objectionable.

The industrial condition and means of these tribes are shown in detail, in the statistical tables, together with a digested exhibit of their moral condition. In an address delivered before an ecclesiastical board during the present year, by the Rev. C. Kingsbury, who has been a missionary among the Choctaws during forty years, that gentleman gave a very vivid account of the improved state of morals in this tribe. "My mission," said the speaker, who had grown grey in this benevolent service, "is among the Choctaws, west of the State of Arkansas. This mission was planted there thirty-nine years ago; then there was no gospel there — not a church nor a school-house; no Sabbath, no written language. All the Indians were addicted to intemperance. Infanticide was common; witchcraft was practised, and every form of superstition and vice was abundant. Now there are fifteen churches, of the Old School Presbyterians, with 1660 members, all full Choctaws, twelve ministers, four licentiates, and one candidate. Two of the ministers are full Choctaws — devoted and useful men. We have six boarding-schools, with 320 pupils, and pious teachers, where all the branches of good education are taught; habits of industry and principles of piety are inculcated. The native government is interested in this work, and has contributed $30,000 to the support of schools, having six besides those under the control of the missionaries. Then there are a large number of Saturday and Sabbath-schools; thousands of books have been printed and distributed, tracts and bound volumes, diffusing knowledge and religion among the people.

"The Choctaws give the best evidence of being a civilized people. In no part of this country is the Sabbath better observed — nowhere is there a more temperate community. Thirty years ago they adopted a law excluding ardent spirits, and it is enforced. I have seen large assemblies of Indians on occasion of the annuity being paid to them, and, though liquor could be easily procured across the line, there was not a single Indian drunk.

"Though we have but fifteen churches, we have sixty places of preaching, and the elders hold divine service in them every Sabbath-day. At our last meeting of presbytery, 400 Choctaws attended, camped out in the cold, and remained interested to the close. The collection made among them for Foreign Missions was $125.25; one of the Indians giving $20, and two others $10 apiece. One of them said, 'I remember when we gave only $3 at such a collection. Then we were poor, and carried our wood on our backs; now we are better off, and can give more, and we must increase our gifts as our means increase.'

"Fathers and brethren, you have a noble band of missionaries there — I do not speak of myself, for I am in the service of another Board — and you must hold up their hands; some of them are ready to faint, and need help. Send them more men. We are told that many would go who are detained by their friends' opposition. Let them come. Your missions there are standing fair in the nation, and, with the confidence of the people, and enjoying the favor of God, they ought to be sustained with vigor, and will be crowned with still greater success."[1]

Similar details could be furnished respecting the other three Ausonian tribes. The plantations and farms are well cultivated, according to our latest information, and the farms are well stocked and well fenced. Courts of justice and legislative councils are established, schools and academies cherished, churches built, and funds provided for orphans, mutes, and the indigent and unfortunate. A diurnal press is adequately sustained, and libraries encouraged. With these cheering indicia, it is not perceived why these rescued and instructed tribes should not attain a high state of prosperity and happiness. A tribe which has constructed an alphabet for the expression of its sounds,[2] and, in The Daughter of Tsaluh, has presented a brilliant evidence of proficiency in letters, grace, and manners, may well be expected to excel in learning and politeness.[3] Fifty-one schools, two academies, and 156 advanced pupils and students, at a single academy, denote an intellectual and moral vigor, and give evidence of high attainment.[4] Be it remembered that there are at this time sixty places of preaching, fifteen churches, and 1660 church-members in the Choctaw nation alone.

If thought and genius could animate a Pict, a Scot, a Celt, a Frank, and a Teuton, we are acquainted with no theory of philosophy which forbids their vital embodiment in the sonorous and graphic languages of these sons of the forest. Prometheus, it is asserted in mythological fable, invested with life a bull's hide, stuffed with bones; which so provoked Jupiter, that he deprived the earth of the use of fire. The vital spark was restored by the son of Japetus, who for this purpose visited the chariot of the sun. But, with the actual and practical power possessed by the United States, no Prometheus is required to say to the morally defunct Indian tribes, ARISE, AND STAND ON THY FEET; CONGRESS WILLS IT!

In closing this account of the present condition of the four tribes who occupy the most advanced position in the progress in civilization and refinement, the following summary of facts, derived from official sources, is submitted:

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[1] Correspondence of the New York Observer, May 25th, 1857.

[2] For this alphabet, and examples of its use, see Vol. II., p. 228, Plates A and B.

[3] Life of Catherine Brown.

[4] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1836, pp. 41, 43.

"The Choctaws," observes Mr. Armstrong, the western superintendent of Indian affairs, "have long since justly acquired for themselves, not only from the Government of the United States, but from the citizens with whom they have intercourse, a name for honesty and fidelity, at least not surpassed by any of our Indian tribes. They have, by a steady attention to their own business, since they emigrated to their present homes, greatly increased in wealth; they have not been unmindful, at the same time, of educating the rising generation, and they have, by these means, added to the general intelligence and standing of the nation. This favorable change is indicated more clearly on Red river than with that portion of the nation on the Arkansas. The wealth and intelligence of the nation are confined mainly to the two districts on Red river.

"The Choctaws may be considered as an agricultural and stock-raising people—farms on Red river will compare with any in the States. They have great advantages over other tribes, as a portion of their country is located in the cotton region. The past year they cultivated this valuable staple to a considerable extent; they have eight or ten cotton gins, and shipped between 700 and 800 bales of cotton. This year some wealthy Choctaws and Chickasaws, who reside in the immediate vicinity of Fort Towson, have turned their attention more to planting corn. This change took place in consequence of the low price of cotton, and an additional market for corn at Fort Towson, by the arrival of a portion of the dragoons on the Red river frontier. The corn required by contract is about 20,000 bushels, which will be supplied within fifteen or twenty miles of the post, by Choctaws and Chickasaws. Many of the Choctaws live in comfortable houses, and, with very few exceptions, even the poorer class have good, substantial log cabins. They own large stocks of horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep: this constitutes the wealth of those who may be termed the poorer class. It is rare indeed to find a family that has not a good supply of stock. The richer class, in addition to stock, own, many of them, a number of slaves: these are engaged generally in cultivating cotton. Heretofore the Choctaws have been able to find a market for their surplus stock and grain among other emigrants; this they will not be able to do longer, as the emigration of Indians is over; the consequence must be, that the price of stock of all kinds, as well as grain, must be very low. The manufacture of salt is carried on at two points in the Choctaw nation. The works owned by Col. David Folsom, a Choctaw of respectability and energy, are perhaps the most extensive; about twenty bushels a day are manufactured, a supply equal to the demand, which no doubt will be increased as the article is wanted.

"The Choctaws have mechanics in the nation, in addition to those furnished by the United States. These consist of four blacksmiths, two of whom are native Choctaws, and all the strikers or assistants are youths selected from the nation, who, in a short time, will be able to render essential service. It is important that the nation should have mechanics of their own, as in a few years the treaty stipulations will expire, by which they are furnished. It is expected, however, that the new school, which is soon to go into operation, will be able to furnish the nation with different mechanics, as it is proposed to introduce this system in addition to teaching letters. This, however, will be more fully explained in a report specially on schools. There is also a millwright, who has been engaged in erecting mills for the Choctaws. Trade is carried on at suitable and convenient places in the nation. The most extensive trading is at Doaksville, within a mile of Fort Towson. There are five stores at this place, three of which are owned, in part, by Choctaws; the other two are exclusively owned by citizens of the United States. The stocks of goods are large, and the assortments such as are usual in stores — sugar and coffee are used by all classes in the nation, to an extent at least equal to the whites. It may not be uninteresting to state, that the village of Doaksville is one of the most orderly and quiet towns that you will find in the West. In addition to the five stores, there are a resident physician, a good tavern, blacksmith's shop, wagon-maker, and wheelwright; a church has also been erected, in which there is preaching usually once or twice every Sabbath, by the missionaries who reside in the neighborhood; a temperance society is also organized, which numbers a large portion of the most respectable Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well as our own population. I have been at this village a week at a time, without seeing anything like ardent spirits or a drunken Indian. These things certainly indicate an improvement in this section of country, highly creditable to the people, and will be pleasing intelligence to many of our own citizens.

"The Choctaws and Chickasaws, to a great extent, may be regarded as one people; they speak the same language, and have intermarried with each other, even before the emigration of the Chickasaws. By an arrangement between the tribes, the Chickasaws obtained what is now called the Chickasaw district of the Choctaw nation, making a fourth district, entitling them to an equal representation in the general council, which passes all laws for the government of the people. They enjoy equal privileges according to the treaty to settle in whatever district they may choose, and each to vote and be eligible to any office within the gift of the people. The only difference is, that each manages their own annuities or public moneys without any interference from the other. The country owned by the Choctaws, according to the treaty and the patent lately received from the Department, commences near Fort Smith, running up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Canadian, up the same to the limits of the United States, and with those limits to Red river, down the same to where a due south line, from the beginning near Fort Smith, will strike the Red river, which is the dividing line between the State of Arkansas and the Choctaws. The line from the Canadian to the Red river has not been run; it is important that this should be done, as that would show where the Texas line crosses Red river; this the Choctaws, who are more immediately interested, are particularly anxious to know. The limits thus set forth, embrace a country beyond even the imaginary wants of an Indian. It is doubted by many whether the Choctaws would not have prospered more if they had been circumscribed by smaller limits.

"The Choctaws, as stated in my former reports, are governed by written laws and a constitution; elections are held annually for members to the general council. The nation is divided into four districts (one being the Chickasaw). Each district elects, by the qualified voters, a chief, who holds his office for four years, and is eligible for two terms. These chiefs receive a salary from the United States of $250 each, per annum, by treaty stipulation. The general council convenes on the first Monday in October, consisting of forty members; a speaker and a clerk is elected; the speaker is addressed as is customary in legislative bodies, and the whole business of the council is conducted with the utmost decorum. Each chief delivers a message in person to the council, recommending such laws as he may deem conducive to the interest of the people. As there is but one representative body, all laws that are passed by the council are submitted to the chiefs; if approved, the same becomes a law; if not, the bill is returned to the council, and if passed by two-thirds, becomes a law. The council-house is a large and commodious building, with committee-rooms, also seats for spectators. This building was erected under treaty stipulation. Much interest is manifested by the people in electing councillors, and also when they meet together; they usually remain in session from ten to fifteen days, and are paid a per-diem pay of $2. Judges are nominated by the chief of the district, and receive a small compensation; trial by jury is guarantied in all capital offences. There is no law enforcing the collection of debts. In their present situation, it is questionable whether or not payment should not be left optional with the debtor; this is understood to be the condition by every one who chooses to credit, and to a great extent these debts are paid.

"From this sketch, it will be seen that the Choctaws have materially bettered their condition by an exchange of country. They are fast approximating to our own laws and institutions. They feel a deep interest in the success and prosperity of our own people, as well as the perpetuity of our Government. They have school funds sufficient to educate a large portion of the people, beside annuities from the United States, and also an investment of $500,000, at five per cent., in bonds of the State of Alabama, for the benefit of the whole people. They have also other sources of wealth. Their laws are generally respected, and when violated, punishment is inflicted. It is very rare that acts of violence take place between themselves; every individual feels safe in his own property. Travellers pass through the nation with as much safety as they do in any country. I consider the location of the Choctaws as one of the greatest safeguards and protection to our own citizens against the wild or less friendly tribes.

"The Chickasaws, as I have stated, obtained from the Choctaws a participation in their country. The conditions upon which these privileges are granted seem to unite them as one people, except that each manages their own public funds. The Chickasaws number about 5000. They have settled promiscuously among the Choctaws;

lately they are beginning to move up to the district assigned them. This they did not do at first, owing to the scarcity of provisions and the exposed situation of the frontier. Many horses have been stolen by the tribes who reside near, and some of them in the Chickasaw district. This will now be remedied by the military post lately selected on the Washita, and at present occupied by a company of dragoons. This will give protection and encouragement to the Chickasaws to extend their settlements, and tend greatly to preserve order between the Texans and our Indians. The Chickasaws have obtained greater pecuniary advantages by the exchange of their country than any of the tribes. Their lands were surveyed and sold at a time when speculation was at its highest, and when the most enormous prices were paid for lands. The funds thus arising were invested for the benefit of the nation, after each head of a family had obtained a reservation. Some have profited by receiving large amounts; but in most cases, the money having been easily obtained, was as freely spent. It is, however, the home the Chickasaws obtained from the Choctaws that compensates them. They are now fairly settled in a country at least as fertile as the one they left, and removed, to a great extent, from the evils that were fast destroying them as a people. Their wealth, suddenly gained, gave them the means of gratifying their wishes by purchasing articles that could have been dispensed with. The consequence is, comparatively speaking, but few individuals have much to show of the wealth thus easily obtained. There are, however, some intelligent and highly respectable Chickasaws, men of wealth. As a people, they are friendly and well-disposed to our Government. They unite with the Choctaws in forming the fourth district, and come into the general council of the nation with a representation corresponding to their population. The Chickasaws have ample national funds to extend the mechanic arts, as well as education, among their people. This can best be done by concentrating them in the district assigned them. The importance of this is felt by the intelligent of the nation. Lately a house has been erected for their agent in the district assigned them. This will be the means of bringing around him many Chickasaws who otherwise would have remained away. That the Chickasaws have had many difficulties to contend with in a new country, is certainly true. They suffered much at first from the small-pox, which unfortunately got among them while emigrating. They have now become acclimated to the country, and are this year making good crops of corn. Some of the more wealthy are planting cotton, and, with few exceptions, the Chickasaws are getting around them small stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs, which, with care and attention, in a country so well adapted to stock-raising, will soon greatly increase.

"The Cherokees combine more intelligence as a people than any of our tribes. They have intermarried more with the whites, have had advantages of education, and, by their location, have had an opportunity of observing more immediately the customs and manners of a civilized people than any of the Indian tribes. There are many intelligent and well-educated Cherokees.

"The nation consists of about 18,000 souls, spread over an extent of country sixty miles square, comprising several varieties of soil. Estimating one warrior to every five souls, would give 3600. They are improving in intellectual condition: they have executive, legislative, and judicial departments; an organized government; a principal and assistant chief, elective every four years; a council and committee, organized somewhat upon the principle of the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; the former consisting of twenty-four members, and the latter of sixteen, elective every two years. They sit annually, and are usually in session from three to four weeks. The judiciary consists of a supreme bench, a circuit court, and a district court; the first consisting of five members, the second of four, and the latter of eight. They have written laws, and a criminal code. The circuit court sits spring and fall; the supreme court once a year; the district court whenever an emergency arises. They have juries, and hear pleadings. The judges of the circuit and district benches are appointed more for their probity and personal worth than their legal attainments, and will compare, in point of moral worth, to any similar body in the United States. They are rigid in the execution of their laws; generally impartial in the administration of justice, as yet necessarily in a rude state. As many as four executions have taken place in one year.

"As a people, they are very tenacious of the management and regulation of their internal affairs.

"There are believed to be about 2000 professors of the Christian religion, consisting of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians: the former, comprising much the largest class, may be considered the first class of Cherokees for intelligence and general integrity; there are about 4000 others, who might be classed among the first. Much the largest class of the Cherokee people are half-breeds, or what are known to be the middle class, who are ardent and enterprising, and passionately fond of gaming. When not under the influence of ardent spirits, they are hospitable and well disposed; but, when under such influence, their worst passions seem to be roused. The evil of introducing spirits among them, invariably carried in by the lowest class of whites, I do not hesitate to say, is the cause of all their troubles with the citizens of the United States.

"There are three missionary establishments located among them, of which a detailed report has been called for, and will be supplied. They have a school fund of their own, which they are wisely appropriating to the diffusion of knowledge throughout the nation, by appointing trustees to superintend the disbursements.

"The Cherokees, as a people, are not disposed to labor; but, within the last two years, there is a manifest change in this particular, both from necessity and inclination. They are now engaged in agricultural pursuits. There is no game within 150 or 200 miles of their limits. Their country is well watered, and supplies abundantly all the products known to that latitude, such as corn, wheat, rye, oats, tobacco, and hemp.

Within the limits of the nation, there are two abundant and valuable salt springs; one of them is leased to a Cherokee for an inconsiderable sum, but is not worked to much advantage, either to the proprietor or the nation. Stone coal of the finest quality abounds in two sections, adjacent to each other, in the nation.

"There is a small class, termed mountain Indians, who are ignorant, and but slightly progressed in moral and intellectual improvement; have few comforts, and plant barely sufficient for subsistence. Many of the Cherokees own slaves, and many may be called comfortable livers; all of them own stock cattle, yet raise little beyond their own consumption.

"The Cherokees have received from the Government of the United States large sums of money; some have profited by the money received, while others have lavished theirs away, leaving only a desire to be supplied, without any disposition of doing so by their own labor. These are evils which have nearly cured themselves, and, henceforth, each individual will be left to depend mainly upon himself for support. Their country is well adapted to raising corn, wheat, oats, &c., with the usual varieties of garden vegetables. Farms and neat houses are found in many parts of the nation, exhibiting signs of wealth and intelligence unusual in an Indian country. A large portion of the country is well watered. The country is divided into woodland and prairie. The lands are rich and very productive. Large stocks of cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep, are owned by the natives. Many have also paid attention to planting orchards, which are very unusual in an Indian country. Salt water is found in great abundance in the Cherokee nation. The Grand Saline, if judiciously managed, is capable of supplying a large portion of our own population with salt. Preparations are making to enlarge the manufacture of this necessary article. Lead ore is also represented to be found in the nation. Stone coal is to be found in several places. If the country was examined, it would, no doubt, exhibit great resources of wealth in minerals and salt water.

"The Cherokees are furnished by the United States with four blacksmiths and assistants, iron, and steel; also, a wheelwright and wagon-maker. Independent of these, they have mechanics of different kinds in the nation. They have also a large fund for education purposes, placed by treaty under the control of the national council. This, if properly applied, will go far to educate a large portion of these people.

"The Cherokees are governed by a constitution and laws adopted and passed by the people. Debts are collected in the usual way, by issuing executions; letters of administration are also granted on estates of deceased persons in the nation, and, indeed, all the forms and regulations usually observed in our own States. The Cherokees, in their government as a people, are in advance of any of their red brethren.

"Among the greatest evils that the Cherokees have to complain of, is the present mode of their trial and punishment for minor offences, committed (or alleged to be committed) on the persons of United States citizens, while in their nation, and upon their own soil; which broils are, eight times out of ten, provoked on the part of itinerant citizens from all parts of the United States, tempted or induced there by gain. It is too much the habit abroad to cry out 'Indian outrage,' without a just knowledge of facts.

"All persons familiar with that portion of the Cherokees bordering on Crawford and Washington counties, in Arkansas, know they are industrious, intelligent, and neighborly disposed. The inhabitants of those two populous counties are distinguished as a laboring, intelligent, high-minded, and judicious people. It is not from them the difficulties occur, or complaints are made; but from a plundering, predatory class, upon whose oath, before a magistrate, the Cherokees are hunted down by the military, taken a distance of 200 miles to Little Rock for trial, and there lodged in jail to await slow justice. These are evils of no small import, and of every-day occurrence, and which produce angry and embittered feelings.

"The Creeks are more numerous than any of the tribes, numbering at least 20,000. The census of the nation has not been taken since the emigration, the annuity not being paid to the heads of families. As a people, they have less education and intelligence than either the Choctaws or Cherokees. Lately, they have given better evidences of a disposition to encourage education than at any previous time; and it is by these means that the Creeks are to be elevated. They possess as much natural capacity as any of their red brethren, and have given as strong evidences, since their removal, of their attachment and fidelity to the United States, as any of the tribes. They are a working people in crop time, making more corn by their own labor than is required for their use. In many cases, they work for their red neighbors. Many of the Creeks have separate fields; but their ancient custom of making a town field is still, to a great extent, observed. They raise large quantities of corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, and, lately, are cultivating the rice to some extent. It is said to grow well, and will be looked upon by the Creeks as a great accession to their living. They were accustomed to the cultivation of rice previous to their emigration. It is stated, by those who have the means of obtaining correct information, that the Creeks will make a surplus of from 30,000 to 40,000 bushels of corn the present year. They have a number of cattle, horses, and hogs, though not so large stocks as either the Choctaws or Cherokees. The Creeks reside generally in small cabins — have paid but little attention to building. There are, however, a few wealthy and intelligent men in the Creek nation. It may be objected to the Creek country, that it contains an over portion of prairie; a considerable portion of this, however, is fertile. The bottoms are generally very rich, being heavily timbered, and the upland is very productive; altogether, the Creeks own a fine country. They complained that the country was sickly for several years after their emigration. They have, however, become acclimated, and now enjoy general good health. Water is scarce in the Creek nation. In the latter part of the summer and fall, the streams cease to run, at which time the only water, with few exceptions, is found in large standing holes. Wells have been dug, and water obtained; but, to a common Indian, this is an undertaking of too much magnitude.

"The Creeks have four blacksmiths and assistants, with iron and steel furnished by treaty stipulations, and also a wheelwright and wagon maker. They have but few, if any, native mechanics, and rely mainly for their work upon mechanics furnished by the Government. The Creeks have quite a large annuity, which is paid to the chiefs, and by them divided among the different towns. This is done in accordance with existing laws, and their own request, which at least makes it satisfactory to the chiefs. It may, however, be observed that, although the whole annuity system, as such, is objectionable, the only equitable way of dividing it is to pay to the heads of families. The Creeks have commenced passing regular laws, which are recorded by the clerks appointed for that purpose. They do not elect representatives, their chiefs being the law-makers generally. This will be changed when the elective principle will prevail. So far as a change of government has been effected, it is decidedly favorable. I look upon the Creeks as the most powerful tribe of red people on this frontier. They were removed to their present homes, many of them against their own consent. From a series of wars in which they were engaged with our own Government, it may be expected that there are still some who entertain unfriendly feelings. These feelings, however, are gradually subsiding. The principal chief, Rolly M'Intosh, is a man of undoubted attachment to our Government. The same may be said of most of the chiefs. The certainty that the country they own is really theirs, does much to reconcile old feelings. Game has disappeared, and each has to depend on his own exertions, aided by the annuities afforded through treaty stipulations, for a support. Aside from this, the Creeks, with a moderate share of industry, have a country that will afford all the substantials of life, to enable them to raise their families. They have also limited means of commencing a system of education, which they desire to do in their own country.

"The late emigrants, or what are termed the upper Creeks, although much dissatisfied for a length of time after their removal to their new homes, owing mainly to their sufferings from sickness, and the great mortality that prevailed among them, are now a happy, healthy, and contented people, and are much in advance of the lower Creeks (or early emigrants) in the variety, quality, and quantity of their agricultural products, as well as in the management of their farms. They have larger and better stocks of domestic animals. They are likewise much in advance of the lower Creeks in domestic or household manufactures. They make quantities of cotton cloth from the raw material, planted and cultivated upon their own farms. They have also several useful native mechanics among them, such as carpenters, wheelwrights, loom-makers, smiths, &c., and all reside in good comfortable houses of their own construction. In short, I know of no people on this continent who are more happy and contented, or who enjoy a greater plenty, than these people do, of all the necessaries of life; and I do not hesitate to say, that the present growing crop, if it meets with no disaster until it arrives at maturity, will equal three times the amount that may be required for home consumption.

"I have just returned from a tour of visitation and inspection, embracing all the upper towns; and I have derived great satisfaction in being an eye-witness to the improvements making by these people, and the many domestic comforts they have accumulated, and are accumulating, around them.

"The Seminoles have from time to time removed, until it is now understood the tribe have generally emigrated. The few remaining will doubtless continue the war with the same unsubdued spirit as heretofore, until the whole are removed. This is the opinion of those that are now west. Unfortunately for the Seminoles, the chief of each party, as they land at or near Fort Gibson, endeavor to settle away from the others. This is done by the chiefs, with the hope of keeping around them a party of which they are the head, fearing that if they become united, some other more favored leader will supersede them. By this means they are scattered not only in the Creek but Cherokee country. Micanopy, and other leading Seminoles, have settled on the Deep Fork of the Canadian, the country assigned them. Efforts have been made to concentrate the Seminoles at this point. This is difficult to do, and does not meet with much favor from the Creeks. They are willing for them to settle in any part of the Creek nation promiscuously. They give as a reason that the Seminoles themselves are not suited, from their present feelings, to settle in a body, and become quiet and orderly neighbors. They have many negroes that participated in the Florida war, who will endeavor to exercise an improper influence over the Seminoles. These objections are certainly entitled to great consideration; but, on the other hand, there is danger of the Creeks oppressing the Seminoles whenever difficulty about the right of property arises, and unfortunately there are too many fruitful sources of disputed property, especially about negroes. In many cases the Creeks claim negroes who are in the possession of the Seminoles. These negroes, the Creeks allege, ran away from them before and during the Florida war, and were either captured with the Seminoles, or came in under a proclamation from some of the commanders in Florida. These negroes are now with the Seminoles, having accompanied different emigrating parties. The question as to the right to these negroes should be adjudged as early as possible, as it is one now calculated to produce and keep up a bad state of feeling. That portion of the Seminoles who have settled on the Deep Fork of the Canadian have raised a surplus of corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons, all of which grow to great perfection, and a few have raised small patches of rice. The labor, however, is principally performed by the Seminole negroes, who have thus far conducted themselves with great propriety. The annuities in money, and also blankets, linseys, and even guns, are given to the emigrants entitled to the same as they arrive. To give a gun to a Seminole who so lately either came in, or was captured in Florida, appears all wrong; it is, however, a treaty stipulation, and is complied with without apprehension of danger.

"Whatever may have been the importance or distinction of the Seminole chiefs in Florida, they seem to lose their greatness in the crowd of other Indians who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil.

"They have a school fund sufficient to keep up a school. By this means the rising generation may be improved. But little can be done for those of maturer years, except to turn their attention as far as possible to the raising of corn and stock to support their families."[1]

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[1] Annual Reports of Indian Affairs, 1841, 1842, and 1843.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE MINOR TRANSFERRED GROUP OF TRIBES IN KANZAS.

1857.
J. Buchanan,
President.

The location of the colonized tribes is designated on the accompanying map. By the extension of the territorial sovereignty of Kanzas over the greater part of these tribes, they now constitute one of the social elements of that territory. The tribes have increased in their population, respectively, from 177 to 3200 souls.[1] They have secured to themselves large grants of territory, by the cession of surplus tracts in the Indian colony, and have thus procured a competency and the means of instruction; the sections on which they are located present some of the finest tracts to be found west of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and the attention they devote to agriculture ensures an abundant supply of the necessaries of life. This region is peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of their native grain, the zea maize, as also all the ordinary cereals and esculents. Horses, cattle, and other domestic stock thrive without the necessity of building houses to shelter them, or of cutting and storing hay for their winter provender. The twenty-one tribes who have been transferred from the old States and settled here, comprise the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamies, Weas, Piankashaws, Ottowas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, Sacs and Foxes, Senecas, mixed Senecas and Shawnees, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Iowas, Stockbridges or Mohicans, and Munsees, and portions of the Iroquois, forming together an aggregate population of 30,893. The indigenous tribes residing in the territory, who are in this manner furnished with examples of native industry to stimulate them to progress in civilization, are the Quappas, Osages, Kanzas, Pawnees, and Arapahoes, numbering 7358. The Otoes, Omahaws, Missouries, Cheyennes, and some other indigenous tribes, have not been enumerated.

These Kansatic tribes, distinguished from the Appalachian group, are the subjects of an experiment in civilization, which has, in the old States, been generally attended with depopulation and moral disaster. They are surrounded by a thrifty and enterprising white population, governed by a system of rigid laws, and energetically engaged in farming, stock raising, the mechanic arts, milling, manufacturing, and commerce.

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[1] Vol. V., Table V., p. 495.

The industrial character of the settlers affords to the tribes that practical species of tuition, which cannot fail to be effective. Some of the tribes are the recipients of large annuities, which are periodically disbursed per capita, on their own soil, in the presence of persons who supply them with articles, sometimes of utility, but more frequently of a character conducive to their demoralization and destruction. The influence of these periodical payments on the small tribes who receive annuities, is injurious, furnishing them with an excuse for idleness, and promoting a carelessness as to their future welfare, which prevents them from husbanding their resources.

The interspersion of the Indian and European races in the same social community, has not always proved destructive to the former; for, under this system, the Six Nations, or Iroquois, of New York, who were surrounded by a people stimulated by the same spirit of agricultural and commercial enterprise, eventually prospered. Their course has not, however, been steadily progressive. The losses they have experienced, since the close of the war of 1775, from the conjoined effects of intemperance, idleness, and disease, have been considerable; yet, the number of temperate and industrious persons among them, who profited by the example of their white neighbors, has been sufficient to enable the tribes, in a few years thriftily devoted to the pursuits of agriculture, to attain very nearly to the highest ratio of their former numerical population.[1] Their example may be advantageously presented to the small expatriated tribes of Kanzas, who find themselves enclosed within its territorial boundaries. The attempt to elevate them in the social scale, and induce in them a regard for industrial pursuits, and the supremacy of the law, is in a measure counteracted by a persistence in the agrarian practice of annually distributing their funds, per capita, or otherwise, which tends to impoverish and degrade them. By distributing their funds, the incentive to labor is taken away, while, at the same time, the proportionate share received by each one is very soon exchanged for ardent spirits, or other means of sensual indulgence. On the advanced frontiers, coin is too scarce and valuable not to make it an object of interest for all to attend, who have for sale articles which an Indian wants, and who consequently turn a willing ear to their solicitations. It is the business of the few, in an Indian country, or on the borders of it, who are in a position to do so, to uphold the cause of piety, virtue, thrift, and temperance. The many regard the experiment of reclaiming the tribes with complacency, and do not directly oppose it; but, being engaged in the conflicts of life and society, which frequently assume a formidable aspect on the frontiers, their entire energies are absorbed by the pursuit.

The condition of the tribes is represented by the local agents in the subjoined report, in which they are reviewed tribe by tribe, commencing with the southern limits of Kanzas, and proceeding north, into Nebraska. In the first place, respecting the Quappas, Senecas, and Shawnees, the agent says:

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[1] Notes on the Iroquois.

"It is a great gratification to be able to state, that the Indians in this subagency are decidedly in a better condition than they were at the date of my last report. They have generally larger fields; they have raised more corn; they are better clothed, and they drink less liquor.

"This is especially true of the Quappas. When I first came among them, these people were in a wretched condition, spending most of their time in drinking; sometimes the whole tribe together passing days, and even weeks together, in a state of intoxication. Literally every dollar they could raise went for whiskey. Many of them lived on roots, and they were often on the verge of starvation. In appearance, they were squalid and poverty-stricken, the greater part in rags, the children generally naked.

"During the past year they have been gradually changing for the better. They have become more industrious and more temperate. There was no drinking at their last annuity payment, a thing heretofore unheard of, nor for some time after, although they had plenty of money, and could get whiskey. Last summer, for the first time, they made hay. This year nearly all their fields were enlarged; their crops are larger than they have ever been before, and would have been still larger, had they not been deprived of the services of their farmer and blacksmith at a time when they were most needed. They are all well clothed, and have enough to eat. But, what is most astonishing, not a single instance of intoxication has been heard of among them for the last three months. It will no doubt be thought that this statement is exaggerated, but every one that has known the Quappas for the last eighteen months, knows that it is literally true.

"This great change is in part owing to the fact that the venders of spirits in the Cherokee settlements north of the Quappas, whence their supplies chiefly came, have, without an exception, abandoned the trade, in consequence of the stand taken against it by some of their more respectable neighbors. A great deal of credit, however, is due to the Quappas themselves; for they could, if so disposed, get liquor from the whites; but they are an uncommonly docile people, inclined to listen to advice, easily managed, and, if properly encouraged and assisted, will no doubt continue to improve.

"The Senecas have also been less intemperate, but from a different cause. Their miller was directed, shortly after the date of my last report, to stop the issues of toll grains referred to in that paper. This deprived them of the means of procuring spirits, and, at the same time, had the effect of inducing them to raise more corn; their produce this year amounting to more than twice as much as the last year's crop. The tolls thus retained were applied in part to the discharge of the debts contracted for repairing the mill, and in part to the relief of such Indians as were destitute of provisions during the winter. Some of those among them who were, last year, the greatest drunkards, have become sober men, made farms and built houses for themselves, and in other respects set a good example.

"The band of mixed Senecas and Shawnees have never been as much inclined to intemperance as the other two bands, and there has not been so great a change among them. They continue to raise corn, wheat, oats, garden vegetables, &c., and, on the whole, are improving rather than otherwise.

"The country occupied by these tribes is high, rolling, healthy, and finely watered; springs in every direction, of the best water, sometimes gushing out of the solid rock in streams large enough to turn a mill. Where it is fit for cultivation at all, the land is fertile; much of it is hilly and barren, worthless except for the timber. The lands on the water-courses are of the best quality; well suited to the cultivation of tobacco, hemp, corn, and the small grains. The upland prairies are scarcely inferior. There is, in fact, a much greater quantity of good land than the present occupants will ever use. The heavily-timbered bottoms on the Pomme de Terre and the Neosho afford not only good winter range for cattle, but an abundance of marsh for hogs. The Quappas have a coal-bank immediately on the Neosho. The coal is bituminous, of good quality, easily obtained, and the supply is apparently inexhaustible. In the vicinity of this coal there are several tar-springs, or rather springs of sulphur-water and mineral tar, or petroleum, together, as the latter substance rises with the water, separating from it immediately after it issues from the earth.

"There are neither missionaries nor schools among the Indians in this sub-agency. The Senecas and Shawnees do not appear to wish for any. The Quappas, however, are anxious to have their children educated. I send you, herewith, their answer to the call made upon them by your order for boys to send to the Choctaw academy. This answer is entirely their own, and expresses their long-settled conviction. Considering the result of former efforts to educate their boys at that institution, it is not to be wondered that they refuse to send any more there, or to any other school out of their own country. They earnestly requested that their talk might be laid before the President.

"Although, as a general rule, the education annuities of an Indian tribe are most advantageously expended by combining them with those of other tribes for the support of a central institution, it is questionable whether it would not be better, with the co-operation and under the superintendence of some one of the missionary societies, to establish, with their funds, a school among the Quappas.

"One year's annuity, or $1000, would be sufficient, with the aid of the Indians, and of the mechanics employed among them, to erect suitable buildings, and procure the necessary stock and farming implements. The fund could then be easily made to support and educate twenty children. At the Choctaw academy there has been at no time more than four. Such a school, properly conducted, would set before the Indians the advantages of education in the strongest light, and keep them constantly in view. The teachers would scarcely fail to exercise a powerful influence. One excellent instructor is already secured to them in their farmer. The person that holds that situation at present is devoted to their interests, and in other respects peculiarly well qualified to advance them in agricultural knowledge."[1]

"The Osages," reports the agent, "have made but little perceptible improvement in their agricultural pursuits. There are, however, some ten or twelve families of Pa-ha-sca's (George White Hare) and Clermont's bands, that have fenced and ploughed their fields this spring. I received for them in April, ploughs, hoes, axes, and horse-gear, two hundred of each. The axes and hoes were divided among the people, as they were tools of general use; but the ploughs and gear I have, by request of the chiefs, stored, to be given only to such persons as give evidence of their intention to put them to immediate use. I have also received two hundred head of cattle and four hundred head of stock hogs, in June (since they left home on their summer's hunt), which I have not yet delivered. At the last delivery of stock, two years since, the bands of Clermont and Little Osage would receive none, assigning as a reason that they had not made fences, and were not ready to take care of them. The present issue, therefore, properly belongs to them, though I shall give a portion of it to each family that have made improvements. When I talk to them about going to work, they reply that it will be time enough when the chiefs' houses are built, which will determine where they are permanently to locate themselves. They are still living, with few exceptions, in large towns, where it will be impossible to make much progress in stock-raising or farming. Tab-hu-sca, the principal chief, is himself much opposed to the farming operations of his people. In fact, he is a bad man. I did at one time prevail on him to remove himself to a distance of three miles from his town, with about fifty head of hogs, believing many would follow his example. It was but a short time, however, until I found him collecting a small town around him, killing and feasting upon his little stock of hogs until the last were eaten. He has received the only wagon and team issued under the treaty of 1839, which he kept but a short time until he sold it. It is now owned by a half-breed, living near the line on the Missouri side. For this conduct I have given him a severe scolding, with a promise that he shall have no more farming implements. These people have raised but little else this year than corn, and not an abundance of that, their crops being short. They say, too, that they have made but a poor hunt this summer, having seen but few buffalo. This I do hope will have the effect to push them to raise more corn the next season. They have enjoyed excellent health the past year. They numbered at their last annuity payment, in April, 1302 men, 1222 women, and 1264 children; making, in all, 3788 souls. This difference from the strength of last year is in consequence of Sho-tal-sah-bas (Black Dog's) removal lower down on the Verdigris river, within the limits of the Cherokee country. He has made repeated promises to remove home, and I believe would have done so, but for the encouragement he received from the Cherokees to remain where he was. These Cherokees, I believe, furnish Black Dog's party all the whiskey they require, with which the Cherokee country abounds. In consequence of his violation of these promises, I did not enroll and pay his people at the last annuity payment. Black Dog and his people so well understood this, that not one of them appeared at the payment. They have not, neither shall they, receive any portion of the farming implements or stock, until they remove, and give evidence of their intention to remain at home. This, I have no doubt, will be complained of, but it is in strict accordance with the language of the treaty and the instructions of the Department. He has about fifty lodges with him.

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[1] Annual Indian Report, 1842, p. 90.

"The Osages have at length consented to adopt a short code of penal laws for the government of their people, though I have my doubts upon the subject of their execution. They forbid, not the introduction, but the sale, of ardent spirits in their country, under the penalty of the destruction of the spirits, and lashes on the offender. They meet in general council once in each and every year, and are to be assisted by their agent and interpreter for the purpose of law-making, &c.

"The chiefs have been in the habit of receiving for the tribe their annuity money. Never, until last year, was it paid in any other way. I did, however, after much time and trouble, succeed in enrolling and paying them by heads of families. Much of their money was spent among their white neighbors of Missouri, for provisions and whiskey. This encouraged many unprincipled men to establish themselves at convenient points near the line for the purpose of carrying on this infamous trade. They have been greatly disappointed this year by my paying the annuity money in such a way as to have it spent, under my immediate eye, for goods and provisions (the things they most needed), of which there was an abundance on the ground, and at fair prices.

"They are now coming in from their hunt. I have seen but a few of them. I shall go up in a few days, and make known to them the wishes and instructions of the Department in relation to depredations committed on the property of red neighbors; to all of which, I doubt not, they will cheerfully promise their assent, for these certainly are a very *promising* people.

"Their two blacksmiths have been engaged in making, and in keeping in repair, their farming tools, guns, and traps; upon the last two of which they mainly depend for a subsistence. The smiths, at times, when the Indians are at home, have as much work as they are able to do."

"*Shawnees.* — This tribe own a tract of country twenty-five miles north and south, and one hundred east and west, bounded on the east by the State of Missouri, and on the north by the Kanzas river. This tract, in point of soil, timber, and water, is equalled by but few tracts of the same size in any country; there is, however, hardly timber enough for the prairie. The Shawnees have become an agricultural people; their buildings and farms are similar to those of the whites in a new-settled country; all their farms are enclosed with rail fences, and most of them in good form, each string of fence straight, and sufficiently high to secure their crops, many of them staked and ridered.

"They all live in comfortable cabins, perhaps half or more of good hewn logs, neatly raised; they have outhouses, stables, and barns.

"It is impossible to state the number of farms or acres cultivated, or the quantity of produce raised by them; there is no family that I know of, but what has a farm of as much as five or more acres, and some have farms of over one hundred acres. They raise Indian corn, wheat, oats, pumpkins, beans, peas, Irish and sweet potatoes, cabbage, turnips, and many other vegetables. They raise horses, cattle, hogs, turkeys, and chickens. They depend on agricultural pursuits for a subsistence, and most of them raise an abundance, and many a large surplus; take the whole nation together, and they raise considerably more grain than they need for home consumption. The Shawnees have a water, grist, and saw mill, and a large meeting-house, to hold public worship in; they also have a council house.

"*Delawares.*—The Delawares own a tract of country sixty miles east and west, and about twenty-four miles north and south, bounded on the south by the Kanzas river, and on the east by the Missouri river, or State of Missouri. The soil, timber, and water, on this tract are generally very good.

"The Delawares, like the Shawnees, depend mainly on their farms for a subsistence: their farms and horses are nearly or quite equal to those of the Shawnees. They cultivate Indian corn, wheat, oats, beans, peas, pumpkins, potatoes, cabbage, turnips, and many other vegetables in abundance; they raise a great many horses, cattle, and hogs.

"*Kickapoos.*—The Kickapoos own a tract of country immediately north of the Delawares, about sixty miles east and west, by thirty north and south, bounded on the east by the Missouri river, or State of Missouri, and on the south by the Delaware country. It is gratifying to me to be able to state that the Kickapoos still persevere in agricultural pursuits. I am unable to state the quantity of land they have in cultivation. They raise a large surplus of Indian corn; they also raise beef and pork for sale. Their trader takes all the corn, beef, pork, hides, and potatoes, that they have to spare, at a fair price, for goods. This is a very good arrangement for the Indians; it is great encouragement for them to be industrious; goods at a fair price suit them just as well, if not better, than money.

"*Stockbridges.*—This little band of Stockbridges, by permission, settled on the Delaware lands, near the Missouri river, and about seven miles below Fort Leavenworth, some time in February, 1840. Since that time they have built for themselves a number of neat log cabins—I think the neatest hewn logs, and the neatest raised log cabins I have ever seen. They have opened several small farms, and have this year raised more Indian corn than they will need for their own use. They raise pumpkins, beans, peas, cabbage, potatoes, and many other vegetables, and have made good root houses to preserve them, all of which they have done with very little means. They came here poor, without money, horses, or oxen. They bought a few yoke of work oxen, and a few plows, on credit. They have hired themselves about, and have got a few milch cows and a few hogs. I deem it proper to say, that they have been very industrious since they have been within this agency.

"*Christian Indians.*—The Christian Indians came with, and at the same time as, the Stockbridges did, and settled among the Delawares; they built comfortable little cabins, and made small farms. I think this year they raised a plenty of Indian corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans, cabbage, and other vegetables, for a subsistence. They have also worked for the white people, and procured some milch cows and hogs.

"I consider a large portion of the Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Stockbridges, and Christian Indians to be in a thriving, prosperous condition. These tribes are living in peace and friendship among themselves, and with their white neighbors, and with all other nations. It may not be amiss for me to state here, that a party of sixteen Delawares went out last fall, to make a hunt on the Neutral Ground, between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. While preparing to leave their camp, one morning in October, 1841, they were fired on by a large party of Sioux, who had surrounded them. Some of the Delawares were shot down; some of those that escaped the first fire, spoke to a Pottawattamie, who was with them, and told him to make his escape if he could; that they intended to fight by their wounded friends until they were all killed; so they did, and were all killed. The Pottawattamie got home, but was badly wounded. The Delawares say that the Sioux committed this murderous outrage on them without any cause or offence whatever, and they have not attempted to revenge themselves in any way; but that they have a heavy charge against the Sioux for murdering sixteen men, for all the horses they had with them, riding-saddles and pack-saddles, guns, traps, blankets, clothing, and camp equipage. All these things the Delaware chiefs requested me to report to you.

"*Kanzas.*—The Kanzas Indians are located on the Kanzas river, about eighty miles above its mouth. I regret that I have to say that they are making little or no exertion to better their condition. There have been considerable exertions made by myself and the Rev. William Johnson, late a missionary among them, to get them to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits. I visited them in March last, in company with Mr. Johnson, who resided for several years among them, understood and spoke their language well, had become personally acquainted with, and, from a correct, honorable, firm course of conduct, he had secured to himself almost unbounded influence among them. We stayed several days among them; most of that time we spent in council with the whole nation, trying to get them to raise corn, &c., enough to subsist them during the year. They made very fair promises, and I think that they intended to comply with them at the time; but, unfortunately, Mr. Johnson, on his way down to the manual-labor school with eleven Kanzas boys, in company with me, at the crossing of the Walkrusa, where we encamped for the night, was taken sick, and never recovered. The death of this man, whom I considered one of the best men I ever became acquainted with, was, I believe, the greatest loss the Kanzas Indians ever met with. The last services he performed were when he returned the eleven Kanzas boys to the manual-labor school, part of which he rendered in great pain. The Kanzas render many excuses for not turning their attention to agricultural pursuits the present year; the principal one is, they say, they were afraid to work, for fear the Pawnees would come on them and kill them all off.

"They have raised but little grain this year, not enough to subsist them. Their only dependence for a subsistence is on the buffalo, and what few deer and turkeys they can kill. They follow the chase.

"The Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Stockbridges, and Christian Indians, have no towns or villages. Each person, or head of a family, selects and makes his location where he chooses.

"*Ottoes and Missourias.* These Indians are in a most deplorable situation, notwithstanding that they have had the kind and benevolent hand of the Government extended to them for many years past, and that, during certain periods of that time (if we may judge from reports), they bid fair to follow the example of some of their more advanced red brethren of the west in the pursuits of agriculture and civilization, having been furnished with teachers, blacksmiths, and farmers, for these purposes; but the evil spirit found its way, through various channels, into their lodges, and generated among them discontent, jealousy and strife, which eventually terminated in butchery and bloodshed. This state of things produced in their minds a settled prejudice against the spot which they then occupied, on the north side of the river Platte, under the impression that an evil spirit hovered over and around them; and, acting under this belief, on or about the 1st of February, 1841, they, in a moment of drunkenness and riot, set fire to their village, which was soon reduced to ashes. Their farm, which was located contiguous to their village, suffered a similar fate; the greater part of the fences having been torn down and burnt, and the whole is now lying waste and uncultivated.

"They have totally abandoned this ill-fated spot, and settled, rather temporarily, in various lodges or villages on the south side of the River Platte. The lateness of my arrival last spring, and the multiplicity of duties I had to perform, prevented me from visiting their present location until the 5th of August last. The Indians at that time being absent on their hunt, I gave as careful an examination of the situation as time and circumstances permitted. The village of the Missourias stands on the prairie, on the bank of the Platte river. It appears, by former reports, that these Indians had abandoned the chase, and betaken themselves to an agricultural life; and I feel justified in saying, that they would, by this time, have made a fair progress in civilization and agriculture, if the persons employed as farmers for them had been industrious, and ardent spirits been kept from among them. As it is, they have failed; nor is it at all surprising, under the circumstances. They have, as a necessary consequence, again returned to their hunting habits, not as a matter of choice, but of necessity; for their numbers have so much diminished, by their illicit traffic with the whites, and their stock of horses been so reduced, that their hunting trips are attended with but little success, as they can carry but a small quantity of meat from their hunting-grounds. The Ottoe villages, four in number, are located a short distance from the River Platte, from a point commencing five miles above its mouth, to eighteen miles up said river.

"The corn patches of the Missourias are in the open timber of the Missouri river bottom, at or near the mouth of the Platte. The frost having cut off their crop last spring, replanting became necessary; and, having to start on their hunt earlier in the season than usual, in consequence of their want of subsistence, their cornfields were, to a great extent, neglected. These causes combined, in addition to the want of rain in the month of July and early part of August, will cut short the crops of these Indians in their best patches to one-half, and, in many parts of their ground, to one-fourth of their usual produce. The crops of the Ottoes are altogether inferior to those of the Missourias; hence, without the assistance of the Government, they must experience a very distressing time next season, or, in the absence of such assistance, make an unusually long winter's hunt on the buffalo grounds; and, should they make a bad hunt, on their return, the complaints of the traders and frontier settlers, heretofore great, will be alarmingly increased; for, as a general characteristic, the Ottoes, when hungry, will kill stock wherever they find it, regardless to whom it may belong. I am informed that, a few years ago, they killed a milch cow belonging to their blacksmith, and broiled the meat at his own fire; and when asked if they were displeased with him, that they killed his cow, they replied, "No," but that they "were hungry."

"Such beings are difficult to civilize; yet, if we can succeed in keeping whiskey away from them, and once more get them on a farm properly prepared, with the necessary assistance at proper times, and in a proper manner, I think they can be gradually brought to attend to agricultural pursuits. The more reflecting of them admit that misery and starvation await them unless they change their course of conduct, while there are others of them that would bow submissively to any fate rather than betake themselves to manual labor. Could their agent have permission to use a portion of their annuities (with their consent) in the purchase of provisions for them, it would in some degree prevent the apprehended depredations on frontier stock. The twenty-two barrels of pork received as part of this year's annuity, would do much toward aiding them to make a crop next spring, if their present crop was even tolerable; as it is, the pork will do but little toward feeding some 900 persons.

"I am happy to report that both Ottoes and Missourias have cheerfully assented to the regulation of the department 'for preventing depredations among the Indian tribes,' provided the neighboring tribes shall place themselves under a like obligation; and they have recently entered into an agreement with the Delawares, whereby they have mutually bound themselves to pay a forfeiture of $1000 for any murder committed by the Indians of either tribe on those of the other.

"I have not yet had an opportunity of submitting the regulation above referred to, to the Omahas and Pawnees; I however anticipate no opposition from either tribe to its adoption.

"*The Omahas* follow the chase as usual. They claim the country bounded by the Missouri river on the east, by Shell creek on the west, by the River Platte on the south, and on the north by the Poncas country.

"The Elkhorn, which runs in a southerly direction and empties into the Platte at about twenty miles above its mouth, is the largest stream which passes through their country. There are a number of small streams running in various directions, and mostly through prairie; but of their water-power I am not informed, except of that on the Papeo, a small stream running in a southerly direction, and emptying into the Platte, near its mouth; on this stream, some ten miles distant from this place, there are some water privileges. The southerly part of this country is claimed by the Ottoes, also from the Platte to a line running westward from the Missouri river, in the vicinity of the old Council Bluffs, to the Pawnee country.

"The country claimed by the Omahas is almost destitute of timber, except on the large and small streams, which have more or less, and at some isolated points, where are to be found groves of considerable extent. Their favorite village once stood near the Missouri river, and about one hundred miles above Fort Leavenworth. Several years since they were driven from this location by the Sioux, and since then have settled rather temporarily on the Elkhorn, a distance of about fifty miles from this, where they now are poor indeed, not using even ordinary savage exertion in the culture of corn. They greatly desire to return to their former village, where, it is said, they still have corn in *caches*. These Indians are so reduced in numbers, and have so few horses, that their hunting trips are attended with but little success. The present season they joined the Pawnee Loups on the hunt, and have been more successful. They are desirous of selling a portion of their country to the Government, in order to obtain a small annuity, and assistance in their agricultural pursuits. Should they not succeed in this arrangement, misery and starvation must shortly overtake them.

"They have an unsettled difficulty with the Iowas, which I had hoped to see adjusted last spring, but at that time the Iowas were not in readiness with their peace-making preparations; there is a fair presumption, however, that peace will shortly be effected between them. The Omahas are a well-disposed little band, and desire to live in peace with all mankind; but they say it is hard to be struck, and not to be allowed to retaliate.

"Should the Government purchase any portion of their lands, I would recommend that no portion of the purchase consideration should be paid in money, but rather be invested in goods and stock cattle, adapted to their present condition.

"*The Pawnees.*—The four principal chiefs, with a number of their respective bands, have removed to their new homes on the Loup fork of the Platte; and although their farming operations commenced at a rather late period of the year, they will still succeed in raising a tolerable crop. There is still some little disposition, on the part of a portion of the tribes, to remain at their old villages; but this will shortly wear away, and, as the chiefs have requested to have their future annuity payments made at their new homes, I hope, in the course of the next year, to see the greater part of the four bands settled there in peace and comfort. The school, considering the short time it has been in operation, promises well, and I have no doubt will, in a little time, be in a very flourishing condition. The farmers have been indefatigable in their exertions, and, taking into account the short time that has elapsed since they entered upon their duties, have performed a large amount of labor. The time seems now to have arrived when the stock cattle, due under the treaty of 1833, could be advantageously given to these Indians.

"The Pawnees generally evince a peaceable and friendly disposition. They have an unsettled difficulty with the Ottoes, growing out of murders heretofore committed by the latter on some of their people, which I shall take the earliest opportunity to have settled."

Kaskaskias, Weas, Piankashaws, Ottowas and Chippewas, west, and Pottawattamies.—These tribes constitute the charge of a separate agency in Kanzas. The agent reports their numbers at 200 Kaskaskias and Peorias, 100 Piankashaws, 200 Weas, 300 Ottowas, 50 expatriated Chippewas, and 2000 Pottawattamies. The agency of these tribes is located about forty miles south of Westport, in the State of Missouri. The agent says:

"These tribes have made but little change in their condition since former reports. They own some cattle and hogs, work-oxen, farming utensils, &c., and depend entirely on agricultural pursuits for a subsistence; and, if it was not for the ruinous practice pursued by those lawless individuals who are settled immediately on the line of the State of Missouri, and, in violation of the State laws (which are very severe), furnish them with whiskey, I am of opinion their improvement would be rapid.

"The Ottowas are still improving in agricultural pursuits; they may be said to have entirely abandoned the chase; all of them live in good, comfortable log-cabins; have fields enclosed with rail-fences, and own domestic animals. They have erected a good horse-mill out of their annuity, and many of them are making preparations for sowing wheat; and ere long, it is to be hoped, they will raise grain enough to supply themselves with flour and meal for their own consumption. The Chippewas are a small band, and are improving in their condition; the Pottawattamies, as a tribe, are very much improved. There are some of the bands that are about stationary, while others have made rapid improvement in their condition. The settlers on Sugar creek are notorious for sobriety and industry; they nearly all live in good, comfortable log-cabins, have fields fenced with rails, and well cultivated, and have plowed and fenced a large quantity of prairie-ground the present season; while in the other settlements, the Indians have indulged in drunkenness, and idleness followed as a necessary consequence; which has thrown them behind the rest of their tribe, and many of their neighbors.

"The blacksmiths of the Pottawattamies, who are all the mechanics that are attached to this agency, have been appropriately employed at their respective duties the past year, in repairing all necessary work brought to the shops by the Indians, and manufacturing farming utensils, &c., for them. All the tribes within this sub-agency sustain a friendly relation to all other tribes of their acquaintance. And I am happy to state that general health has prevailed during the two past years."

The Iowas.—This tribe is located on the waters of the Namaha, a tributary of the Missouri, and their principal village is situated one mile above the mouth of the Great Namaha. Ten dwelling-houses have been erected by the Government, at a cost of $3000. The remaining houses, which, together, accommodate half the nation, have been built by the Iowas themselves. The report of the agent states,

"This nation is much given to intemperance, and while under the influence of liquor they act very ill toward each other, as well as to the whites; two of the best men in the nation have been killed in their bacchanalian rows in the last twelvemonth; one of them was killed on last Sunday night. It is utterly impossible for your agents to prevent the Indians from drinking at all times; I can keep the whites on their own side of the river with their whiskey, but it is easy for the Indians at any time to cross the river and obtain in exchange for their guns, horses, traps, blankets, or indeed anything, any quantity of liquor they may want.

"This tribe has a farmer, Francis Irvin, with whose help, and the labor of the squaws, they have raised a great abundance of corn (nearly 15,000 bushels), also, pumpkins, squashes, Irish potatoes, &c., &c. There are twelve or thirteen men among them who labor with their squaws during the cropping season.

"I most respectfully beg leave to speak of the missionary establishment at this place. I can truly aver that it is under the superintendence of as devoutly pious individuals as I have ever known, having nothing to prompt them to action but a sincere desire to do good to the red man of the forest. This establishment is under the control of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. If the Government would give a few thousand dollars in aid of education at this point, my opinion is, much good would be effected. I mean this: if there was a sufficient fund to establish a manual-labor school among them, I have no doubt it would effect more than anything which could be done for the civilization of these unfortunate people; the Iowas are not averse to having their children educated and instructed in the ways of the whites, but are opposed to sending their children abroad to be educated. Many of them have urged on me to have a manual-labor school, like unto the Shawnee school within Major Cummins' agency, established among them. I have no doubt of their sincerity, and that, in six months from the commencement of such an institution, they would send fifty scholars, male and female, to school; this, in my opinion, is the only way in which they can be made a sober people. It is useless for me to scold them for their drunkenness; they confess it is wrong, but transgress perhaps the next day, or at least as soon as an opportunity should offer. It is utterly useless for me to try to keep them from whiskey; there is a set of lawless wretches settled on the opposite side of the river, in Holt county, who follow nothing else for a living but selling whiskey to the Indians, stealing horses, counterfeiting money, &c. The life of your agent has been threatened more than once, for his efforts to put a stop to this unholy traffic. On the 9th of this month, at night, I caught three men who were introducing whiskey into the Indian country, tied them, kept them for a few days, and took them to Holt county to be committed; instead of committing them, I had myself to leave in haste, to prevent a suit for the whiskey which I had destroyed. The offender, by false witnesses, could have proved that he was on his way to the Pacific Ocean with his barrel of whiskey and canoe, and merely stopped on the Indian side to cook a meal's victuals, get a little wood, or have a sociable smoke with his particular friends, the Sacs and Foxes, at midnight; or anything else that it was necessary to prove.

"I have made several efforts in the last twelve months, to have individuals punished for selling spirits to the Indians in Holt county; all of which, in the end, have proved abortive.

"The Iowas have petitioned me to ask the Government to rebuild their mill. It would be of great service to them, and, in justice, I am constrained to say it should be done by the Government. This mill never was such a one as it should have been; the workmanship was most shamefully slighted; the stones were of no use, not answering the purpose for which they were designed. I am of opinion that it would cost about $750 to put this mill in complete order; also, I believe, it would induce these people to employ a miller and blacksmith. They have also requested me to employ a farmer for the next year, and have named a man to take the situation for the present year. The individual named for their farmer for the next year, with whom I have contracted, and whom I recommended, is one who has lived long among these people as a missionary and teacher. He was the choice of the Indians, and I think the selection a good one.

"By the census taken by me on the 5th of September, you will find 470 souls; I am of opinion, however, that there were about thirty absent. The upper Iowas, or pouting party as they are called, are nearly as strong as the Iowas within this sub-agency. Some of them are moving down, and it is hoped all of them will eventually move to their proper homes. It has been unusually healthy among the Indians this year; not more have fallen by disease than by the knife: I mean adults. Bigamy is tolerated among these people. It is quite common for a man to have as many as three wives, all living in the same house or wigwam, in perfect harmony. The country inhabited by them is a prairie, high and rolling, very rich, and finely watered, and has a sufficiency of timber for all farming purposes for centuries to come, if taken care of.

"The Sacs and Foxes are a proud, independent people, pursuing the chase during the hunting season. They are not so much given to intemperance as the Iowas, and entertain much more respect and love for the white man than do the Iowas. They boast often of their friendship to the whites, and their peaceable disposition toward their red brothers; not that they fear their brothers: they often say their great father will be angry if they strike.

"I have been deceived by these people in two respects; one with regard to their sending their children to school, and in their promising to take one half of their next annuity in goods. I have only been able as yet to get them to send three children to school, but they promise much better after a while.

"I am pleased to say, that since I have been here, not a blow has been given to a strange Indian, and many efforts have been made to get up war parties, but I have always been able to put a stop to it, and none have gone. I have had no trouble with the Sacs in this way. They listen, and say their great father will be angry, and he is right; that it is best to be at peace with all red and white men.

"The following shows the farming operations: One hundred acres broke and fenced in a very superior manner, staked and double ridered; sixty-five acres of which is in wheat, and is called sod corn; sixty-five acres being seeded in wheat; fifty bushels of Irish potatoes planted; ten acres in turnips; half an acre in watermelons. The corn will produce about thirty-five bushels per acre, about one-fifth of which will be wanted to feed work cattle this fall and spring; the remainder will be given to the Indians. The Indians have raised, at their village, with the help which was given them by the farmer and assistant in preparing for their crops, such as breaking up and planting, nearly, or quite, 2500 barrels of corn; also, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, &c. There are seven men in this nation who devote the whole of the cropping season to labor, helping their squaws at all times to make and save the crops. The farmer has been too much engaged improving and making a new farm to give the attention to instructing the Indians in agriculture he should have done; the next year he will have more time. Our plan for farming operations another year is as follows: ninety acres of new prairie to be broke as early as possible in the spring and planted in corn and pumpkins; sixty-five acres in wheat; twenty acres in Irish potatoes; four acres in melons; one hundred acres fenced at the village with new rails, twenty acres of which will be put in timothy grass.

"In locating the farm near the mission, I had many reasons operating on my mind, making it in every way the most desirable situation. In the event Government should make an effort to establish a manual labor school among these people, they at once would have a farm amply sufficient for all purposes to commence with again. It is easy to keep the fences up; the Indians are afraid to pull them down, it is so near the sub-agency. I omitted to say that I paid both nations their annuity on the 9th ult., which gave them great satisfaction; it is to be hoped that they may be thus early paid the next year. I think it best that the Sacs should have $2000 in blankets, &c., and Merrimack calicoes of a coarse quality, strouding, &c., the next year. The Iowas have agreed to take $2500 in goods the next year. They have not furnished me with an invoice, but will in a few days."

Eleven years after the date of these reports of the local agents, denoting efficient attention to their respective duties, and furnishing a detail of the great difficulties encountered in leading on the tribes to the commencement of a life of agricultural industry, the chief officer of the Indian Bureau at Washington determined to visit personally the colonized tribes. An extract from his report is subjoined:

"The condition of the Indians located west of Missouri and Iowa is not as prosperous, or their advance in civilization as rapid, as the official reports annually received from that part of the country would authorize us to expect. In several tribes are to be found some educated, intelligent men; and many are able, by the cultivation of the earth, to subsist themselves. Among these classes there are some sincere professors of religion; but the mass of the Indians are indolent and intemperate, and many of them are degraded and debased.

"The transplanting of these Indians, and the dedication of their present country to their use, and for their future home, was an emanation of the purest benevolence, and the dictate of humanity. Vast sums of money have been expended by the Government for the sustenance, comfort, and civilization of these unfortunate people, and the missionary has occupied that field of labor long and faithfully; but, notwithstanding all that has been done by the Government and good men, the experiment has measurably failed. Located generally on large tracts of land, separated into small and distinct bands, roaming at will, and wandering in idleness, the mass of these tribes are in a degraded state, with no hope of a considerable degree of reformation (even with such improvements as are practicable in their present management), without a change of residence. Their opinions, habits, customs, and pursuits, which present an almost insurmountable obstacle to their change from a primitive state, find now but little resistance; while the advice of the agent, and the efforts of the teacher and divine, are counteracted, to a very great extent, by influences of an adverse character, and which it is presumed will predominate so long as these Indians are permitted to remain where they now reside."[1]

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[1] Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, 1853, p. 10.

CHAPTER V.

THE HUNTER TRIBES.

A COMPETENT and careful observer has estimated that, from ocean to ocean, the United States was originally occupied by 105 tribes, all of whom were hunters, or more or less of a nomadic character; of these, the details which have been submitted in a preceding volume[1] make it apparent that the Indians located between the Atlantic Ocean and the summit of the Rocky Mountains were divided into sixty-nine tribes.

Of this number, to a greater or less extent connected with the events of our history, the condition and prospects of the four tribes composing the Appalachian group, viz: the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, have been already noticed, and the deduction drawn therefrom, that they are prepared to enter on the career of civilized nations. From the before-mentioned sixty-nine tribes, there are also to be deducted the twenty-four expatriated tribes and bands located in Kanzas, who are more or less engaged in the pursuit of industrial arts, agriculture, and letters, and have made considerable progress in morals and Christianity: thus leaving forty-one tribes to be regarded as hunters, and as still adhering to the precarious pursuits of the Koossawin.[2]

Agreeably to data previously published, the number of hunter tribes located between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, a scattered and diversified portion of the Indian race, comprises thirty-six; most of whom have small pretensions to speaking radically different languages.

It would be inconsistent with all history and observation, to expect that, without agriculture, the numerous hunter tribes, who subsist wholly upon the flesh of wild animals, should survive the era of the chase. Idleness, intemperance, improvidence, and indulgence, exert the most baneful effects on civilized society, which has every means at command for its support; but the operation of these vices in savage life produces dreadful results. From the Missouri river to the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and from the 49th parallel of north latitude to the river Gila, there rove tribes whose scanty

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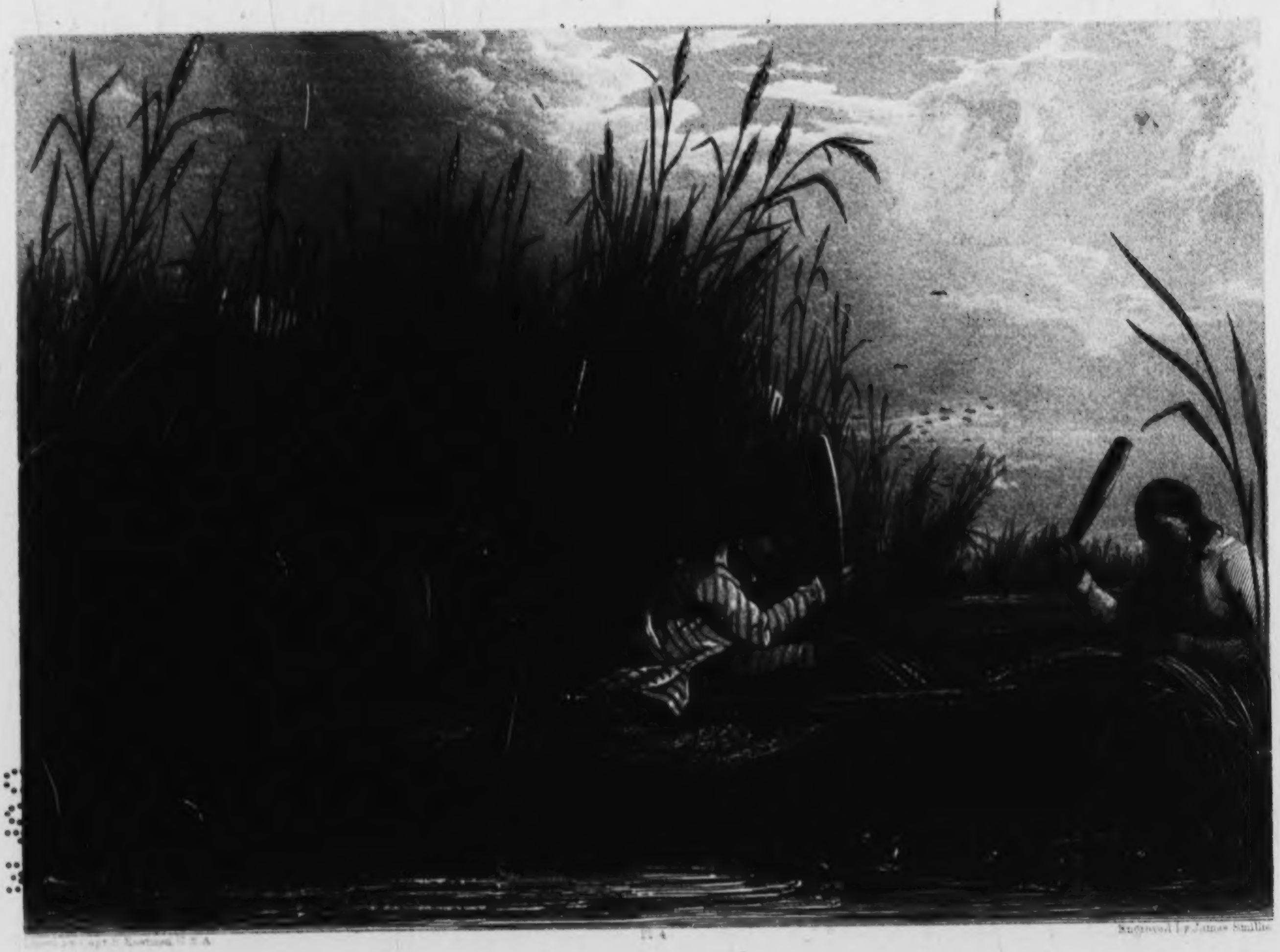
[1] Vol. III., pp. 401–2.

[2] The word *Koosa,* in the Algonquin, is the indicative, present, of the verb "*to hunt.*" To render it a substantive, the inflection *win* is added.

[illegible]



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A.

11. 4

Engraved by James Smillie

GATHERING WILD RICE

and uncertain subsistence is supplied by the flesh of the animals they kill in their excursions, or by the roots they dig in the prairies, or on the arable uplands. The yam, the tepia, and the wattapineeg, compose their scanty meal when the bear, the deer, and the buffalo cannot be found. It is impossible to conjecture how these tribes can long survive the extinction of the race of quadrupeds; mere existence at present, with the precarious means at command, being all that can be obtained. Numerical increase is impossible; alternating from plenty to want, and wandering over plains, or through defiles, suffering and enduring, the scale of population never advances, but is often reduced, for long periods, by want and sickness. They must always lose much of their population by war; and they may, in fact, be deemed prosperous, if they do not diminish beyond their estimated numbers. The tribe that comprised 500 or 1000 warriors during the last century, now numbers about the same force. No endeavor is made by labor to increase; there is nothing to encourage hope, in the future; consequently there is no basis on which to establish or develop a permanent population. These tribes can only be expected to exist as long as their spontaneous means of subsistence continue, and must decline or perish when these precarious supplies are withheld. It is simply a question of time; their fate is sealed — they must labor or perish

Being mentally and habitually infatuated with savage manners and customs, the predatory hunting tribes will long hover on the extreme frontiers, where they now are, pursuing with barbarous delight their career of plunder, robbery, and murder. The gorges and defiles numerously interspersed throughout the broad and lofty range of the Rocky Mountains, afford shelter for these wild nomades, where, like the original valley tribes of Peru, who occupy the fastnesses of the Andes, they seem likely to remain, in defiance of the civilized settlements which spread along its foot. Where hunter tribes, living on the plains or arable uplands, are finally surrounded by a civilized population, the only practical mode of influencing them is by the introduction of schools. To be effectual, these should be, as has been previously stated, of the most simple character, and calculated only for teaching the elements, without much display or expense. Central schools, of a normal character, in the nation, where higher branches have been taught to the natives, to qualify them for filling the posts of teachers, catechists, and evangelists, have effected much, and have been found to be most beneficial when conducted on the manual-labor plan. Academies should be established in the Indian territory, &c.

We have, in withdrawing so many of the young men from their friends, and educating them at our higher schools and colleges, unconsciously fallen into the error of adapting our efforts to a state of society which will probably not exist among the Indians for a long period. The youths are there taught various branches of learning, and at some of these institutions they obtain a practical knowledge of the mechanic arts, and an insight into the principles of agriculture. But when this course of instruction is completed, what are their young men to do? If they remain among the whites, they find themselves avoided as members of a peculiar caste, and seek in vain for employment and encouragement. If they return to their country, their acquirements are useless, they being there neither understood nor valued.

The following review, by Colonel D. D. Mitchell, late superintendent at St. Louis, of both the tribes who emigrated to Kanzas, and of the wild nomadic tribes in the Missouri valley, derives additional importance from the long experience of that gentleman in the hazardous scenes of frontier life, during peace and war, and his familiar acquaintance with the Indian character; it is this fact that gives peculiar weight to his suggestions:

"*Transferred Tribes.*—The condition of these Indians has been materially improved within the last few months, and could they consider themselves as being permanently located at their present homes, no tribe on the western frontier would advance more rapidly in all the useful arts of civilized life. But, looking upon themselves as the mere tenants at will of the Government, they of course could feel little or no interest in the improvement or preservation of their houses and farms. Iowa must ere long become a State;[1] and, among the first acts of State sovereignty, she will soon extend her jurisdiction over all Indians residing within her limits. The threatening difficulties which have already grown out of such a state of things, should admonish the Government to guard against it for the future.

"The large body of fine land now owned, and partly occupied, by the Pottawattamies of the Council Bluffs, I am induced to believe could be purchased without much difficulty, and at a fair price, giving other lands in part payment.[2] Lands such as those Indians would be glad to settle upon could be easily obtained on the south side of the river. As they must ultimately be removed, everything is to be gained by both parties, in having it done immediately.

"During the present year much has been done by the Department to better the condition of the Indians, both morally and physically. The proposition which was made, and unanimously agreed to, providing for the payment (out of their annuities) for all thefts or depredations committed, either among themselves or against the neighboring tribes, speaks well for the innate honesty of the Indians, and its operation up to this time goes far to show that its effects will be most salutary. The Indians, however, contend, with great force of reasoning, that this excellent regulation should be made equally binding upon their white neighbors; and here it may be proper to remark, that the greatest difficulties with which the agents, teachers, and missionaries have to contend, in their laudable efforts to cultivate the minds of the Indians, arises from the presence of crowds, and daily increasing crowds, of depraved white men, who have taken up their abodes in the Indian country. This worse than savage population is composed of deserters from the fur traders on the upper Missouri, renegades from Santa Fé, discharged soldiers, and fugitives from justice. Such persons can only prey upon the Indians, or be tolerated among them, so long as they remain in their present ignorant and savage state; hence the unwearied efforts to thwart all attempts at civilization. Their residence in the Indian country is in open violation of law; but, being wholly irresponsible, they laugh at all attempts to remove them by a civil process.

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[1] This was written previous to the admission of Iowa.

[2] This has been done. The Pottawattamie territory has been annexed to Missouri, and this tribe provided with a location west.

"The circulars which have been issued by the Department to prevent the introduction and use of spirituous liquors in the Indian country, followed by the prompt movement of a company of dragoons to the Council Bluffs, and aided by the zealous activity of the several agents, have gone far toward the suppression of this iniquitous traffic on the frontiers. In the figurative language of an old chief, who was in this city not long since, 'The sunshine, the approving smile of the Great Spirit, has cleared away the poisoned cloud which so long darkened our land. It has once more lit up our desolate huts and forsaken fields; its cheering warmth has dried up the tears of our women and children, who every night offer up their prayers of thankfulness to the Great Spirit in the skies, and our great father in Washington.'

"The arrangement which was proposed by the Department, to substitute goods in place of money in the payment of annuities, would have proved highly beneficial had it met the approbation of the Indians. The goods being purchased by contract, at the lowest market price, and issued out by the agents from time to time, so as to meet the wants of the Indians, would have been of more real benefit to them than four times the amount paid out all at once in money. The Indians, being destitute during the greater part of the year, are compelled to solicit credits from the traders, who, aware of the uncertainty of being paid, demand and receive the most usurious prices for their goods. The money which is not paid away to satisfy the traders soon finds its way into the hands of the whiskey dealers, who swarm like birds of evil omen around every place where annuities are to be paid. A question of grave importance here presents itself for the consideration of the Government, viz: whether the rights and privileges of guardianship might not, *in certain cases*, be exercised by the Department, when a measure is proposed clearly calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of tribes notoriously incapable of judging for themselves? Although some might grumble for the time, the salutary change in their condition would soon teach them to thank their great father for his fostering care.

"*Hunter Tribes.*—The census of the different tribes required by the Department will be furnished by the agents and sub-agents, so far as their jurisdictions extend; those beyond, will be found, as near as can be ascertained, in the following table:

Tribes.[1]	Lodges.	Men.	Souls.	Remarks.
Poncas	80	250	800	Living on the south side of Missouri, at the mouth of l'Eau que Court.
Yanctons	250	750	2,500	Lower band of Sioux, living near Vermilion river.
Tetons	320	950	3,000	Lower band of Sioux, on the south of Missouri.
Ogellalas	150	500	1,500	Sioux—dialect a little different—same region.
Sowans	1,150	4,000	12,000	Sioux on the Cheyenne river, and Platte.
Yanctonas	600	1,800	6,000	Upper band of Sioux, near Mandans.
Mandans	30	120	300	Live in dirt lodges, on the Missouri.*
Arickarees	150	450	1,200	Occupy the same village with the Mandans.*
Gros Ventres	75	300	800	Live in dirt villages, eight miles above Mandans.*
Assinaboines	800	2,500	7,000	Wandering tribe between Missouri and Red river of the north.
Crees	100	300	800	Language same as Chippewas; country, Assinaboine.
Crows	500	1,200	4,000	Rascals—on the head waters of Yellowstone.
Cheyennes	250	500	2,000	Wandering tribe on the Platte—language very remarkable.
Blackfeet	1,500	4,500	13,000	Wandering—near Falls of Missouri; both sides of the river.
Arapahoes	300	650	2,500	Prairie tribe, between the Platte and Arkansas.
Gros Ventres (Prairie).	400	900	2,500	Wanderers between the Missouri and Saskatchewan.
Snake	200	450	1,000	Poor tribe, in the Rocky mountains.
Flatheads	80	250	800	In the mountain—trade mostly on Colombia.*
Total	6,925	20,370	61,700	

"The scanty population shown in the foregoing table occupy the whole of that immense region lying west of the border tribes, bounded by the Arkansas on the south, the dividing highlands between the Missouri and waters of Hudson bay on the north, and the Rocky mountains on the west. It is evident, from the ruins of villages scattered along the banks of the Missouri and its tributary streams, that these desolate plains once teemed with myriads of human beings. We have the authority of an intelligent British trader, who crossed over the Missouri in the winter of 1783, for saying that the population, even at that recent date, was perhaps a hundred fold greater than at present. The Mandans he estimated at 25,000 fighting men, and the Assinaboines at 40,000. A reference to the table will show the wonderful destruction of human life which war and pestilence have produced in this region in less than a century. The small-pox, which was brought over from the northern Mexican provinces about the year 1786, almost depopulated the country. There are many old Indians now living who bear its marks, and retain a vivid recollection of its horrible ravages. Again, in 1838, the same disease swept off at least one half of the prairie tribes. Hence the scanty population, which seems almost lost in the vast expanse of prairie by which they are surrounded. It is some gratification to know that a new generation must spring up before they can be scourged by another visitation from this fell destroyer; but there is another constantly among them almost equally destructive, viz: spirituous liquor.

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[1] The whole are wanderers except those marked with an asterisk (*).

It has been ascertained from sources entitled to the utmost credence that upward of 500 men belonging to those prairie tribes have been killed during the last two years in drunken broils, while the survivors, men, women, and children, are reduced to the lowest depths of poverty and degradation. The friends of humanity have, however, much to hope from the laudable and zealous efforts which we have reason to believe are now being made by the Government to save the wrecks of these once numerous and happy people.

"No advances whatever have been made toward civilization among the tribes on the upper Missouri; and so long as they continue the wandering life in which they so much delight, all efforts directed to that object will prove to be only a useless waste of time and money. While there remains such a vast extent of territory, covered over with innumerable herds of buffalo and other game, there seems but little prospect of their condition being materially changed. Generations will perhaps pass away before this territory becomes much more circumscribed; for if we draw a line running north and south, so as to cross the Missouri about the Vermilion river, we shall designate the limits beyond which civilized men are never likely to settle. At this point the Creator seems to have said to the tribes of emigration that are annually rolling toward the West, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' At all events, if they go beyond this, they will never stop on the east side of the Rocky mountains.[1] The utter destitution of timber, the sterility of the sandy soil, together with the coldness and dryness of the climate, furnish obstacles which not even 'Yankee enterprise' is likely to overcome. A beneficent Creator seems to have intended this dreary region as an asylum for the Indians when the force of circumstances shall have driven them from the last acre of the fertile soil which they once possessed. Here no inducements are offered to the ever-restless Saxon breed to erect their huts. Should the buffalo and other game eventually disappear from the prairies, there are spots of refuge in some rich little valleys on the banks of isolated streams, affording timber sufficient to furnish huts and fuel for the few wanderers whom necessity will compel to seek some other means of subsistence. Should this period ever arrive, a few domestic cattle might be introduced into the country, and the Indians would readily become wandering herdsmen — the Tartars of America. Their peculiar habits and inclinations form them for such pursuits; they never can be made agriculturists or mechanics. The time may arrive when the whole of the western Indians will be forced to seek a resting-place in this great 'American desert,' and this, in all probability, will form a new era in the history of this singular and ill-fated race. They will remain a wandering, half-civilized, though happy people. 'Their flocks and herds will cover a thousand hills,' and furnish beef and mutton for a portion of the dense population of whites that will swarm in the more fertile sections of the great valley of the Mississippi."[2]

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[1] It has passed this limit to California, Oregon, and Washington.

[2] Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, 1842, p. 55.

The whole problem of the existence of the tribes is shrouded in that inscrutable fate which is but another name for the decisions of a wise and overruling Providence. That some of them will be reclaimed, and help to swell the multitudes who are destined to sing praises and hosannahs to the Highest cannot be doubted. Whoever has attentively perused the preceding pages, must have recognised this conclusion in the great and striking changes for the better which have occurred in the Ausonian tribes, who give the best evidences of progress in every element of civilization. These tribes have utterly and forever abandoned the chase. They have, to a great extent, embarked in agriculture, encourage education, practise temperance, and follow the precepts of Christianity. They are producers of more than they consume. They are in the high road to national wealth. Their flocks and herds cover wide plains, and may be said to wander over a thousand hills. In costume, in manners and customs, and in all the amenities of life, these Indians will favorably compare with the most promising adjacent communities of European origin. That others of the tribes, embracing some of the Kanzas group, who have been long under a course of instruction and moral training, but who have not yet attained their advanced condition, will be subject to great fluctuations, vicissitudes, and trials, ere they enter the circle of social progress, if they reach it at all, is equally clear. No prescience can anticipate the course of the nomadic, headstrong, murdering, robber tribes, who wander over the Missouri plains, climb the elevated ranges, and occupy the mountain passes of New Mexico, California, and Oregon. How many of these fierce tribes, of Tartaric habits, may, in time, turn an attentive ear to the voice of peace and instruction, cannot be predicted. But without the occurrence of changes of the most striking character, their ultimate destruction is certain. Ever since the discovery of America, it has been a question of considerable interest, whether any evidence of descent from cast-off fragments of Abrahamic stocks be traceable in an untoward race, whose physical features and peculiar traits of character so strongly resemble them. The divine denunciations against that people imply an utter annihilation of their nationality; while the pertinacity with which the Indian clings to the idea that he is the favorite of the Great Deity of the skies, and the faith with which he looks back to an ancient period, when he enjoyed high privileges and an exalted state, is a peculiarity undeveloped in any other people on the face of the globe; and there is scarcely one other, so poor, so wretched, so hopeless, so wilfully wrong, and so despised.

DIVISION SECOND.

ECONOMY AND STATISTICS,

CAPACITY OF INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT,

AND

PRESENT NATIONAL POSITION;

ILLUSTRATED BY SOME NOTICES

OF THE

MENTAL CHARACTER OF THE HUNTER RACE,

AND THEIR

ANCIENT STATUS AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army Del. Pl. [illegible] J. C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Eng.

Indian Woman procuring fuel.

SECTION TWENTY-THIRD.

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITIONS OF LIFE WHICH OPPOSE THE INCREASE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION.

THE Indian withers at the touch of civilization. Contact with it exercises a blighting influence both upon his physical and mental faculties. Naturally indolent in his habits, he is opposed to labor, improvident in his manner of living, and has extremely small foresight in providing for the future. He evinces but little care for the present and makes only slight use of the experience of the past. Taught from early infancy to revere the traditions and institutions of his fathers, he is satisfied of their value, and dreads the anger of the Great Spirit, if he departs from their teachings. Addicted to the use of ardent spirits, he abandons himself to the degrading indulgence, and may then be said to forego the means of securing prosperity and of perpetuating his race, by poisoning the very source of life.

It is a well-known fact, that the Indian tribes do not increase in the ratio of other nations; the cause of which we learn from the first principles of political economy. The want of sufficient nutriment is not the only cause that limits their increase. The entire mental constitution and habitudes of the man, his irregular life, manners, customs, and idiosyncrasies, all contribute to this end. In like circumstances, he neither acts nor thinks like other persons of the human family. Devoted in his attachment to the solitude of the forest, there would seem to be some secret principle at work akin to monasticism, repelling him from a participation in the active labors of life. Even in the Sandwich islands, where the gospel has been most successfully disseminated, the Indian population very visibly and inscrutably declines.

The inquirer into the causes of this numerical decline in the Indian tribes of the United States, is, in a measure, puzzled in the very outset of his examination; for the amplitude of the country, and the ease with which the necessaries of life can be procured, would seem to favor the increase and multiplication of the race. Nevertheless, no matter how circumscribed or extended the geographical field, the same results are everywhere apparent. The evil seems to originate in an ill-balanced mind, which grasps at present effects, without regard to the future results. This mental incapacity to realize and provide for his future necessities, is the reason why he is, at one time, destitute of food, and suffering the keenest pangs of hunger, while, at another, he feasts from a board filled to repletion with an abundance of forest game. One of the striking mutations of the chase is, that want and abundance succeed each other at irregular intervals. The time devoted to the hunting of wild animals is vastly disproportionate to that expended in the raising of cattle by well-regulated industry. A single acre of corn yields more nutriment for a family than all the wild roots, truffles, tepia, and wattapineeg, which can be gathered in a season. The opineeg, or common potatoe, found in Virginia when it was first discovered, has never been cultivated by the Indians.

Of all the European luxuries introduced among the Indians, nothing has been more injurious to them than the use of ardent spirits. Far in the interior of the continent, it has been observed that the taste of liquor was, at first, repulsive to the natives; but the appetite for it, once excited, became rapidly diffused. When under the influence of alcohol, the Indian appears to enjoy a state of beatitude, in which he would seem to realize the fanciful theories of his mythology, in the creation of the world of happy spirits, and of the human race.

Indian corn was planted, to a limited extent, by the Atlantic and Mississippi valley tribes; but no trader or traveller has ever noticed its cultivation among the interior and mountain tribes. On the western prairies, where it might have been profitably cultivated, the Indians lacked the necessary industry, cared little or nothing for vegetable food, and relied for subsistence on the meat of the buffalo.

There were other causes, however, operating to diminish the Indian population. The most onerous burdens of savage life fall to the share of the females. Long and weary journeyings, frequently occasioned by the necessity of fleeing before pursuing enemies, and camp labors, were, ordinarily, superadded to scarcity of sustenance. Under favorable circumstances, one woman has been known to be the mother of twelve or thirteen children; but this is a rare occurrence. The average number of children in each hunter family, does not exceed two. Children rarely, if ever, die of absolute hunger; the small amount of food that is obtained being carefully and scrupulously preserved for them, after the protracted period of weaning; but exposure and its results superinduce many trifling diseases, from the effects of which numbers of children die, who, in civilized life, would have been saved by the ordinary practice of medicine.

Want of proper nourishment and exposure thus considerably affect the scale of population, but, in a far less degree than pestilence and Indian warfare, under the operation of that most barbarous of all savage customs, the destruction of women and children. It is accordingly noticed that, those tribes who have relinquished war, or are but seldom engaged in it, and, especially, those whose families are permanently resident in comparatively well-built and well-sheltered houses, and warmly clothed, are precisely the cases in which fecundity is the most apparent.

There is a manifest increase in the ratio of births in the tribes who have removed to the West, where they reside in good houses, surrounded by well-tilled fields and all the comforts of agricultural life.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTS OF CIVILIZED HABITS ON REPRODUCTION.

THE condition and future prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States are subjects of the highest moral interest to the government and people. In many respects the race and their prospects are alike peculiar, the history of the world not furnishing an exact parallel. Other races of hunters had the benefit of the intermediate pastoral condition, in progressing from the hunter to the civilized state. The wildest Arab tribes, and the nomads of Asia, reared the camel, horse, cow, or sheep. But the North American Indians possessed no domestic animals when the continent was discovered; they had formed none of the manners resulting from such cares, or from the discrimination of private rights; and the ferocity of their character was not in the least ameliorated by any such important class of duties. Nor, so far as tradition extends, does it appear to have been thus influenced in times past.

The Indian's golden age is ever the era of the chase; and to this period do all the reminiscences of the elders point, as to the age of aboriginal prosperity, and superlative happiness. The Great Spirit then smiled on him.

Agriculture was recognised only by the cultivation of limited fields of the zea maize; but this was not a reputable labor, and the supply of food relied on, from all sources, was so essentially of a spontaneous growth, that it repressed the power of reproduction, and a very sparse population spread itself over immense areas, remarkable for their natural fertility and abundant resources. There is reason to believe that the native population but little exceeded 1,000,000, on the same area that now contains 22,000,000 of the descendants of European races. The question of numbers is, however, but one section of the great investigation before us. It has been well said, in an official paper, "These remnants of the people who preceded us in the occupation of this country, and who have yielded to our destiny and their own, although greatly reduced in their numbers, have yet claims upon the United States, which their citizens seem disposed neither to deny nor conceal. Differences of opinion exist concerning the extent and nature of the aid which shall be offered to them, and of the interference which it is proper to exert in their conduct and affairs. And it is not easy to foresee how these difficulties are to be reconciled, nor to devise a plan which shall neither attempt too much nor too little, but which shall preserve a practical medium between these habits and circumstances, and the moral and political state of improvement of which we furnish them an example. These difficulties are inherent in the subject itself. The situation of the Indians and the operation of the settlement and improvement of the country upon them, are without a parallel in the progress of human society."[1]

Within the last half-century, and since our population has been freely poured into and across the Mississippi valley, from the eastern banks of which, as a consequence, the Indians have been driven, these questions have, in part, received a solution. Hunting, which, before the discovery of America, was pursued as a means of subsistence, and an incentive to manly vigor and adventurous amusement, has entirely failed. The wide areas which, in a state of nature were required for the chase, being denuded of their game, left the tribes with immense surplus territories, which were no longer valuable for hunting, and which they were not inclined, if they even possessed the ability, to employ for agricultural purposes. The consequence was, that cessions of these surplus and exhausted areas were made to the Government in consideration of annuities, the tribes only retaining enough arable land to supply their own limited need of agricultural products, or retiring into remoter regions, where the chase could still be followed.

A contest of races ensued. The struggle between civilization and barbarism, which had existed, from the first, eastward of the Alleghanies, was renewed, on a wider field, in the West. Habits so diametrically opposed as those of the European and Indian, produced a condition of society replete with difficulties, and equally adverse to each. Population, which had never been in a favorable and healthy state of reproduction, declined, and, with every decade of our history, diminished more and more. History abounds with the evidences of such conflicts of manners and opinions, the result of which, however protracted, is still seen to be the same. The higher type of race is sure to prevail; labor, laws, and arts must triumph, and this fact has been demonstrated by the settlement of the Mississippi valley. The Indian tribes have separated themselves into two distinct classes, founded on the adoption or neglect of the principles of labor and knowledge. The former have either been colonized in large masses, where the industrial arts, protected by equitable laws, could be most advantageously followed, or they have submitted to the domination of labor and law in the States. The latter are still nomadic, and pursue the business of hunting, deriving little or no permanent advantage from civic precepts and examples; while every rational man, who considers the wonderful problem of their long resistance to civilization, arrives at the same conclusion, that while this resistance lasts, the question is narrowed down to one purely relative to the time of their eventual destruction and extinction. The wonder is, not that, under existing circumstances, the Indian population has diminished, but that the tribes have not already become extinct.

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[1] Doc. 117, House of Rep., Second Ses., XXth Congress.

The single problem of Christianity, unconnected with field labor and domestic industry, is not alone sufficient to account for the decay of the Indian race. Labor is the common condition assigned to man, and the violation of this principle in tribes is one great cause of their numerical diminution. When the chase is totally abandoned, the most important step toward progress is taken. The female who spends days in digging tepia, or wild artichokes, would be doubly rewarded for her labor by cultivating potatoes. The raising of cattle, hogs, and sheep, in a few years, places the Indian farmer in a position to obtain fresh meat, at proper times, without wasting his energies and strength in pursuing deer, buffaloes, or antelopes. Horses are easily raised in the western latitudes, no expensive stables being required, nor hay to be stacked and fed out. Locomotion is thus made easy when it is necessary to travel from settlement to settlement; saddles, bridles, and buggies necessarily following in the train of improvements. The rude Indian tripod is replaced by well-made chairs and tables; cast-iron stoves, for cooking purposes, are introduced; then a chamber, or a parlor looking-glass, and perhaps a clock. The dwelling begins to display the evidence of female taste in furniture, and much of the paraphernalia of housekeeping. Finally, the children are sent to school, and the parents themselves join the church. He must be a dull observer of the progress of the settlement who has not witnessed these improvements. Society, as it were, arises and stands upright. Indians have done these things. Who will hazard the assertion that they do not tend to numerical increase?

To the beneficial influence of instruction, the record of missionary teaching bears ample testimony. Perhaps few examples can be adduced which give a more pleasing aspect to the field of labor than that of Miss Catherine Brown, a Cherokee of Alabama. Many years have passed since this bright native female excited the liveliest hopes; and a long time has elapsed since her gentle spirit winged its flight to a better world; but her memory is yet green in the recollections of many. To the graces of person and manners she united high educational attainments. In the language of Mr. Anderson, her mind was of a delicate texture — clear perception, correct judgment, intellectual economy, and good sense, being her strongest characteristics. In the acquisition of knowledge, her mind moved easily; in the communication of it to others she did so with felicity and a just appreciation of their capacities. Her delicate sensibility, her exact view of propriety and dignity, her high principles of action, and her gentleness and sweetness of manner, excited general admiration.[1] A very similar delicacy of feeling, sweetness of air and voice, propriety of expression, ease of conversation, and dignity of manner characterized Miss Jane Johnston, and Miss Madeline La Fraumbois, of Michigan, Mrs. Charlotte (Rev.) M'Murray, of Niagara, Canada, and Miss Mary

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[1] Life of Catherine Brown: Boston, 1825, p. 150.

Halliday, of Syracuse, New York, who were the subjects of careful moral instruction, and may be regarded as wild flowers, transplanted from the Indian wilderness.

Whatever mitigates the evils of Indian society, adds to its permanent means of growth, and is favorable to its moral and physical development. It may be well to lay before the reader the sum of these statistics, that he may scrutinize more closely the character of the Indian mind, and determine its capacity for bearing the mental superstructure, proposed to be based on it through the medium of the Indian colonies; and, by extending this inquiry to what the aboriginal mind has done in past times, without the aid of letters, to furnish some idea of what it may, with cultivation, accomplish.

CHAPTER III.

WHO IS THE INDIAN? HIS CAPACITIES FOR NATIONALITY TO BE DEDUCED FROM HIS CHARACTER.

It is not supposed that, during a long period, abounding in opportunities, any observations or researches have been made to justify a conclusive reply to the above question. Far from it. The Indian, an enigma at first, is a much greater enigma the more his history and character are examined. Like a boulder on the surface of the globe, he bears very little evidence of the parent bed from which he was separated by the flood of human tribes and nations. Whence he originally came, and whither he is going, are alike themes of absorbing interest, which, however, cannot be equally judged by the critical inquirer and the moralist. But the opportunity may be embraced to allude to what theorists, wise men, and philosophers have advanced on the subject.

Certain ancient nations stifled inquiry on a subject which would probably have developed nothing very honorable as to their descent, by affirming that they had come out of the ground, and thus were the true autochthones. Such were the renowned Phœnicians. Forster tells us that they originated from the Horites, and had lived in caves as robbers and plunderers;[1] their assertion was not, therefore, entirely hyperbolical, for every cave is, topographically, under ground.

No nation is so rude in its origin as not to desire the reputation of having had ancestors. Many of our native tribes give an account of their origin analogous to that of the ancient Phœnicians.[2] Even the nomadic Apachees and Navajoes, at this day, inform travellers that they came out of the ground; adding to the theory, however, that they are wolves, bears, raccoons, and other quadrupeds, in a state of transformation.[3]

Nearly a century and a half has elapsed since the French court sent a gentleman, of great learning, acuteness, and benevolence, to America, to observe and report the state of the tribes. P. de Charlevoix personally visited all the leading nations living between Quebec and New Orleans, and, after his return to France, having devoted his attention

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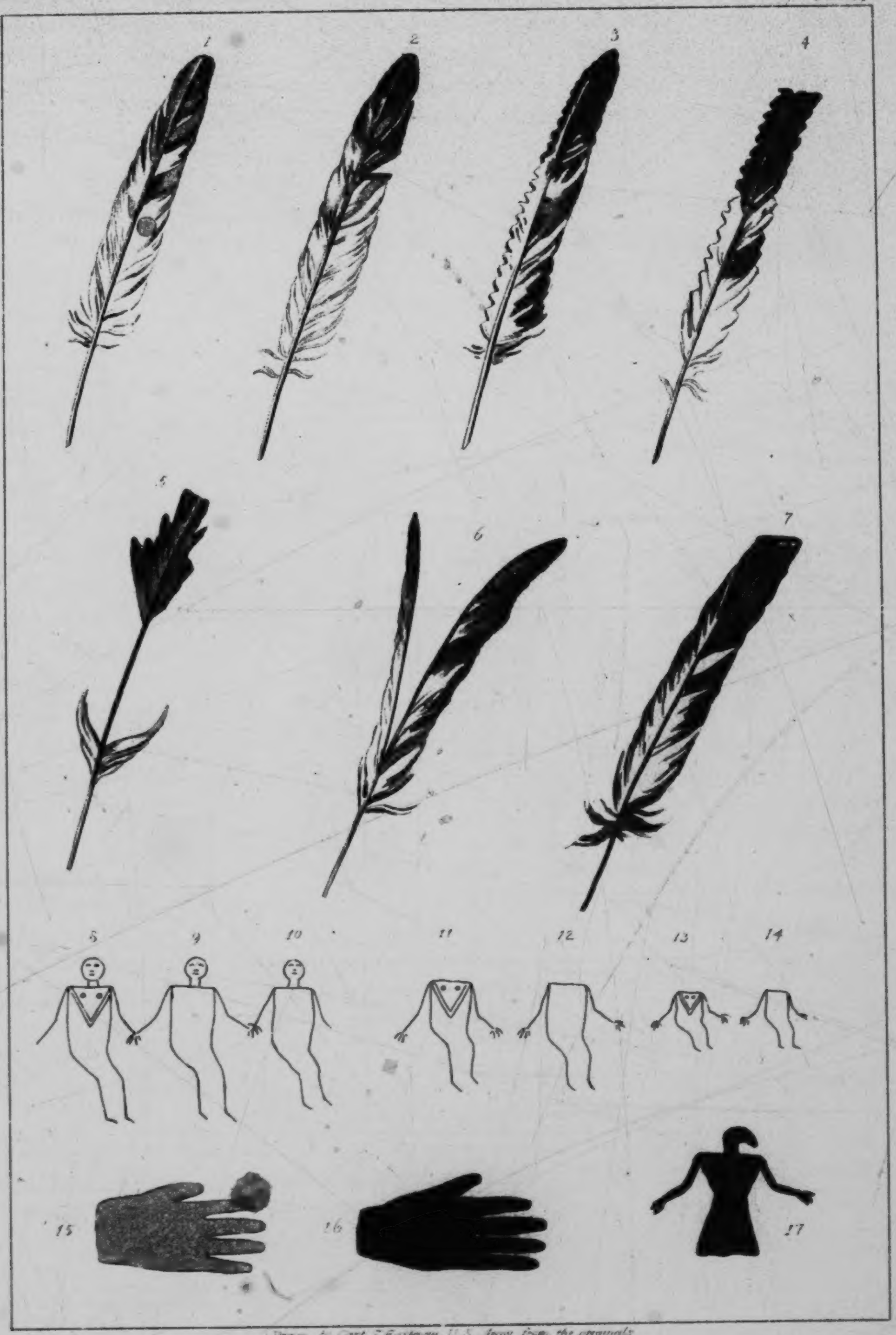
[1] John Reinhold Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 2.

[2] Vide Vol. I., p. 17.

[3] Vide Vol. IV., p. 89.

Plate 13.



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army from the originals

FEATHERS of HONOR

to the problem of the origin of this people, so dissimilar in physical and mental traits from the other known varieties of man, he declares his utter inability to subscribe to any of the theories of the migration of the race from other parts of the globe, believing, however, that such migrations had been made. "After reading almost everything," he remarks, "that has been written, on the manner in which America might have been peopled, we seem to be just where we were before this great and interesting question began to be agitated, notwithstanding a moderate volume would be requisite to relate only the various opinions of the learned on this subject. For the most part of them have given so much to the marvellous; almost all of them have built their conjectures on foundations so ruinous; or have had recourse to names, manners, customs, religion, and etymology so very frivolous; that it would, in my opinion, be as useless to refute, as it is impossible to reconcile them with, each other."[1]

Indian history has ever been an anomaly. At the period of the discovery, the Indian was a mere hunter, armed only with bow and arrows, and worshipping a class of spirits, or dæmons, supposed to inhabit the forests. The bold mariners who first visited the coasts, had some knowledge of the Hindoo, and Tartaric types, residing on the shores of Hindostan; and, consequently, called them Indians, under the supposition that the newly discovered land formed part of the continent of Asia. Red-skinned, black-eyed, black-haired, and subtle, there was a striking coincidence in the external characteristics and features of the two races. Whenever examined, this physical resemblance has been found to hold good, however unsatisfactory the theory of origin; and so little has it varied, under the most critical observation, that a single tribe will serve very well as the type of all. They may be said to remain as unchanged to-day as they were in the days of Elizabeth. Indeed, nothing has elicited more frequent notice than that remarkable coincidence of manners and customs, physical traits,[2] and mental habitudes and idiosyncrasies, which designate them to be a peculiar people.

It has been observed, by a comprehensive and talented writer, who has closely studied the history and character of the Indian tribes, that, "from Hudson's Bay to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, the country was possessed by numerous petty tribes, resembling each other in their general features, and separated into independent communities, always in a state of alarm and suspicion, and generally on terms of open hostility. These people were in the rudest state of society, wandering from place to place, without science, and without arts (for we cannot dignify with the name of arts the making of bows and arrows, and the dressing of skins), metallic instruments, or domestic animals; raising a little corn by the labor of their women, with the clam-shell, or the scapula of a buffalo, devouring it with savage improvidence, and subsisting, during the remainder of the year, on the precarious supply, furnished by the chase, or by fishing. They were thinly scattered over an immense extent of country, fixing their summer residence upon some little spot of fertile land, and roaming with their families, and their mat, or skin houses, through the forests, in pursuit of the animals necessary for food and clothing. Such a state of society could not but arrest the attention of adventurers, to whom everything was new and strange.

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[1] Journal of a Voyage to North America, Vol. I.: London, reprinted 1761.

[2] Morton, Vol. II., p. 316.

"Of the external habits of the Indians, if we may so speak," remarks the same writer, "we have the most ample details. Their wars, their amusements, their hunting, and the more prominent facts connected with their occupations and condition, have been described with great prolixity, and, doubtless, with much fidelity, by a host of persons, whose opportunities for observation, and whose qualifications for description have been as different as the places and the eras in which they have written. Eyes have not been wanting to see, tongues to relate, nor pens to record, the incidents which, from time to time, have occurred among our aboriginal neighbors. The eating of fire, the swallowing of daggers, the escape from swathed buffalo skins, and the juggling incantations and ceremonies, by which the lost is found, the sick is healed, and the living killed, have been witnessed by many who believed what they saw, but who were grossly deceived by their own credulity, or by the skill of the Indian wabeno.

"The constitution of Indian society, and the ties by which they are kept together, furnish a paradox which has never received the explanation it requires. We say they have no government, and they have none whose operation is felt, either in reward or punishment; and yet their lives and property are preserved, and their political relations among themselves, and with other tribes, are duly preserved. Have they, then, no passions to excite them to deeds of violence, or have they discovered and reduced to practice some unknown principle of action in human nature, equally efficacious as the two great principles of hope and fear, upon which all other governments have heretofore rested? Why does an Indian, who has been guilty of murder, tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and, seating himself upon the ground, await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased. A white man, under similar circumstances, would flee or resist; and we can conceive of no motive which would induce him to such sacrifice.

"But, of the *moral character* and *feelings* of the Indians, of their *mental discipline*, of their *peculiar opinions, mythological* and *religious*, and of all that is most valuable to *man in the history of man*, we are about as ignorant as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence."[1]

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[1] Remarks on the Condition, Character, and Languages of the North American Indians: Boston, 1826, Cummings, Hilliard & Co. This pamphlet has been ascribed to the pen of the Hon. Lewis Cass.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME TRADITIONARY GLEAMS OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

The inherent idiosyncracies of the Indian mind, which impel it to such extraordinary acts, are not greater, however, than his firm adherence to an ancient state of apparently nomadic society, which has long ceased to exist, but to which the mind reverts, as to a golden age, when everything was better than it now is. A respectable Algonquin on Lake Superior, of whom the writer made inquiries many years ago, in relation to this ancient epoch, replied that they had even spoken their language in greater purity.

There is one particular in which the tribes identify themselves with the general traditions of mankind. It is in relation to a general deluge, by which the races of men were destroyed. The event itself is variously related by an Algonquin, an Iroquois, a Cherokee, a Muscogee, or a Chickasaw; but all coincide in the statement that there was a general cataclysm, and that a few persons were saved. Another feature of this traditional identification consists in the traditional recognition of the fact that their ancestors descended from those imaginative and idolatrous tribes and septs of the Mosaical epoch, who believed the earth to be a fortuitous concurrence of atoms, with deities of "stocks and stones," to whom, as new information, the great additional declaration was made, that, in the beginning, God created the world.[1] This fundamental tradition of the divine origin of the earth and heavens is a striking trait in all the Indian cosmogonies of America.

The tradition of the deluge is veiled in allegories and figures, such as a raft, a tree, a high mountain, &c., according to the genius or imagination of the various tribes. That of the Algonquins is simply this: Hiawatha, or Manabo, having incurred the enmity of the Prince of Serpents, a very Typhon in character, who held sway in the basin of Lake Superior, the spirit permitted the ice to break in during the winter season, while Chibiabos, his grandson was crossing from one point to another. The following summer, the demi-god watched along the shore to find the sandy bay, where the serpents came out to bask; and having consulted with a kingfisher as to the precise spot, he took his station on shore, and transformed himself into the semblance of a high stump of a tree, broken off by the wind. As soon as the Prince of the Serpents and his court appeared, and had sunk into repose on the sand, he drew his bow, and shot an arrow into his enemy's heart. The serpents fled, screaming, into the depths of the sea; but, in revenge for this act, caused the wate[illegible] rise, which overflowed the forests, and pressed on, after the fleeing demi-god, unt[illegible] the land was submerged. The benevolent god, who assumes in these latitudes the name of Manabo, ascended a high mountain, and climbed to the top of a tree; but the waters rose to his feet. He then commanded the tree to stretch upward, and it obeyed him. But the waters still rising to his feet, he again bade the tree to grow taller, which it did, and finally it became stationary. The waters having risen to his neck, the amphibious animals and water-fowl were playing around him; for they were his brothers. He first directed the loon to dive down for some earth; but when it rose to the surface it was dead. He then told the beaver, the otter, and the mink to attempt the same feat; but none of them found the bottom. At last he sent the muskrat; "for your ancestors," he said, "were always famous for grasping the muddy bottoms of pools with their claws." The animal succeeded in bringing up a morsel of earth in its talons; and from this new chaotic mass the Algic deity recreated the earth.

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[1] Genesis i., 1.

The ancient nations, who spread over the earth from the primary locations of mankind, in Asia, when they had forgotten the existence of the true God, attributed the origin and government of the world to Ba-a[illegible] Osiris, Ormusd, Chemosh, Brahm, Budd, Fohi, and other phantoms of the imagination, which varied with every climate, every territory, and every mountain, plain, and valley; while the American tribes, spread over an immense continent, have concentrated their leading beliefs on a great original Creator, who is described as possessing many attributes similar to those of the Almighty; who is not apparent to human perception as a person, but is clothed with the magnificent garniture of the sidereal heavens, and surrounded by the most sublime and startling atmospheric phenomena. In the primary conception of a supreme ruler by the earliest oriental nations, they endeavored to relieve the character of their benevolent deities by the addition of a dual power, as in the instance of Ahriman, Typhon, Moloch, and Beelzebub. This dualistic principle, wherever examined, marks the mythology of the Vesperic tribes, who attribute the powers of evil to a god, antagonistic to the Great Good Spirit, the universal Indian nucleus of sovereign power, ubiquity and benevolence.

The Indian mind does not generalize. It has not, from the knowledge of particular facts, derived general conclusions, although sometimes generic ideas are reached by means of metonymy, and frequently by the symbolic use of words. The globe is called Akē, which is, also, the name for any ponderable bit of earth. They consider the continent of America to be a large island, and are ignorant of the geographical divisions of the earth. It is generally called the Island of the Great Spirit.

The tribes equally failed to successfully bestow on themselves a generic name. When questioned, they generally replied in a spirit of independence, analogous to that which characterized the Gallic and Gothic tribes during the Roman conquests, at the commencement of the Christian era. They were, in the tone of those warlike nations, *Alla-manna*, "all men," or *Gher-mon*, "war men." The Delawares, who have at least claims to geographical priority on the Atlantic shores, called themselves *Lenno Lenapi*, as if we should say *male*, or *manly men*, but which a free translation requires to be rendered, *men who are men*. The tribes living in the valley of the Illinois told the French they were *Illini*, or *men*.[1] The Algonquin tribes, generally, pronounced themselves *Unishinaba*, the *common people*. The proud and conquering Iroquois pronounced themselves, as a nationality, to be *Ongwi Honwi*, "men excelling all others."[2]

The globe has presented few races of men who afford stronger evidences of original unity with the Adamic family than the American Indians. Considerable differences of color in the skin exist, varying from the cinnamon standard to a dark red, on the one hand, and an approach to white, on the other. Climatic phenomena and peculiar habits may, agreeably to Smith, account for this. The prairie tribes are generally impressed with a russet elemental tinge of a deeper hue; while the tribes residing within the shelter of vast forests assume a lighter color. There are deeper shades in the California tribes, and still darker shades on the banks of the Orinoco. But the causes of these changes admit of a specific solution. According to Dr. Haring, a tradition is still extant, that a slave ship having entered the Orinoco, the negroes rose on the natives, and having destroyed them, seized on their women for wives, mastered the ship's officers, and redeemed themselves from bondage.

In taking a comprehensive view of the Indian tribes of the United States, and of North America, they must be regarded as a unity. Such is the opinion of the late Dr. Samuel George Morton, who, from a full and elaborate examination of their physiological traits, and scientific admeasurements of the volume of crania, derived from all quarters, regards the leading tribes as common to the continent; recognising only the distinction between skulls of semi-civilized and hunter tribes; which, as the learned physiologist observes, are "manifestly arbitrary."[3] This distinction is an important one, and should be borne in mind, although it will not fail to be observed, when the data are investigated, that the classification is established rather on effects, in the production of which, mental and moral habits of thinking, the development of arts, agriculture, and public architecture, such as the erection of teocalli and palatial edifices, are supposed to have exercised no slight influence. The skulls of the hunter class of tribes, however, particularly those of the Vesperic group, denote a greater development of original cranial volume than those of the Aztecs and of the Peruvians, more especially those of the Atacama period.[1] These peculiar characteristics have been described by Dr. Morton in a former volume of this work, and illustrated by finished drawings of crania.[2]

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[1] This term is singular, and requires the usual inflex in *ug*, or *ung*, to render it plural. Among the more northerly Algonquin tribes, the letter *n* is interchangeable with *l*, and the pronunciation is *Ineni*.

[2] Colden.

[3] Morton's Crania Americana, Vol. II., p. 328. "Every attempt to classify the tribes," he remarks, "must continue to be arbitrary, until the test of generic groups of languages be applied."

Wishing to make comparisons of the cranial volume of the several generic groups of the Vesperic family, classified according to language, I requested Mr. J. S. Phillips, who had been Dr. Morton's assistant and scientific manipulator at Philadelphia, to subject the entire cabinet of skulls to a new admeasurement, together with additional specimens from the Pacific coast, deposited in the cabinet of the National Institute at Washington, by Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N. The results of this examination, which are very interesting, on account of the facts deduced, have been given in a preceding volume.[3]

The admeasurements of Mr. Phillips make it evident that the facial angle varied but little from each other in the series of Vesperic skulls, and differed but a few degrees from the common European and American average. In his summary, he assumes the skulls of the "barbarous tribes of North America" to have 76¾ degrees facial angle, and 83½ cubic inches internal capacity.

As to the cranial volume of the United States tribes, the admeasurements place the internal capacity of the Iroquois group at 88½ cubic inches; the great central Algonquin, and the Southern, or Appalachian groups, coincide, in their mean capacity, at 83¾ inches; the Dakotah, or Prairie group, average 85 inches, being 1¼ inches greater than the milder Algonquins and Appalachians; "and these," he adds, "appear to possess more force of character, and more of the untameable violence which forms the most characteristic feature in our barbarous tribes."[4] A skull of a Winnebago, of this family, is figured in the preceding paper of Dr. Morton.[5]

Of the more western groups, embracing the Rocky mountains, and extending to the Pacific, the Shoshonees are rated at 81 inches internal capacity, and the Oregonian tribes at 80; not the slightest difference existing, in this respect, between the natural and the artificially flattened heads.[6]

The results of these investigations are very interesting, and are the more suggestive, as showing that the native capacity of even the rudest tribes ranges very high. They are alike interesting and suggestive, bearing testimony, as they do, to this great fact in human progress, that it is education, letters, and arts, that lead to the development of intellect. The degraded and variously developed Chinook skulls[7] are shown to have an internal capacity of 80; while the evidences of craniologic studies demonstrate that the very elongated skulls, such as those of the old Peruvians, disinterred at Lake Titicaca, denote less volume than those of the North American hunter tribes;[8] although the testimony of Garcileso de la Vega, himself of the race, and the researches of M. Aleida D'Orbigny, Morton, and all others who have examined their history, concur to prove that these ancient Peruvians, the Aymaras of modern times, "were the architects of their own tombs and temples," and were not, as some suppose, "intruders, who had usurped the civilization, and appropriated the ingenuity of an antecedent and more intellectual race."

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[1] Crania Americana.

[2] Vol. II., pp. 315 to 331.

[3] Ibid., pp. 331 to 335.

[4] Ibid., p. 332.

[5] Ibid., Plate LXII., p. 324.

[6] Ibid., p. 325.

[7] Ibid., Plates LIX., LX., LXI.

[8] Crania Americana.

In summing up the deductions arising from a survey of the facts adduced to prove that the tribes are varieties or links in the chain of unity of the human species, reference is made to the quotations from Lavater, Humboldt, and Latham, and to the views of the American authors, Dr. S. G. Morton, Dr. Forrey, and Dr. Thomas Smith, D. D., as set forth in the preceding volumes.[1]

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[1] Vol. II., pp. 315, 331. Vol. III., p. 317. Vol. IV., p. 354. Vol. V., p. 389.

SECTION TWENTY-FOURTH.

INDICIA FROM THEIR ANCIENT STATUS AND ARCHÆOLOGY

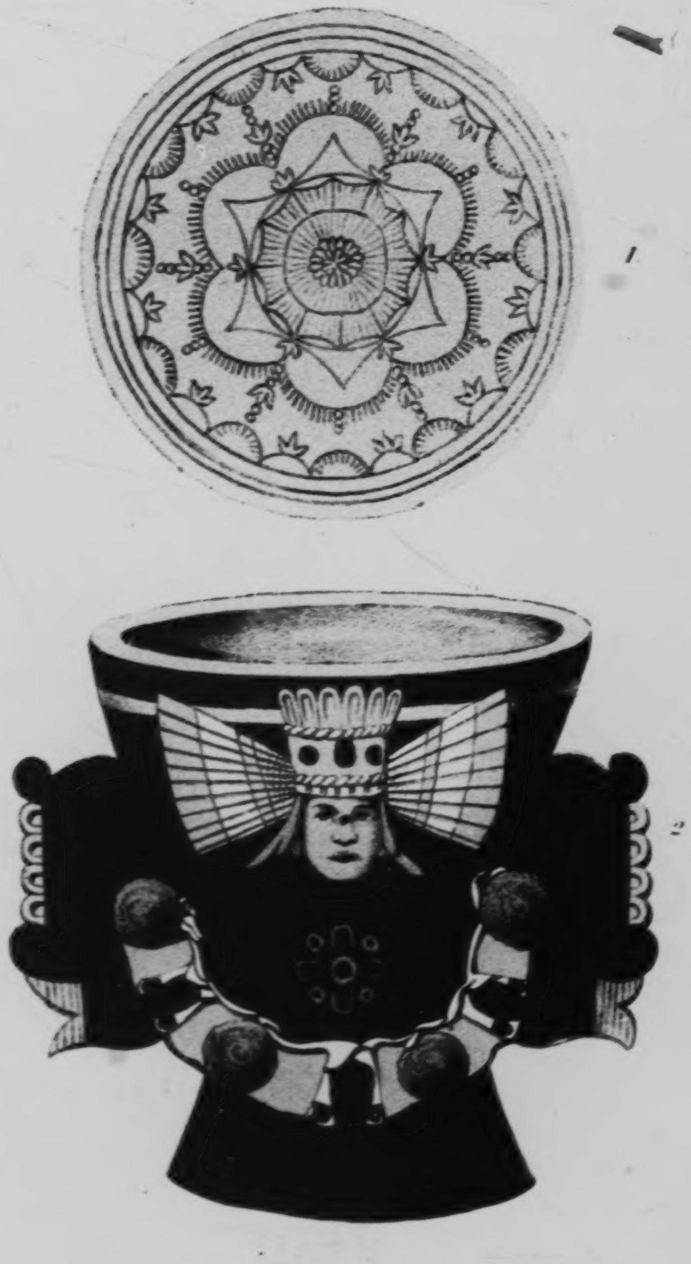
CHAPTER I.

OUTLINES OF MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES.

Proposing to make some remarks on the aboriginal antiquities of the United States, it occurred to the author that it would tend to facilitate the object, and clear it of some obscurities, if the inquiry were preceded by a concise view of the characteristic monuments of Mexico, a country distinguished by a similar class of archæological remains, and which thus furnishes a standard of comparison for a peculiar group of relics, and evidences of art and labor, which have, with perhaps too much precipitancy, been called enigmatical. These indicia are, clearly, of the same type of art, under different states of development. Less violence would appear to be done to Indian history by such a reference of the lower to the higher forms of art, in the same stocks, than by attributing them, as is commonly done, to ancient races of another species, of whom nothing is known, but who are supposed to have preceded the aborigines in the occupation of America. Meantime, such a reference leaves untouched, as a topical subject of inquiry, of subordinate importance, the particular question of intrusive European remains, in the ruins of Indian towns, guacas, or ossuaries.

If the Toltec race of North American Indians have achieved these triumphs of art, in architecture, and in the manipulation of fabrics, it would be no cause for astonishment that the Mississippi valley tribes, occupying a coterminous country, should erect mounds and teocalli, or surround their villages with a rude species of castrametation.

Having mentioned my desires on this subject to Brantz Mayer, Esq., a gentleman of close observation, who has resided in Mexico in an official capacity, and made the topic



Drawn and coloured from the original in the Museum of Mexico by Brantz Mayer 1842.

SEPULCHRAL VASE AND COVER — AN AZTEC RELIC.

itself his study, he furnished me with the subjoined paper, in which the question is treated in a synoptical and condensed, yet clear, comprehensive, and precise, manner. The illustrations are also from his pencil, and exhibit these monuments of art in that peculiar style, which so strikingly marks this class of American remains.

MEMORANDA UPON MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES.

By Brantz Mayer.

In the following memoranda upon Mexican antiquities, I propose to present a general view of all that have been discovered and noticed within the limits of the Mexican Republic, and a special notice of such as have been preserved within the district that was immediately under Aztec control; consequently, the term "Mexican" must be considered *generic*, in the classification of these remains.

The question of ancient civilization within that region is one of *degree*. If we accept as true the account of the conquerors, and especially of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, to whom eminent critics are disposed to ascribe high authority, we are obliged to regard the better classes of the Aztecs as refined, the middle classes as laborious and thrifty, the lower as submissive; while all are entitled to a respectable rank among nations in the sixteenth century, except so far as they were degraded by the cruelties of their superstitious worship and warfare.

It is not necessary, in these observations, to describe particularly the condition of Aztec society, at the period of Spanish invasion and occupation. That task has been so satisfactorily accomplished, in the history of the Conquest, by Mr. Prescott, and made so familiar to English students by the translations of Bernal Diaz del Castillo and of the Cartas de Cortéz, that nothing can be added by a new writer to these original sources.[1] Yet, as geography is illustrated by maps, so is literary description made clearer by illustrations; and, accordingly, I have collected such specimens in the annexed plates, as will convey accurate notions of the forms and arts that were familiar to the aborigines.

When I visited the city of Mexico in 1841 and 1842, I employed most of my leisure in gathering information as to the ancient remains still extant in the Republic. I found few students or collectors in Mexican archæology, and not a single work, except that of Gama, which treated the subject in a scientific or systematic way.[2] The National Museum, in the old University building, was open to strangers, and contained an ill arranged mass of materials, taken from different parts of the country, consisting chiefly of utensils and images. The *ex-conde* Del Peñasco, since dead, possessed, in a spacious apartment of his dwelling, a large assemblage of ancient remains; but all these things, in both establishments, were shown rather as curiosities than as objects of historical interest or ethnological value. In literature, most of the memoranda, plans, details, drawings, and descriptions, were scattered in MSS. and magazines; and the modern city had obliterated every vestige of the past on the site of the ancient capital. Whatever information, therefore, was still to be had, could only be obtained from these unclassified sources, and without such intelligent guidance as would enable a stranger who had other occupations, to receive an accurate or connected idea of Mexican art. Accordingly, whenever it was convenient, I spent much of my time in the Museum, and in Count Peñasco's collection, where I made accurate drawings of almost every striking or important object; and, subsequently, I visited every spot of interest in the valley of Mexico, examined the remains at Chapultepec, Tezcoco, Tezcocingo, Teotihuacan, and crossed the mountains to the southern valleys of Puebla and Cuernavaca, where I saw the remarkable remains at Cholula and Xochicalco.[1]

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[1] See Folsom's Translation of the Cartas de Cortéz, and Keating's and Lockhart's translations of Diaz.

[2] Gama's "Descripcion Historica y Cronologica de las dos piedras," &c., &c., &c.: Mexico, 1832. Humboldt's and Lord Kingsborough's publications on Mexican Antiquities are, in fact, only collections, or what the French call "*memoires pour servir*," &c., &c., &c.

My examinations and studies of Mexican antiquities have resulted in the following classification of the remains, within the present limits of the Republic in 1857:

FIRST CLASS.

Remains of a National, or Municipal Character.

1. Monumental or pyramidal remains, temples, palaces, &c., &c., of stone, with or without sculpture, carving, or ornament, as at Uxmal, Palenque, &c., &c.
2. Earthworks, mounds, or pyramidal erections of *adobé*, or sun-dried bricks, as at Teotihuacan and Cholula.
3. Fortifications, as at Mitla and Quemada, &c.
4. Roads, as at Xochicalco, Quemada, and Mapilca.
5. Aqueducts, as at Tezcocingo, &c., &c.
6. Groves, as at Chapultepec, Tezcoco, &c.
7. Terraced hills, as at Tezcocingo.

SECOND CLASS.

Remains of a Literary, or Record Character.

The Mexican picture-writing preserved at various places, and especially:—

1. In the Museum at Mexico.
2. In the Codex Vaticanus, number 3776.

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[1] The quest of specimens of antiquities by travellers in Mexico, has formed a class of ingenious imitators among the natives; so that the smaller objects, especially those of pottery, are so cleverly counterfeited, that it requires skill to detect the imposture. Many of these "modern antiques" have been imported into our country by persons who collected during the war; and it is proper to caution the possessors of cabinets before they *enrich* them with these shams.

3. In the Codex Vaticanus, number 3738.
4. In the Codex Borgianus, of Veletri.
5. In the Codex Bologna.
6. In the Codex Pess, Hungary, of Mr. Fejarvan.
7. In the Codex Oxford, of Archbishop Laud.
8. In the Codex Vienna.
9. In the Codex Oxford, Bodleian.
10. In the Codex Oxford, Selden.
11. In the Codex Berlin, Humboldt.
12. In the Codex Dresden.
13. In the Codex Boturini.
14. In the Codex Paris, Tell:
15. In the Codex Tellurianus Remensis.
16. In the Codex Oxford, Mendoza collection.

Most of which are engraved in Lord Kingsborough's 1st, 2d, and 3d volumes of Mexican Antiquities, copied from the originals, designed and painted on paper made of the *agave Americana.*

17. Paper, made of the leaves of the American aloe, or *agave Americana.*

THIRD CLASS.

Sculptured Stone.

1. The gigantic idol of Teoyaomiqui, in Mexico, and the numerous large carved stones and figures in Yucatan, &c., &c., delineated in Norman's, Stephens's and Catherwood's works, &c., &c.
2. The stone called the Sacrificial Stone, at Mexico.
3. Images of all sizes, of serpents, insects, beasts, &c., &c., in stone, the figure either statuesque, or in high relief.
4. Carved sacrificial yokes of stone.

FOURTH CLASS.

Objects Carved from Obsidian.

1. Obsidian masks.
2. Obsidian rings.
3. Obsidian sacrificial knives.
4. Obsidian lance and arrow-heads.
5. Obsidian *miquahuitl*, or club-swords.
6. Various other small objects of the same material.

FIFTH CLASS.

Musical Instruments.

1. Teponaztli — drums carved of wood.
2. Flageolets.
3. Rattles and whistles.

SIXTH CLASS.

Pottery.

1. Funeral vases.
2. Vases.
3. Domestic utensils of all useful kinds.
4. Pipes.
5. Stamps for imprinting marks or figures.
6. Images of various small sizes, and consisting of entire figures.
7. Spindles.
8. Children's toys.

SEVENTH CLASS.

Miscellaneous, of Stone.

1. Axes.
2. Club or mace-heads.
3. Arrow-heads.
4. Dressing-tools for skins.
5. Pounding-stones.
6. Corn-grinding and mashing-stones.
7. Smoothing-stones, to be heated for smoothing.
8. Graining-stones, grooved for moulding in lines, &c., &c.

EIGHTH CLASS

Weapons, &c., &c.

1. Bows.
2. Arrows.
3. Lances.
4. Darts.
5. Miquahuitl, or *obsidian* club-sword.
6. Shields.
7. War-dresses.

NINTH CLASS.

Scientific.

1. The stone called the *Calendar Stone*, at Mexico; other similar stones, and astronomical paintings.

The Aztec government and influence did not extend, probably, over the whole region subsequently known as New Spain, a large part of which is still comprised in the Mexican Republic; but there are MONUMENTAL REMAINS of the character alluded to in the FIRST CLASS, civil, religious, and defensive, in almost every quarter of the country. These are in the form of pyramids, stone edifices, fortifications, roads, and public improvements generally, exhibiting a considerable knowledge of architecture, ornament, and the mechanic arts.

The principal of these remains, under the First Class, are to be found in the following States, as at present geographically bounded:

1. ZACATECAS.—In the State of Zacatecas there are remarkable remains of aboriginal architecture, on a hill called the *Cerro de los Edificios*, two leagues northerly from the village of Villaneuva, twelve leagues southwest from Zacatecas, about one league north from La Quemada, at an elevation of 7406 feet above the sea, and about 22½° of north latitude. These remains consist of pyramids, fortifications, walls, paved roads, and large quantities of stone edifices. They are elaborately described in the Travels in Mexico, by Captain Lyon, and are noticed, illustrated by a fine plate, in the *Viaje Pintoresco y Arqueologico* of Nebel.

2. TAMAULIPAS.—In the State of Tamaulipas there are many relics of a curious and interesting character. They consist of mounds, pyramids, ruined edifices, tombs, images, fragments of obsidian, pottery, utensils, hewn blocks, carved in bold relief; and, in some places they are found in such quantities and connections as indicate the ancient sites of large cities. The principal information we have relative to the antiquities of Tamaulipas, is in the "Rambles by Land and Water, or Notes of Travel in Cuba and Mexico," written by Mr. B. M. Norman, of New Orleans, in 1845. As this gentleman's antiquarian researches were only episodes of his journey through the comparative wilderness of that tropical region, his work, valuable as it is, serves rather as an index than a full description of what must engage the attention of future investigators.

3. VERA CRUZ.—In the State of Vera Cruz there are remains of civic architecture, pottery, images, carving, vessels, &c., &c., &c., at Panuco, Chacuaco, San Nicolas; at Papantla there is a well preserved stone pyramid, which is represented in Plate XI., Fig. A; at Mapilca there are pyramids, carved stones, the ruins of an extensive town, and a road formed of blocks of stone; at Tusapan there is a pyramid, a stone fountain of very remarkable shape, a canal for navigation, and considerable civic remains,

indicating the site of an ancient town; on the Island of Sacrificios, near the City of Vera Cruz, pottery, images, vases, tombs, skeletons, and fragments of obsidian, have been found; at Misantla there are pyramids, tombs, and civic architecture in stone; and near the National Bridge (*puente nacional*) there is a pyramid of stone.

4. YUCATAN.—In the State of Yucatan, Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood found the wonderful monumental remains described and drawn by them, between 18° and 21½° of north latitude, at Maxcanu, Uxmal, Sacbey, Xampon, Sanacte, Chunhuhu, Labpahk, Iturbidé, Mayapan, San Francisco, Ticul, Nochacab, Xoch, Kabah, Sabatsche, Labna, Kenick, Izamal, Saccacal, Tecax, Akil, Mani, Macoba, Becanchen, Peto, and Chichen, in the interior of the State, and at Tuloom, Tancar, and on the island of Cozumel, on its eastern coast.

5. CHIAPAS.—In the State of Chiapas, the same travellers found architectural remains between 16° and 18° of north latitude, at Ocozingo and Palenque, and they state that in their long, "irregular route through these regions, they discovered the remains of *fifty-four ancient cities*, most of them a short distance apart, though (from the great change that has taken place in the country, and the breaking up of the old roads,) having no direct communication with each other. With but few exceptions, all were lost, buried, and unknown, and some of them, perhaps, never looked upon by the eye of a white man." The drawings of these ruins, by Mr. Catherwood, have made the public familiar with their style and character, and induce us to believe that Yucatan and Chiapas must have been the seats of quite an advanced civilization and large population.

6. PUEBLA.—In the State of Puebla, the only important ancient remain is the Pyramid of Cholula, in the neighborhood of the modern city of Puebla. Humboldt gives the dimensions of this gigantic pyramid, which is built of *adobes*, or *sun-dried brick*, as follows: base, 1060 feet; elevation, 162 feet; but, during our war with Mexico, Lieutenant Beauregard, of the Engineer Corps, measured its altitude with a sextant, and found it to be 203 feet. Humboldt, it is understood, used a barometer.

7. MEXICO.—In the State of Mexico, there are no *architectural* remains either at the capital, or in its immediate neighborhood. The modern city has entirely destroyed and displaced all traces of the ancient. But there are *collections*, as I have already said, of minor antiquarian objects in the museum, and in private hands; while there are monumental and architectural relics, at some distance from the capital, at Tezcoco, Tezcocingo, Teotihuacan, and Xochicalco. (See Plate XI., Fig. B.)

8. OAJACA.—In the State of Oajaca, there are mounds or *tumuli* at Tachila; mounds and pyramids at Monte Alban, and at Coyala, San Juan de los Cués, Guengola, Quiotepec, and near Tehuantepec; while at Mitla, there are the remarkable edifices which I have described in the recent publications of the Smithsonian Institution, Vol. IX., accompanied by Mr. J. G. Sawkins's drawings.

Throughout these ruins there are specimens of sculpture, ornament, and, in some instances, apparently, of hieroglyphic records; many of the latter being copied in the illustrations of the works of Stephens and Catherwood. In Mexico, Yucatan, Chiapas, and Oajaca, there are numerous figures sculptured in stone, of various dimensions; and general resemblances of design, conception, and execution may be traced among them, with the exception of those said to be found in Oajaca, in the neighborhood of Mitla.

The style is more florid as the traveller proceeds southward and examines the remains in Yucatan and Chiapas; nor is it at all improbable, that the centre of civilization was comprised within those States, together with Mexico and Oajaca.

In illustration of the first series of this classification of monumental remains, I insert a sketch of the two pyramids at Teotihuacan, in the State of Mexico, which are *earthworks*, or *adobé* structures, and known as the *tonatiuh-ytzagual*, or *house of the sun*, and the *meztli-ytzagual*, or *house of the moon*. They rise boldly from the plain, squaring exactly with the points of the compass, and, though covered with vegetation, are clearly distinguishable in their outlines. The "house of the sun" is 121 feet high, with a base of 682 feet; but the dimensions of the other pyramid are somewhat smaller.[1]

Pyramids of Teotihuacan.

By reference to Plate XI., Figs. A and B, the reader will obtain an idea of the *stone* pyramids, whose remains are still preserved. Fig. A is the drawing of the pyramid of Papantla, in the State of Vera Cruz, near the village of Papantla, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera, in the midst of a tropical region, of great luxuriance. Its base measures 120 feet on every side, and its summit (about 66 feet) is reached by a stair, which ends at the top of the sixth story. The plain on which it is situated, is covered with the ruins of an ancient city, which was more than a mile and a half in circuit.

Many of the Mexican pyramids were flat-sided, like those of Teotihuacan; but the one at Papantla was built in stages or storys, like that at Xochicalco, in the State of Mexico, the first and only remaining story of which is delineated in Plate XI., Fig. B. The story of this pyramid that has been spared from the depredations of neighboring property-holders, who have used its stones as a quarry for building purposes, is rectan-

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[1] See Mexico; Aztec, Spanish, and Republican, Vol. 2, p. 279, for a full description of these ruins at Teotihuacan.

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gular, and faces north, south, east, and west, in exact correspondence with the cardinal points. It measures sixty-four feet on its northern front above the plinth, and fifty-eight on its western. The distance between the plinth and frieze is about ten feet; the breadth of the frieze, three and one-half; and the height of the cornice, one foot, five inches. When it was perfect, it is said to have been five stories in elevation. The northern front is still most uninjured, and there the bold carving, between three and four inches in relief, is distinctly visible, in all its grotesqueness, as exhibited in the plate. The massive stones, some of which are seven feet eleven inches long, by two feet nine inches wide, are all laid on each other without cement, and kept together by the weight of the whole edifice.

Papantla is built of sandstone, beautifully squared, joined, and covered with hard stucco, which appears to have been painted. Xochicalco was constructed of basaltic rock; and, when we consider that these immense masses were not only carried up 300 feet of a hill to their present site, but were borne from a considerable distance to the base of the hill, we are forcibly struck by the mechanical skill which enabled the Indians, without the aid of horses, to perform such difficult tasks. The *forms* of these two pyramids, and the *harmonious proportions* of all their parts, deserve great attention in estimating the degree of refined architectural taste of the aborigines.

Besides the pyramids comprised in this FIRST CLASS, or *Remains of a National Character*, there are all the other constructions and edifices which indicate the existence of general and municipal government, religious service, domestic elegance, civic care, defence, and luxury. Distinct types of these are to be found preëminently in the temples and palaces of Uxmal and Palenque, adorned with a singular mingling of cultivated taste and barbaric oddity; in the edifices and fortifications of Quemada, Mitla, and Misantla; in the paved roads at Xochicalco, Quemada, and Mapilca; in the plantations and groves at Tezcoco and Chapultepec; and in the terraced hill and aqueduct of Tezcocingo. These are the most striking remains of that civilization which seems to have originated in the central portions of our continent, in isolated independence of all the world.

The second series of remains in this classification comprises the literary antiquities of the aboriginies in this region, and is known as "picture-writing." The principal relics of this character are found in the collections mentioned in the second classification, on page 579.

The Mexican picture-writing was used only for recording facts, apart from abstract ideas. The material used as a vehicle was paper, made of the *agave Mexicana;* and the figures delineated on it, in profile outline, were generally colored yellow, blue, red, green, and black, without any attempt at perspective or shading. None of the designs can be said to rise to the dignity of "historical pictures," in the modern sense of that artistic phrase; while many of them, when they record particular incidents, resemble the rude colored sketches of our North American Indians on beech-bark and buffalo-skins, though they are of a more elaborate character.

The picture-writing consisted of an arbitrary system of symbols, denoting years, months, days, seasons, the elements, and events of frequent occurrence; an effort to delineate persons and their acts; and a phonetic system, which, by means of objects, conveyed sounds that, singly or in combination, expressed the facts they were meant to record. But this appears to have been the extent of the art of perpetuating the memory of things among the Aztecs at the time of the conquest; and as the public edifices were full of these documents, which the Spaniards considered the "symbols of a pestilent superstition," nearly all the "picture-writings" were destroyed by order of the first archbishop of Mexico.

The third classification refers to remains connected with religion, or Aztec worship. This religion was a compound of spiritualism and gross idolatry; for the Aztecs believed in a Supreme Deity, whom they called "Teotl," God; or "Ipalnemoani," "He by whom we live;" or "Tloque Nahuaque," "He who has all in himself;" while their evil spirit bore the name of "Tlaleatcolototl," the "Rational Owl." These spiritual beings are surrounded by a number of lesser divinities, who were probably the ministerial agents of Teotl. These were "Huitzilopotchtli, "the god of war," and "Teoyaomiqui," his spouse, whose duty it was to conduct the souls of warriors who perished in defence of their homes and religion to the "house of the sun," the Aztec heaven. Huitzilopotchtli, or Mextli, the god of war, was the special protector of the Aztecs; and, devoted as they were to war, this deity was always invoked before battle, and recompensed after it by the offering of numerous captives taken in conflict. The inhuman sacrifices offered on such occasions present the Aztec character in its worst aspect, and I have elsewhere endeavored to account for this brutal characteristic of a people apparently so civilized in many other respects, by supposing that the immolation of human victims was "founded on the idea that the best way of getting rid of culprits, dangerous people, and prisoners of war taken in immense numbers, and whom it was impossible to support or retain in subjection without converting a large portion of their small territory into a jail, was to offer them to the gods."[1]

In Plate VIII. I have presented, in Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, the front, profile, top, and bottom of an Aztec statue, or idol, said to be that of Teoyaomiqui, the wife of Huitzilopotchtli, whose functions are described above. This figure is interesting and valuable, as the largest in size and most elaborate of the ancient remains. In 1790 it was found buried in the great square of Mexico, whence it was removed to the court of the University; but, as it was feared that it might tempt the Indians to renew their ancient idolatry, it was re-interred till 1821, when it was again exhumed and exhibited to the public. *It is nine feet high, five and a half feet broad, and is cut from a single block of basalt.* The plate shows its figure perfectly. "It is a horrid assemblage of hideous emblems. Claws, fangs, tusks, skulls, and serpents writhe and hang in garlands and fantastic forms around the shapeless mass. Four open hands rest upon the bared breasts of a female. In *profile*, it is not unlike a squatting toad, whose glistening eyes and broad mouth expand above the cincture of skulls and serpents. Seen in this direction, it appears to have more shape and meaning than in front. On the *top* of the statue there is a cavity; and as the *bottom* is also sculptured in relief, it is supposed that this frightful idol was suspended aloft by pillars placed under the square projections which are seen near the centre of the body."[1]

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[1] See my essay on "Mexican History, Archæology, Zapotec Architecture, &c., at Mitla," in the Smithsonian publications, page 27, note, in Vol. IX. of contributions.

Plate IX., Figs. 1 and 2, show the stone, also preserved in the court of the University, called the "Sacrificial Stone," — *nine feet in diameter and three feet high,* — of basalt, found in 1790, in the great square near the site of the ancient *teocalli*, or pyramid, where Cortez is said to have had one of his severest actions during the Conquest. The neat and regular ornaments shown in the picture are cut in low relief on the top, and in the centre is a deep bowl, whence a canal or gutter leads to the edge of the cylinder. On the side of the stone, the figures delineated in Fig. 2 are repeated fifteen times; in all, 30 figures, representing evidently a victor and prisoner. The conqueror is in the act of tearing the plumage from the crest of the vanquished.

The *gladiatorial sacrifice*, which, among the Aztecs, was reserved for noble or courageous captives, was probably performed upon this stone in the ancient city of Tenochtitlan. According to Clavigero, "a *circular mass of stone, three feet high, resembling a mill-stone,* was placed within the area of the great temple, upon a raised terrace, about 8 feet from the wall. The captive was bound to this stone by one foot, and armed with a sword, or *miquahuitl*, and shield. In this position, and thus accoutred, he was attacked by a Mexican soldier or officer, who was better armed for the deadly encounter. If the prisoner was conquered, he was immediately borne to the altar of *common sacrifice;* but if he overcame six assailants, he was rewarded with life and liberty, and permitted once more to return to his native land with the spoils taken from him in war." It is likely that this stone should be more properly called the *Gladiatorial* than the *Sacrificial;* but the central bowl and gutter have hitherto induced most persons to suppose it dedicated to the immolation of victims.

The *Common Sacrifice* was performed by a priest and six assistants in the ordinary temples, and upon ordinary victims. The sacrificer and his acolytes extended the sufferer across the curving surface of an arched stone, while an assistant kept him firmly down by the stone yokes, a specimen of which is seen in Fig. 7, of Plate VII. As soon as the victim's skin and flesh were sufficiently stretched and tightened by this process, the *topiltzin* cut a deep gash in the breast with an *obsidian knife* (Plate VII.,

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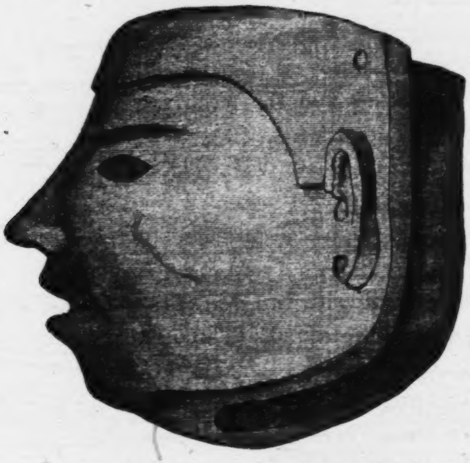
[1] Mexico; Aztec, &c., &c., Vol. I., 110, by B. M.

Fig. 1), and, thrusting his hand into the wound, tore out the palpitating heart, which he either threw at the feet of the idol, inserted in its mouth with a golden spoon, or reduced to ashes, which were sacredly preserved.

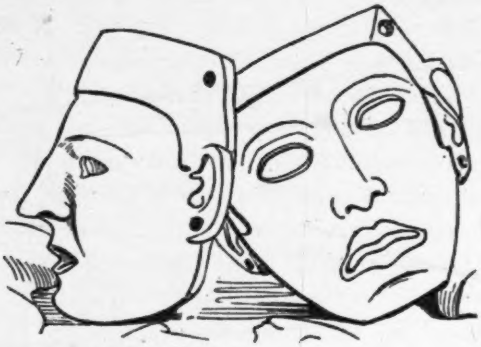
The carving or sculpture on the large stones comprised in this third classification is generally of a medium quality. It is neither very good nor very bad. It cannot be said to belong to the infancy of art, nor is it of the character, either as to design or execution, which would indicate a high stage of tasteful civilization. It is, however, very far removed from barbarism, and infinitely superior in size and finish to the remains of the northern tribes. Specimens of various kinds of carving are shown in Plate V.; Fig. 3, in the large head called Centeotl, preserved in the court-yard of the University at Mexico; in Fig. 5, a squatting statue from Mitla, with a graceful head-dress and grotesque face, which I sketched from the original in Count Peñasco's collection; in Figs. 6 and 7, also in that collection, the latter being the fragment of an ornamented trough, discovered many years ago at Tezcoco, across the lake of that name, about twelve miles from the capital; in Plate I., Fig. 3; and in Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9, of Plate IV., two human figures, a rabbit, a dog, a grasshopper, and two serpents.

The FOURTH CLASS comprises objects carved from *obsidian*, or volcanic glass, and embraces masks, rings, sacrificial knives, lance or arrow-heads, the *miquahuitl*, or club sword, and various small ornamental objects. If the extremely fragile and brittle character of the dark green, glassy material from which these things were formed, is known and understood by the reader, he will probably have a better idea of the skill of the Aztecs, in shaping such things, than from any description we can give of the articles themselves.



Aztec Obsidian Mask, in a private collection in Mexico, one-third size of the original.

The foregoing figure represents a mask of obsidian, from the original in Peñasco's collection. If we say that it is as smooth as if cast of glass, in a mould, and then polished with the highest art, we convey exactly the idea with which we are impressed on examining the mask itself.



Obsidian Masks.

Obsidian Ring.

Cleverly done, as are the masks, I have always considered the *rings*, made of obsidian, as still more remarkable.

The one represented in the cut, from Peñasco's collection, is six-tenths of an inch high, one-tenth of an inch thick, and nine-tenths and one-twentieth of an inch in diameter. The graceful curves of the exterior and interior surfaces, and the high polish, are perfectly preserved. How did they contrive to work a brittle volcanic substance to such slender dimensions?

The arrow-heads, lance heads, and the pieces used in their *miquahuitls*, were not so neatly cut or trimmed, and greatly resembled the similar weapons found among the remains of our Indian tribes. Plate VII., Fig. 1, represents a sacrificial knife of obsidian.

The FIFTH CLASS comprises musical instruments, specimens of which are seen in Plate VII. Fig. 2, a flageolet; Figs. 4 and 5, rattles; and Fig. 8, the drum, or Teponaztli. In the hollow, central part, two thin pieces of wood were inserted, as seen in the plate, and beaten to produce sound. The whistles are drawn in Plate III., Figs. 7 and 8.

The SIXTH CLASS is of pottery. This is remarkable for shapes, and the fineness, in many instances, of its texture. It comprises all sorts of domestic utensils: for example, such as are represented in Plate VI., Figs. 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, from Mexico; Figs. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, from the island of Sacrificios, and now in the National Museum at Mexico; in Plate III., Figs. 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10; in Plate 6, Figs. 1 and 2, representing the two sides of a vase from Tula, of *exquisitely grained and tempered material*, and ornamented with figures *in intaglio*, resembling those found on the monuments in Yucatan. A specimen of ancient pipes is presented in Figs. 1 and 2, of Plate V.; of Aztec *printing*, *or impressing-stamps*, in Figs. 6 and 7 of Plate IV.; of small images, altars, and figures, in Plate II. (8 figures); in Plate III., Figs. 1, 2, and 3; in Plate V., Fig. 4; and of *spindles*, in Plate VII., Fig. 3.

One of the finest earthenware remains I saw in Mexico is the FUNERAL VASE, which is preserved in the Museum at Mexico, and presented accurately, from my original drawing, in Plate X. Fig. 1 is the cover, and Fig. 2 the vase itself.

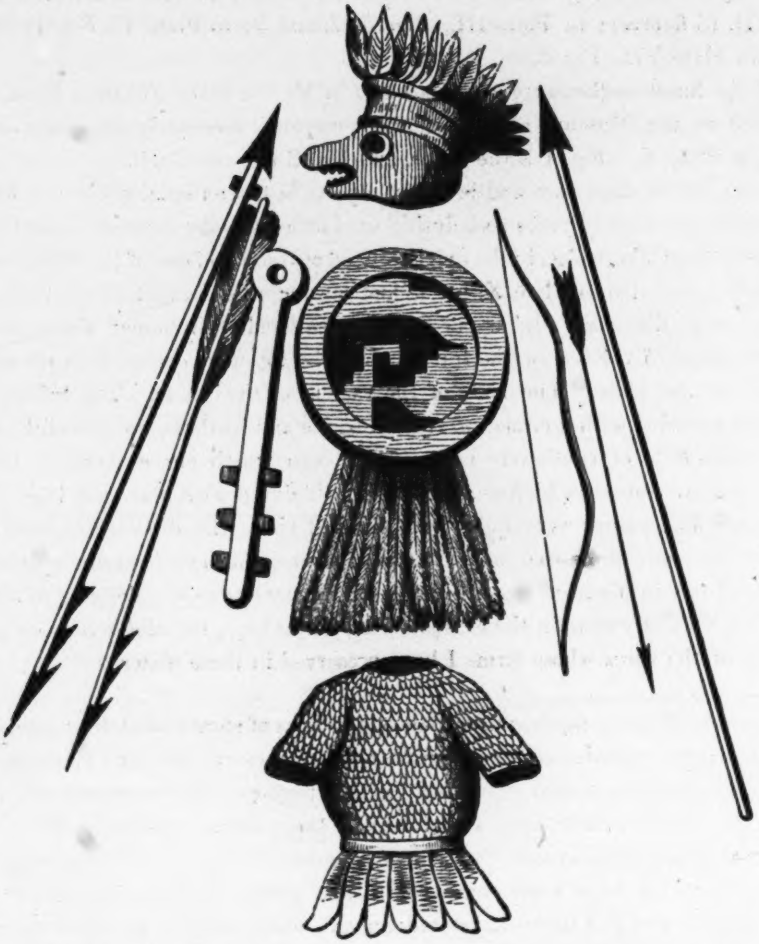
There are two of these rare and beautiful objects in the national collection, found, I understood, about twenty years ago, during excavations in the northern suburb of the capital at St. Juan Tlaltelolco, in the neighborhood of the site of one of the Aztec *teocallis*.

The one represented in Plate X. is one foot ten inches high, and one foot three and a half inches in diameter. Its upper portion was filled with human skulls, and the lower with bones of the rest of the frame, while the top was covered with the circular lid shown in the plate. The body of the vase is painted blue. The Indian head, winged and crowned with a circlet of twisted bands and feathers, the graceful handles, and the semi-circle of sunflowers and ears of corn which curves beneath the central ornament, are raised in high relief, and brightly tinted with blue, red, lake, yellow, and brown. The colors were quite fresh when I made the drawing in 1842; and, altogether, this relic impressed me as the most remarkable and beautiful specimen of terra-cottas I saw in Mexico. In many respects, it struck me as belonging to a higher grade of art than anything in the Museum, except, perhaps, the *obsidian* carvings, and one or two of the vases whose forms I have preserved in these plates.

The SEVENTH CLASS comprises miscellaneous articles of stone; as club or mace-heads, arrow-heads, dressing-tools for skins, pounding-stones, corn-grinding and mashing-stones, smoothing-stones, to be heated when used for that purpose, graining-stones grooved for moulding in lines, hatchets, &c. The forms of these articles resemble those of the similar implements used by our own North American Indians in former days; many specimens of which have been engraved in the plates of preceding volumes. In Plate I., Figs. 1 and 2, I have delineated an axe and pounder, to demonstrate this resemblance.

The EIGHTH CLASS embraces the weapons, war-dresses, shields, &c., of the ancient Mexicans, as they are known to us, either by a few specimens preserved in the Museum, or in Aztec manuscripts, or picture-writings, representing the deeds of their warriors.

In order to give the student an adequate idea of these, I have grouped their head-dress, coat, shield, bow, arrow, lance, dart, and *miquahuitl* in the following cut. Of all these weapons, the *miquahuitl* was the most original. It was a club, into the edges of which six fragments of sharpened obsidian were inserted, so that, when a blow descended, it not only mashed, but tore the victim's flesh.

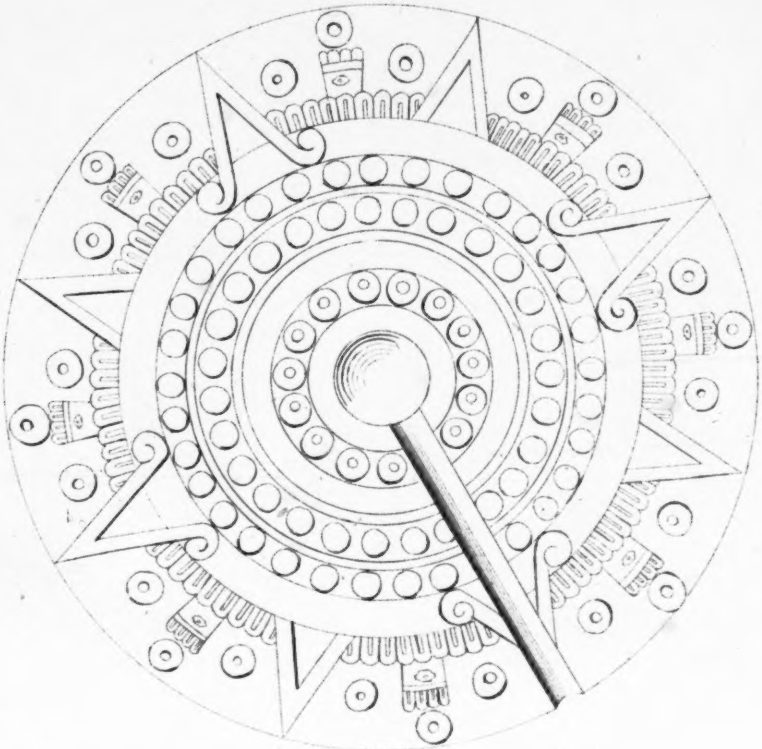


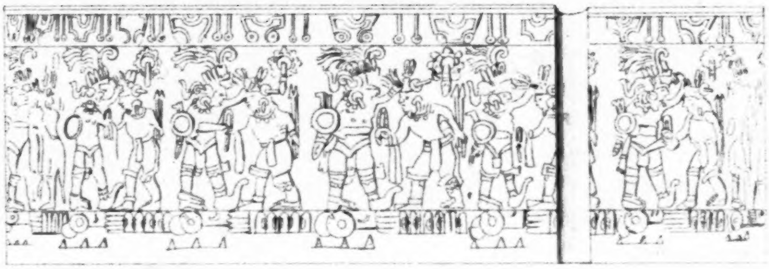
Group of Aztec Arms, Shields, and War-dress; from ancient authorities or the articles themselves.

The **Ninth Class** comprises the only monumental *scientific* remain with which I am acquainted in Mexico—the stone called the "Calendar Stone," now walled into the side of the Cathedral, in the great square of the capital, beneath the surface of which it was found in the year 1790. It is carved from a mass of porphyritic basalt, and is eleven feet eight inches in diameter, while the depth of its circular edge is about seven and a half inches from the fractured mass of rock out of which it was originally cut. It is supposed, from the fact that it was found beneath the pavement of the present *plaza*, that it formed part of the fixtures of the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan or Mexico, or that it was placed in some of the adjoining edifices surrounding the great temple.

Pl.

Top view 1





Side view 2

UofM

MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES

Sacrificial Stone

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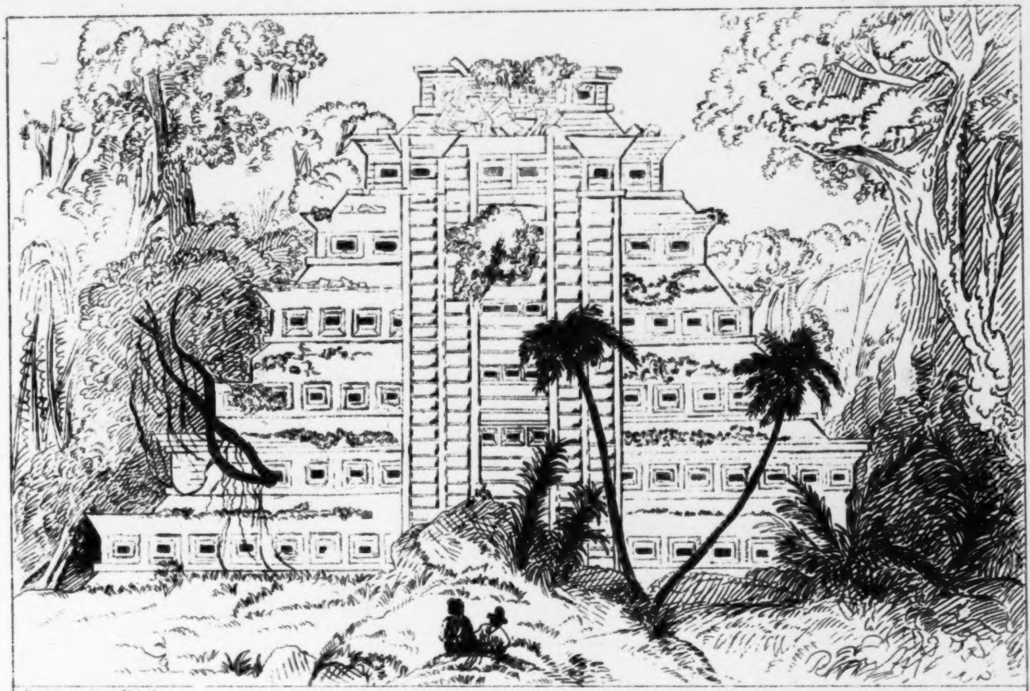
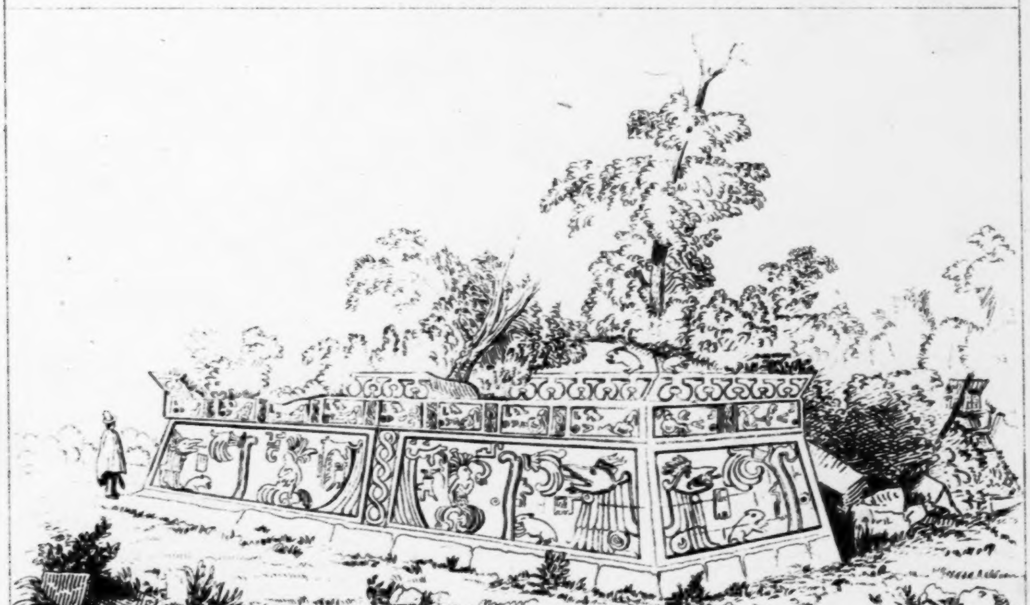


Eastman, from Nebel

Papantla

A



B Mayer [illegible] 1847

Xochicalco

B

MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES

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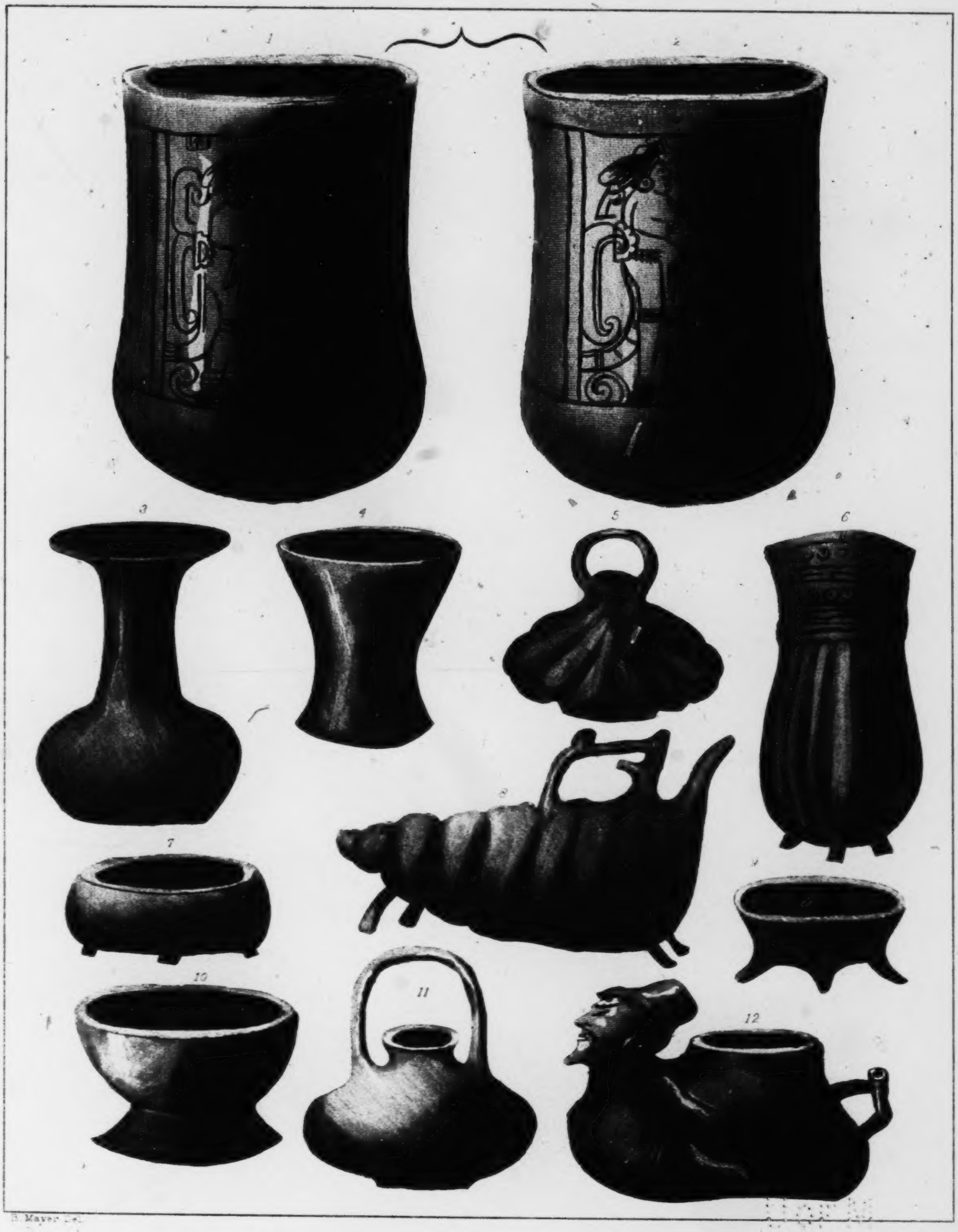

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MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES

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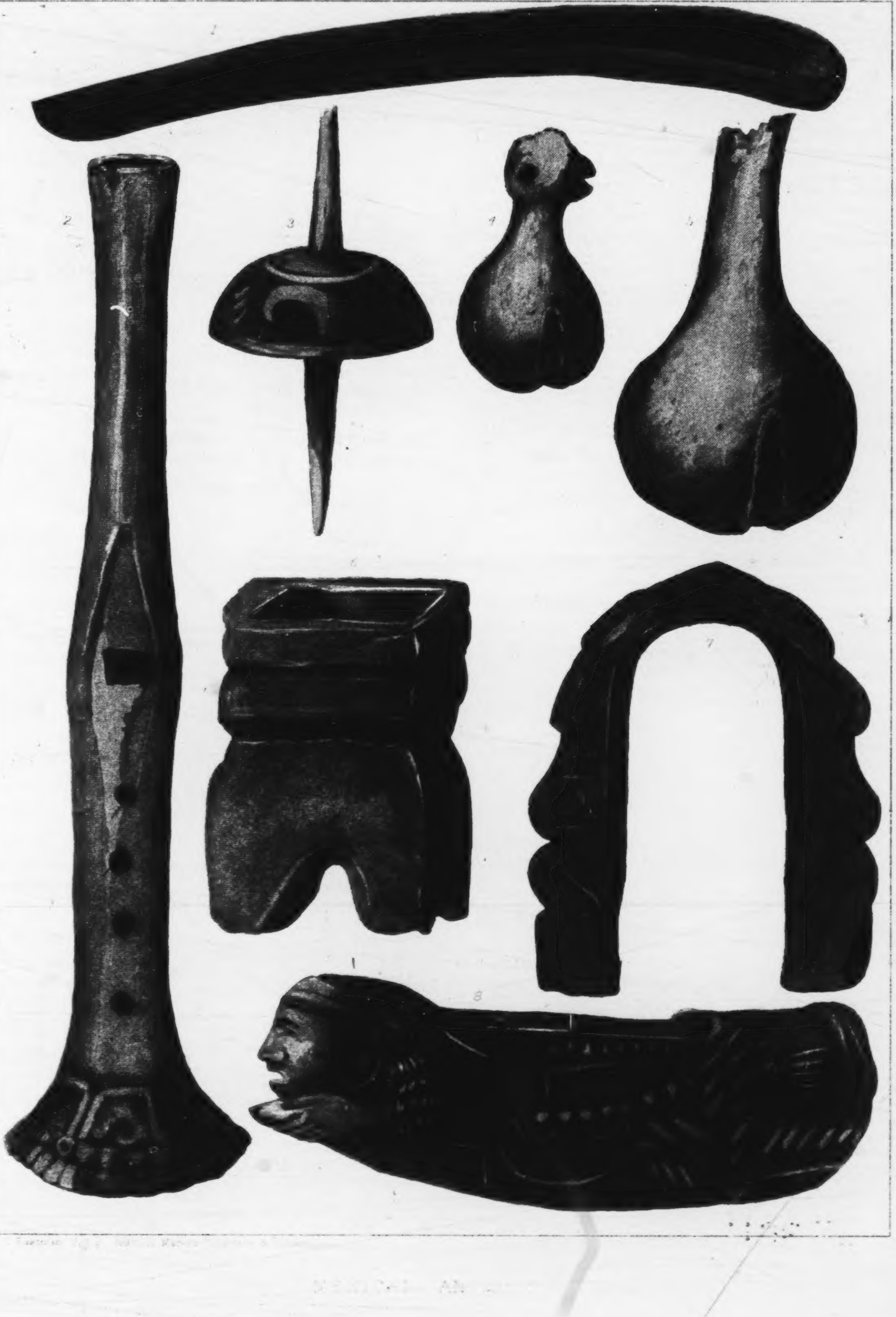

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MEXICAN AN[illegible]

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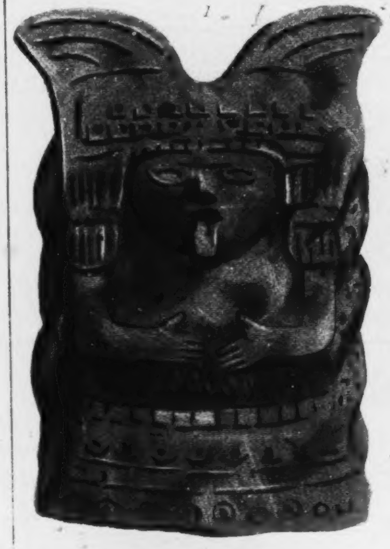
Pl. VI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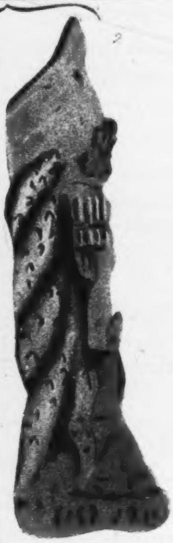
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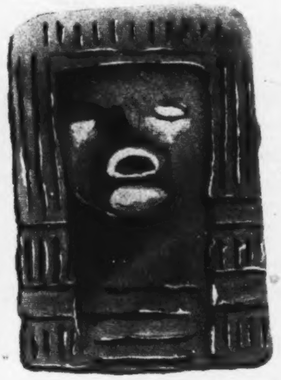
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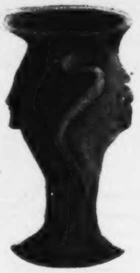
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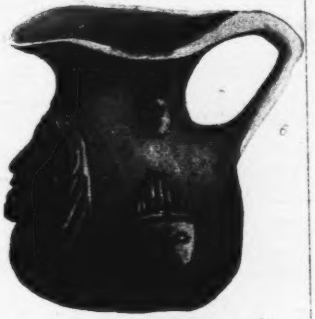
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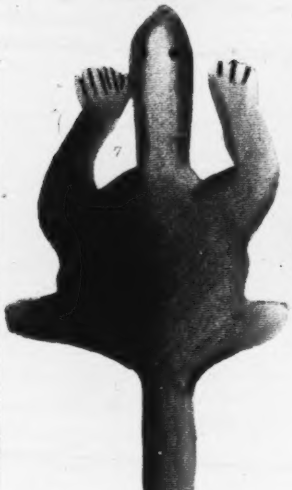
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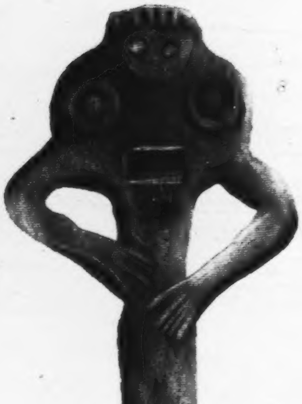
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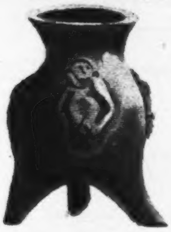
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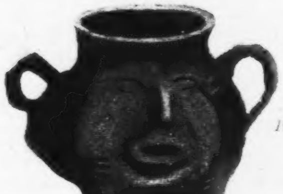
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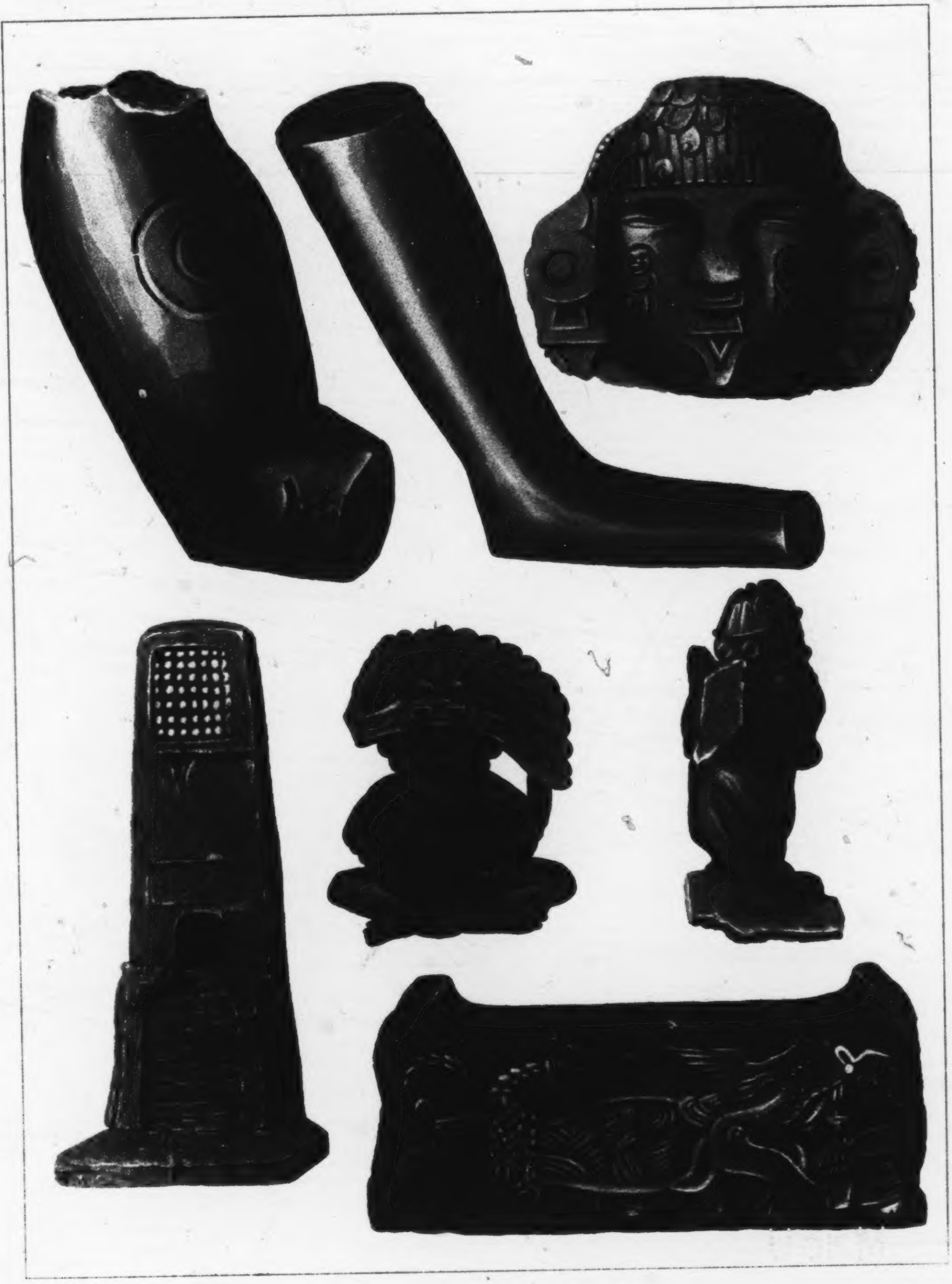


This stone has been so frequently engraved, and accounts of the Aztec notation of time so often published, that it has been considered useless to present a plate of this ancient monument in our article. The best essays on it are those of Gama, in his "*Descripcion de las dos piedras*," &c., &c., and in the late Mr. Gallatin's elaborate essay, in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society. "It appears," says Mr. Gallatin, "that the Aztecs had delineated on this stone all the dates of the principal position of the sun, and had ascertained, with considerable precision, the respective days of the two passages of the sun by the zenith of Mexico, of the two equinoxes, and of the summer and winter solstices. They had, therefore, six different means of ascertaining and verifying the length of the solar year, by counting the number of days which elapsed till the sun returned to each of these six points, the two solstices, the two equinoxes, and the two passages by the zenith."

This classification and survey of ancient remains, and the accompanying plates, cannot, in my judgment, but fortify the conqueror's account of Mexican civilization in the sixteenth century. In that age, European civilization was not what it is now. If we visit Egypt, India, Iddom, Nineveh, Asia Minor, Athens, and Rome, the relative grades of these antique states may be discerned in the monumental remains still extant on their soil; and, if we apply the same tests of opinion to the relics at Uxmal, Palenque, Mitla, and Mexico, we must admit that the population of the new world, like that of the old, was very far removed from the uncivilized character that has been ascribed to it. Savages have no cities, palaces, paved roads, extensive fortifications, aqueducts, pleasure grounds, groves, pyramids, and astronomical systems that will bear the test of scientific scrutiny. Their wandering life denies all idea of that *permanence* which massive and elaborate architecture proves. Their sculpture may be rough in execution; but love of graceful forms precedes sculpture itself and types the mind that conceives and the skill that executes it. Many of their implements, it is true, may be rude; but the *results* of their labors with such instruments are only the more remarkable, in consequence of the inadequate means by which they were produced. They who made paper and recorded events; who noted time with astronomical accuracy and constructed the Calendar stone; who raised the pyramids of Xochicalco and Papantla; who built Mitla, Palenque, Uxmal, and the massive Cholula; who carved an obsidian mask or ring with delicate finish, from the most fragile of materials; who fashioned the beautiful vases, represented in these plates, and made the funeral urn I have delineated, were, in no respect, barbarians. Many years—perhaps centuries—must elapse before the savage quits his wigwam to construct a temple or palace and organize society in cities; and, when he does so, it is not difficult to believe the accounts that Bernal Diaz del Castillo and Cortez have recorded of the social and political system of the Aztecs.

CHAPTER II.

NOTICES OF THE ABORIGINAL REMAINS OF ART AND LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE Toltec and Aztec nations presented to the world the ultimate development of the Indian mind of North America, in the highest perfection of its arts and manners, after the lapse of unrecorded centuries, during which it had occupied a vast and fruitful valley, elevated 7000 feet above the surface of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and quite remote from either, enjoying a tropical and delightful climate. The semi-civilization of these tribes excited the wonder of Europe during the sixteenth century, and it has been the subject of the researches, and of the comments of the brightest minds. Any attempt to add to the actual sum of observation may be deemed a work of supererogation; but, having taken them as a standard of comparison, an endeavor will be made to draw some conclusions therefrom, which have not hitherto been noticed. The accumulative and cumbrous character of their mythology and religion, the abundance of food, and the consequent density of population in the country, led to the building of temples in which their gods could be publicly worshipped, and the functions of their priesthood conveniently administered.

The same state of affairs did not exist among the Vesperic tribes. Though descended from the same ethnologic stock, possessing the same characteristic features, actuated by the same ideas, speaking a language of the same cumulative structure, and forming a portion of the same generic race, yet the religion of these more northerly tribes required neither temples, revenues, taxes, nor a costly priesthood. They were, it is true, impressed with a similar idea of the importance of sacrificial offerings, but they never resorted to human sacrifices. They were still in their more simple, normal state. They introduced the worship of the sun into the northern forests; but they did not attempt to graft thereupon those cruel and inhuman rites which had characterized the offerings to Huitzilapochtli, or other deities of the Mexican pantheon. There existed no necessity for it in their polity, and neither means nor power to raise such immense structures as those of Cholula, where the magnitude of the undertaking was regarded as a proof of the greatness of the sacrifice. Mounds of earth served them as altars on which to

Fig 2

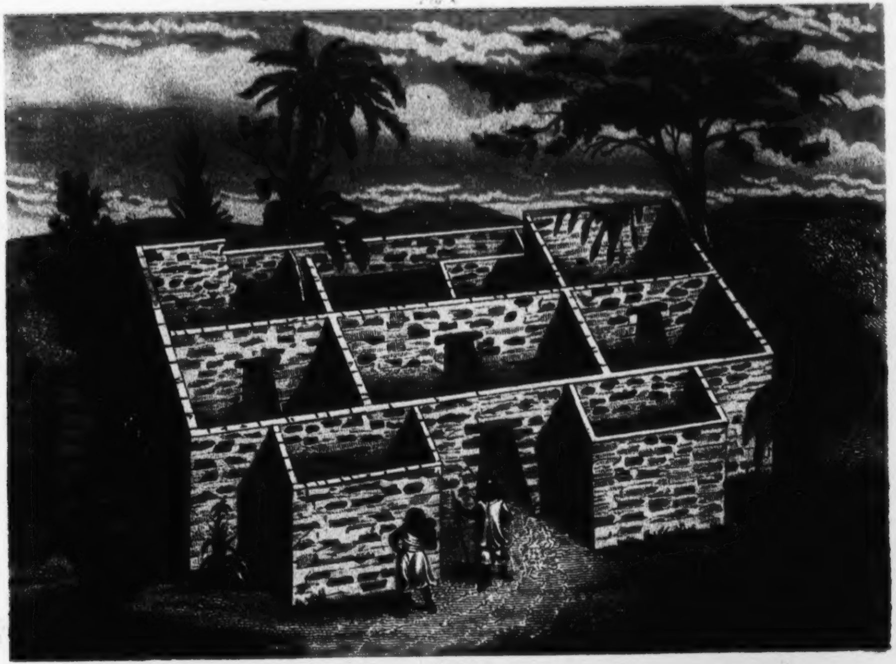
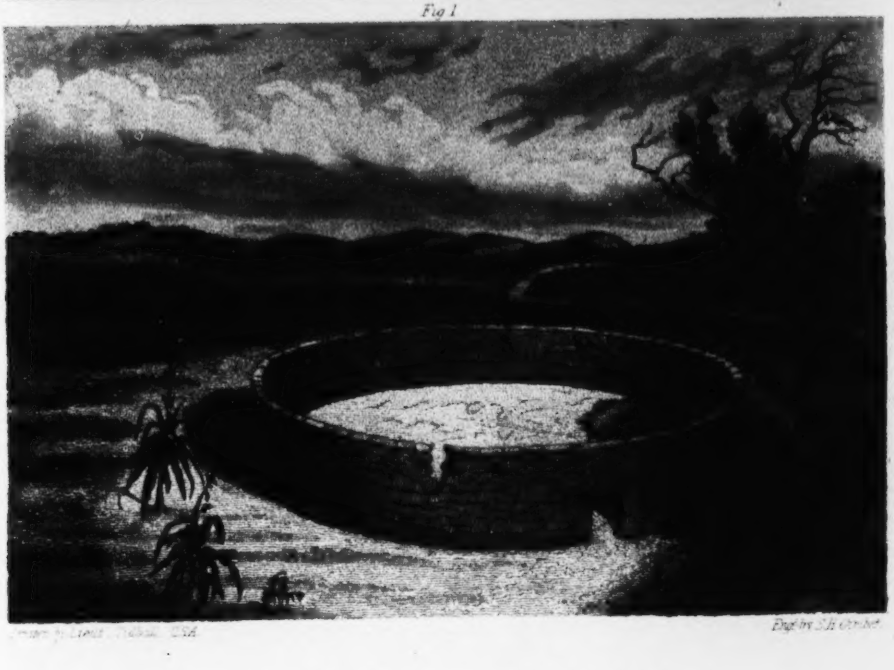


Fig 1



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A.

Eng'd by S.H. Gimber

ANTIQUE PERUVIAN PALACE AND TEMPLE.

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light their sun fires; on them they sang their wild hymns, and beneath their surface they entombed their great chiefs and kings.

Recognising God in elementary forms, and believing that he appeared to them personally, or to their priests, in the character of wood-demons, or in some form of animated nature, slight and temporary structures, made of poles and bark, sufficed for a shelter, beneath which were performed the mysterious rites of their priesthood. These structures were equally suited for erection in the forests or in the valleys. The summits of isolated hills were frequently chosen for the performance of their simple rites; and when mounds of earth were erected, the invariable presumption is, that the local population was numerous. The tapping of the light hand-drum, or the quick notes of the shishiquon, was sufficient to guide the measures of the dance which preceded or followed these ceremonies; but, if it was a solemn ecclesiastical ceremony, or a periodical national assemblage, the mikwakeek, or heavy drum, was used.

The private skipetagan, or magic arcanum of each professor of the Meda society, was exhibited, and their skill in necromancy, or necromantic media, renewed on these occasions; and the lectures of the leading priests and directors, conjoined with the strict ceremonial observances, which were a feature of these convocations, strengthened and established the faith of the seers, jossakeeds, and professors of the divine arts of magic, medicine, and religion.

The doctrine of the worship of the sun was the structure upon which was based the foundation of their general system; but this luminary was regarded by the United States tribes, agreeably to the revelations of Sagitchiwäosa, as the symbol and representative of intelligence. The fumes of the sacred weed were offered to him; hymns of mystical importance were sung by the medas; and his rising was hailed with a hieratic chant by the priestly classes. No elaborate monuments of stone were needed for the practice, or the perpetuation of such a system; the apex of a mound, or the summit of a conical hill, sufficed. In a valley or on a plain, a few stout pine posts served to mark the sites devoted to those assemblages; where, as at the exhibitions of some occidental caravansera, multitudes assembled to gaze and admire.

In but few places had edifices of a more permanent kind been erected for the accommodation of these public assemblages. The Chegantualguas, at Natchez, had erected a building in which public worship was administered, even as recently as the year 1721;[1] in which, also, an eternal fire was then, though it seems not with rigorous strictness, maintained. We have no positive evidence, and can only conjecture by the apparent astronomical positions, and the enigmatical forms, of the mounds to be found in the West, that the worship of the sun, at the time of the discovery, was still maintained at Marietta, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Grave creek, where the principal mound structures and ruins now exist.

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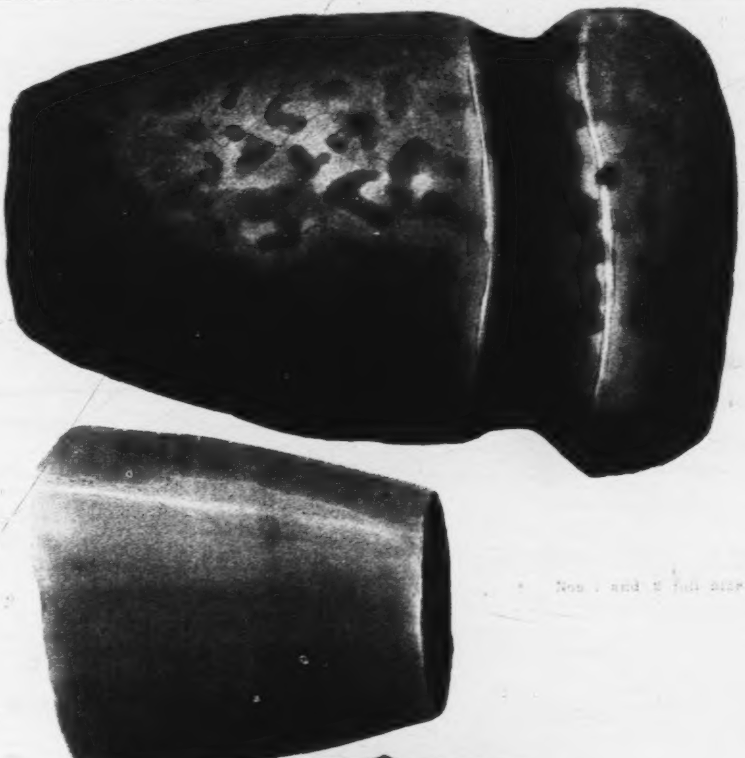
[1] Charlevoix.

Owing to the primitive simplicity of the forest rites, which were practised throughout an area extending for thousands of miles over magnificent valleys and plains, no ruins of "temples" were found by the discoverers of this part of the continent. Their rites had not degenerated into the gross systems of idolatry practised at Mexico, Cuzco, and Cholula; and the stipulated fast and feast, the sacred medicine dance, or, more properly, the medawin, was continued down to the settlement of the colonies, and is still one of their prominent institutions.

When a comparison is instituted between the religion of the Aztec tribes and these normal forest rites of the Vesperic tribes, they present the Indian mind in a suggestive point of view. We can observe in the Aztec the same physical features; the same mental traits and idiosyncracies; the same inaptitude to trace effects to their causes; the same surrender of permanent for temporary enjoyment; and the elements of the same word-building languages; but there is a great disparity in the true objects of life and enjoyment; a greater lassitude of moral force; a lack of mental independence; and a greatly diminished degree of personal and military energy. A tropical climate, abounding in fruits, and every means of subsistence, conjoined with a listless and comparatively idle life, demanding no continued exertion, and a long submission to despotic chiefs and priests, seem to have enervated the public mind, and left it a prey to the influence of ambitious rulers, who founded dynasties, exercising a proscriptive and absolute sway. In the time of Cortez, the common Aztec was a slave, who could not even protect his own domestic circle. The despotic sway over the multitude was, in a great measure, the result of the influence of the priesthood; the executive and ecclesiastical races, as we learn from Clavigero, having been either of the same family, or closely connected. The two offices were generally united in the same person, as was manifestly the case with Montezuma and Atahualpa.

The worship of the sun was still the substructure of the Mexican creed, as it was of that of the Vesperic tribes; but, at the era of Cortez, it exercised only a secondary influence. Tribes, after having attained power by following their leaders in battle, set up and worshipped an image of the god of war. Huitzilapochtli was the great idol adored at the era of the Conquest, and to him the sacrifices offered consisted of the hearts of prisoners taken in war, which were torn out of their bodies, while stretched over the sacrificial stone by the sanguinary priesthood, and the body then hurled from the top of their teocalli. (Plate.) Amongst such a people, temples became the acknowledged location whence emanated the decrees of their rulers and priests. The masses cultivated the soil, raising corn, cotton, seeds, and fruits; but every item was taxed for public purposes with an unsparing hand; every native production of the country, from birds' feathers to gold, was laid under contribution. It is undoubtedly true, though it has never been acknowledged, that, when the Aztecs succumbed to the Spanish yoke, the change was a beneficial one to the former; the government of the Spaniards having been very mild, compared to the tyranny and oppression of the native emperors.



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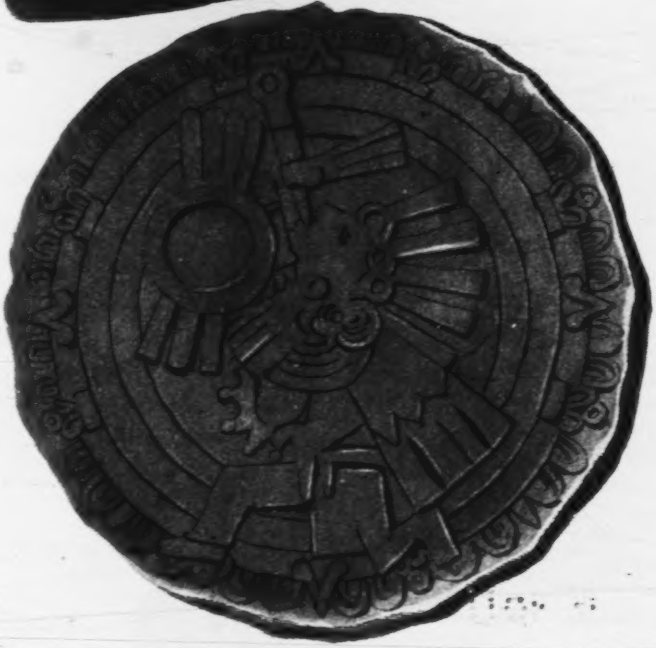

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MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES

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CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.

From the preceding notices of the tribes once resident in Mexico, and in the valley of the Mississippi, we learn that there were two great ethnological families of red men in North America. Occupying different latitudes, separated by climatic barriers, and holding diverse positions in the scale of civilization, they inhabited coterminous countries, and were, in character, *sui generis*. They coincided in general features, character, habits, and modes of thought and action. The vocabularies of their languages differed; but the grammatical structure of them, and the philosophical principles upon which they were based, were remarkably coincident. Their arts and occupations were also dissimilar; one being an agricultural people, and the other still retaining their normal type of hunters and foresters. The picture-writing of the Aztecs was an improvement on pictography. Their cosmogonies and mythologies were rendered incongruous, and their religion converted into pure dæmonology; the latter was founded on a few leading Indian principles, which, though similar to those of the North, had, however, acquired a grosser intensity of error and idolatry. In mental strength they were likewise inferior to the Indians of the North. The climates, fauna, and flora of their countries were different. The position of one people being in the tropical, and the other in the temperate, latitudes, they resorted to different means for obtaining subsistence. There was nothing, however, in which the broad line of separation was more clearly defined than in their modes of government. The American class adhered to a primitive patriarchal, or representative form, under the control of chiefs and councils; the other groaned under a fearfully despotic rule. Both cultivated the zea maize and nicotiana; both raised species of the batata, of beans, and of melons. In the northern latitudes, in lieu of the tropical fruits indigenous in those regions, the papaw, the plum, and the orange[1] offered their tempting products for the use of man. But, while the one class of tribes had not emerged from the simple hunter state, and still roamed through the vast forests of America, filled with animals and birds of every plumage, the other class had made important progress in arts, agriculture, and architecture; which, though tending to their advance in civilization, exercised a depressing influence on their moral character, and plunged them tenfold deeper into error and mysticism.

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[1] Bartram.

The investigation of the antique remains of labor and art, scattered over the Indian country west of the Alleghanies, which was instituted with a view of procuring some clue to the early history of the people formerly resident on the soil, develops a general correspondence between them and those common among the Mexican tribes at the era of the occupation of the Mexican valley by the Chichimacos and Acolhuans, or Tescocans; which event Clavigero places in 1170.[1] These barbarous tribes were not conquered, nor was Tanochtitlan, or Mexico, founded, until 1324.[2] Could the veil of oblivion be lifted from the events which transpired in the Mississippi valley at that date, *i. e.*, one hundred and ninety-five or two hundred years before the advent of the Spaniards in Mexico, it would, in all probability, be found to have been thickly inhabited by fierce, athletic, and barbarous tribes, possessing all the elements of progress known to the Chichimacoans and their associates. These tribes were worshippers of the sun, whom they propitiated by fires kindled on the apex of high hills; they erected sepulchral mounds, in which they interred the remains of their kings or rulers; and they incessantly maintained the same fierce strife with all their neighbors, which has marked the entire Indian race during three and a half centuries. If the Mississippi tribes defended a town, as the existing remains indicate, by ditches and pickets, in which there was a zig-zag gate, conforming to the Tlascalan fashion, precisely the same mode was prevalent among the barbarous tribes of Mexico at the period when our southern stocks segregated from them.

So few traces of art were observable among the Vesperic tribes along the shores of the Atlantic, from the capes of Florida to the St. Lawrence, that, when the population of the colonies began to cross the Alleghanies, and descend into the rich agricultural valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, surprise was expressed to find, concealed beneath a forest growth, the ruins of labor and arts, which appeared superior to any known to have been practised by the ancestors of the existing tribes.

The accounts of the fertile soil, genial climate, and natural beauty of the Ohio valley, given, about the year 1770, by hunters and adventurers, appeared, when recounted east of the mountains, like tales of some newly-found elysium, or land of promise. The desire for the acquisition of landed property was universal; America rang with the tale; and a collision of races was the consequent result. The earliest explorations of a reliable character were those which date from the generic era of Washington's youthful visit in 1754. The first grant of land from the Indians was that made to William Trent and his associates, in 1768, and conveyed the tract situate between the Monongahela and Ohio rivers.[3] Detached tracts were located, and settlements began to be made in 1770; which is the date of the founding of Red Stone, or Brownsville, west of the mountain slope at the foot of Laurel Hill. Some other locations were made in these valleys between the years 1770 and 1772. At the latter period, explorers reached the noted flats, covered with Indian tumuli, the stream through which hence received the name of Grave Creek.[1] Fort Harmer was erected in 1785, at the junction of the Muskingum river with the Ohio. Within a couple of years thereafter, Congress extended its jurisdiction north-west of Ohio, appointed a governor, and provided a judiciary; thus establishing a reliable protection for the settlements. On the 7th of May, 1788, Putnam and his New England associates landed at, and laid the foundation of Marietta. This may be assumed as the earliest period at which attention was attracted to a species of Indian antiquarian remains, bearing evidence of art superior to anything known among the existing Indian tribes.

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[1] Vide Vol. V., p. 96.

[2] Ibid., p. 97.

[3] Jefferson's Notes.

Marietta was, in fact, one of the locations where the antiquarian remains of prior occupancy existed, and still exist, in one of their most striking and enigmatical forms. They embraced the acute form of the ordinary Indian sepulchral mound, but were composed of a raised platform of earth, of the general form of a parallelopipedon, pierced with gates, or spaces, clearly used as public entrances; and, if the outer lines of the raised work be supposed to have been surmounted with wooden pickets, and turrets for marksmen, the whole must have presented a palatial display. The height of the level floor of this fortified establishment could not, possibly, have exceeded seven or eight feet; and, though its solid cubical contents were considerable, it was not, probably, beyond the ability of the inhabitants of a populous Indian town to construct. Such a structure, raised by the Toltecs, or Aztecs, or their predecessors, would not have excited remark, either on account of the amount of labor expended on it, or of the skill evinced in its construction; but, being a deserted ruin, in the territories of tribes who possessed neither much art or industry, beyond the merest requirements of pure hunter tribes, they became a theme of conjecture, and excited wonder; the more so, as the discoverers had never seen the evidences of semi-civilization evinced by the Indian tribes of Mexico. As the country filled up with population, other remains of analogous kind were brought to light, most of which were in the form of small sepulchral mounds, or barrows, ditches, or entrenchments once surmounted by pickets; but they excited little remark, except as bearing evidence of the ordinary appearance of an Indian town. The great tumulus at Grave creek had early attracted notice on account of its size. There was scarcely a tributary stream, from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Ohio, which did not yield some vestige of this kind; but there was no locality in which the earth-works were so abundant and complicated, as in the Scioto valley. Those at Chillicothe, Circleville, and Paint Creek, evinced the existence of a once numerous ancient population. The entire area of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as the surrounding western borders of Virginia and Kentucky, appeared to have been the theatre of dense Indian occupancy, partial cultivation, and of a peculiar character of internal commerce. There the antiquarian found specimens of hammered native copper,[1] steatites for amulets and pipes,[2] the delicate marginella shell,[3] mica,[4] obsidian, and hornstone,[5] suitable for arrowheads. The art of making cooking-pots[6] and vases from tempered clay, was understood and practised by all the tribes, from the mouth of the Mississippi to the farthest extent north and east. The conch, and other heavy sea shells, were ingeniously carved into medals,[7] beads,[8] and wampum.[9] An extensive trade was carried on in native copper, mined from the basin of Lake Superior. The fine red pipe-stone, from the dividing grounds between Missouri and Mississippi, has been found in the antique Indian graves around Oswego[10] and Onondaga. Wristbands[11] and chisels,[12] of hammered native copper, have been figured in preceding pages. The tips of the horns of quadrupeds were used as awls;[13] and a thin, tubular piece of siliceous clay slate, worked into the shape of a parallelogram, and pierced with two orifices, was employed to separate the strands in making cords or ropes.[14] Thin pieces of bone, with an eye delicately drilled in them, served the purpose of bodkins.[15] Mortars for crushing corn were scooped out of solid pieces of rock.[16] Fire was produced by the rapid rotation of a stick, with a string and bow. Discoidal stones, fabricated with great labor from pieces of hard granite and porphyry,[17] were used in games. Chisels, made of hard stone, were employed for removing the incinerated part of trunks of trees, in the process of felling them, and, also, in converting them into canoes.[18] Tomahawks, in the shape of lunettes, having sharp points, and an orifice in which to insert a handle, supplied the place of iron blades.[19] Smoking-pipes were formed of clay;[20] but this cherished article was generally carved out of stone, with much skill and ingenuity.[21] Long spear-points were made from chert and hornstone.[22] Fleshing instruments, used in the primary process of preparing skins, were made from porphyry and other hard stones.[23] The manual arts of the Indians were well adapted to their condition and necessities. They ingeniously made a species of fish-hooks,[24] sinkers,[25] and spears,[26] from compact bone;

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[1] Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I., p. 376.

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[1] Vol. I., Plate XXI., Figs. 2, 3, p. 84.

[2] Ibid., Plate XXV., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, p. 105: Vol. II., Plate XLVI., p. 90.

[3] Vol. I., Plate XXXV., Figs. Pyrula perversa, and Pyrula spirata, p. 95.

[4] Ibid., Plate XXX., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4: Am. Eth. Res., Vol. I., Plate II., p. 400.

[5] Vol. I., Plates XVII., XVIII., pp. 81, 82.

[6] Ibid., Plates XXII., XXXIV., pp. 85, 94: Vol. III., Plate XLV.

[7] Am. Eth. Trans., Vol. I., Plate I., p. 400: Vol. I., Plate XXIV., Figs. 17–24.

[8] Vol. I., Plate XXIV., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[9] Oneota.

[10] Notes on the Iroquois.

[11] Vol. I., Plate XXXI., p. 92.

[12] Ibid., Plate XXI., Figs. 2, 3, p. 84.

[13] Ibid., Plate XXVII., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, p. 88.

[14] Ibid., Plate XXVIII., Figs. 2, 3, p. 89.

[15] Ibid., Plate XXVIII, Fig. 1, p. 89.

[16] Ibid., Plate XXVII., Figs. 6, 7, 8, p. 88.

[17] Ibid., Plate XXIII., Figs. 3, 4, A, B, p. 86.

[18] Ibid., Plate XI., Figs. 3, 4: Plate XIV., Figs. 1, 2, 3: Plate XVI., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[19] Ibid., Plate XI., Figs. 1, 2.

[20] Ibid., Plate VIII., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: Plate X., Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

[21] Ibid., Plate VIII., Figs. b, c, d: Plate IX., Figs. 2, 4.

[22] Ibid. Plate XXVI.

[23] Ibid., Plate XXIX.

[24] Vol. II., Plate XXXVIII., Fig. 1.

[25] Ibid., Plate XLIX.

[26] Ibid., Plate LXXVI.

their war clubs,[1] bows, arrows, and canoes,[2] were constructed with as much ingenuity as those of the semi-civilized tribes of Polynesia. Their musical instruments consisted of a pipe or flute, tambourine, drum, and rattles.[3] The attempts they made to sculpture objects in natural history on their pipes and vases,[4] exhibited much spirit;[5] and their braided work on pouches, as well as on the stems of their pipes of state,[6] displayed the exercise of much patient ingenuity. Had not warfare so completely engrossed their minds, they must have made rapid advances in the arts. Stones, on which were carved figures for embossing skins, or fabrics of bark, intended to be used as clothing, were manufactured with considerable skill. Specimens of two of these, one of which was found in a small mound at Cincinnati, and the other at Grave creek, have been previously delineated.[7] The mounds erected by them, varied much in size; specimens of which have been presented in Plate V., Vol. I. The largest spherical circumference of any of the mounds is 666 feet, and the smallest, 20 feet. The greatest height attained is 90 feet; and the two principal mounds, of Cahokia and Grave creek, could not contain much less than 3,000,000 square feet of earth. The most copious evidences of the density of the former population, and of their cultivation, were found in the Mississippi valley, on the extensive and fertile alluvial plains in Illinois, opposite to the present city of St. Louis, thence extending to Kaskaskia and the junction of the Ohio, and up the valley of the latter into the territory of the ancient Andastes, Eries, and Iroquois. The Scioto valley must have contained a dense hunter and semi-agricultural population, previous to its occupancy by the Shawnees; and the Grave creek flats appear to have been the central location of populous tribes. The most striking evidences of agricultural industry were disclosed in the forests and prairies of Indiana and Southern Michigan, during the settlement of the country, between the years 1827 and 1837. Drawings of these curiously-formed fields, or agricultural beds, have been submitted.[8] These points of the rich domains of the West may be conjectured to have supplied the means of subsistence for the aboriginal miners of Lake Superior. The small growth of the forest trees in the ancient mining excavations of that region, does not give evidence of an antiquity more remote than the twelfth century, if it even extends to that time. The skill evinced in the work does not appear to be beyond the capacity of a semi-barbarous people. Mauls of stone, and the elements of fire and water, were the principal agents employed. The natural lodes and veins of native copper, for which that region is so remarkable, were followed horizontally. Ladders, formed from trees by cutting off the branches at a short distance from the trunk, sufficed for descending into the pits; and levers of timber were employed for lifting the smaller pieces of ore; the larger masses being frequently left in the veins. The great mass of copper found on the Ontonagon, in early times, was one of these, which they were evidently compelled to abandon.

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[1] Vol. II., Plate LXXIV.
[2] Ibid., Plate LXXII.
[3] Ibid., Plate LXXV.
[4] Ibid., Plate XLVI.
[5] Ibid., Plates XLIII., LXIX.
[6] Ibid., Plate LXXI.
[7] Vol. I., Plates XXIX., XXIII.
[8] Ibid., Plates VI. and VII., p. 55

The Aztecs did not drive out or conquer the barbarous tribes of Anahuac, and obtain the mastery of that valley until 1325.[1] There are no reasons for believing that the useful metals were known to, or mining practised at all by the Chichimeca or Acolhuan stock; and until this branch of their arts was developed, the northern tribes were in a position to furnish them with supplies of copper, and the crude material for the manufacture of bronze. There is, likewise, ample reason to believe, that the process of mining in the northern latitudes of the region of Lake Superior was carried on, periodically, by persons who derived their sustenance from, or who permanently resided in, the genial plains south of the great lake. The exploration, for some cause, appears to have been suddenly abandoned, as if the miners were driven off by an inroad of barbarous hordes.

From an examination of the ages of trees, as disclosed by the annual deposit of vegetable fibre, the termination of the ancient mound period appears to have occurred in the twelfth, or early in the thirteenth century. There seems then to have been a general disturbance among, and breaking up of the aboriginal stocks. The late Dr. Locke, after counting the cortical rings of trees growing on the ancient work found by him in Ohio, in 1838, determined it to have existed 600 years; which would place its abandonment in 1238.[2] Mr. Tomlinson, the proprietor of the large tumulus at Grave creek, in Virginia, states that a large tree of the species *quercus albus*, which stood on the flat surface of the apex of that mound, blew down in 1828, and on counting the cortical rings, they were ascertained to be 500; which denotes that the tree commenced its cortical deposits in 1328.[3]

General George Rogers Clark, whose opportunities for making a personal inspection of the western vestiges of the mound period were extensive, expresses the opinion that these remains do not exceed the age of 500 years; which would place the date of their abandonment about the year 1380.[4] The Kaskaskia chief, Ducoign, being interrogated on the topic, replied that great Indian wars had prevailed, in which the tribes fought desperately, and destroyed each other's strength.[5] This view of their tradition is also taken by the Iroquois, as exhibited in the curious pamphlet history of Cusic.[6]

The fortifications constructed by the Mississippi valley tribes were well adapted to the particular kind of enemy to be encountered. Lines of pickets were placed around a village, situated on an eminence, or in the valley, or on the plain. Ditches formed no part of the defensive plan, at least in their technical military sense. They were sometimes located without the walls, and occasionally within. In the former case they denote a contingent state of labor in the construction—in the latter, they appear to have been intended as pits of refuge, or for heroic resistance—an Indian feature in fighting. The principal artistic feature in the construction appears to have been the gate, which was, in all cases, formed according to the Tlascalan plan, though varied in sundry ways. The principal object appears to have been to lead the enemy into a labyrinth of passages, in which he would become perplexed how to proceed. Sections of curved walls produced the same effect; and a small mound-shaped redoubt was sometimes used. These various modes of constructing the gateway have been generalized and presented for study, on a single Plate.[1]

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[1] Vol. V., p. 97.

[2] American Ethnological Transactions, Vol. I., p. 380.

[3] Vol. IV., p. 135.

[4] Vol. V., p. 660.

[5] Vol. IV., p. 133.

[6] Vol. V., p. 631.

The tumuli, or mounds, constituted no part of the military defence, though frequently located at or near the entrenched towns; but, being devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical or sepulchral purposes, they were under the care and control of the Indian priesthood. Some of the smaller mounds had been merely circular altars of earth, a few feet in height; but, after serving this purpose a long time, they were heaped up with loose earth into the shape of cones, and left as memorials of the Indian.

The first formal attempt made to investigate the remains of western antiquities was instituted under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society. The primary volume of the collections of this society was published in 1820, under the title of Archæologia Americana. In this work the descriptions, accompanied with plates, which were furnished by Mr. Atwater, comprise the earthworks and mounds at Newark, Marietta, Circleville, Paint creek, Portsmouth, in the Little Miami valley, at Grave creek, and at other places in the Ohio valley, and in the Western States. The descriptions and plates illustrating those works are clearly and intelligibly executed. The antiquities of the country had not then been studied, and for the hasty theories accompanying these descriptions, that society does not hold itself responsible. Still, Mr. Atwater is entitled to high praise for his zeal and assiduity in introducing a subject of interesting historical research and philosophical speculation to the public consideration. The attention of scientific men in the United States had not previously been directed to the study of antiquarian remains. But few thought that any thing left by a savage people, who possessed neither arts, letters, nor monuments, would repay elaborate inquiry, if worthy of remembrance. Students of history and scholars were not then a numerous class, and even they were unacquainted with the evidences of superior Indian art and skill which had been developed in Mexico and Peru. The prevalent impression in Mr. Atwater's time, and still partially entertained, was that these antiquarian vestiges, though they evinced but little art, were the work of some other and more advanced race, and not attributable to the ancestral line of the existing tribes. Yet there are some works of art and labor in the Mississippi valley, constructed during the antiquarian period, greatly resembling those of the Mexican tribes. They had, it is true, less stimulus to artistic effort and art in the natural history and climatology of the country. The flora of the north did not comprise the cotton plant, the luscious fruits, the legumes, the rich dyes and drugs, and other productions peculiar to the tropics, which had been elements of industry to the native Indians of Mexico. Its mineralogy included none of the native precious metals. The zea maize was conveyed north to about latitude 46°, and disseminated to the further shores of New England, and even to the sources of the Mississippi. The tobacco plant was also cultivated in some of the temperate latitudes; but it is inferred that these northern Indians were seduced into the line of barbarism by the ready means of subsistence afforded by the deer and the buffalo, which ranged freely through the forests and plains.

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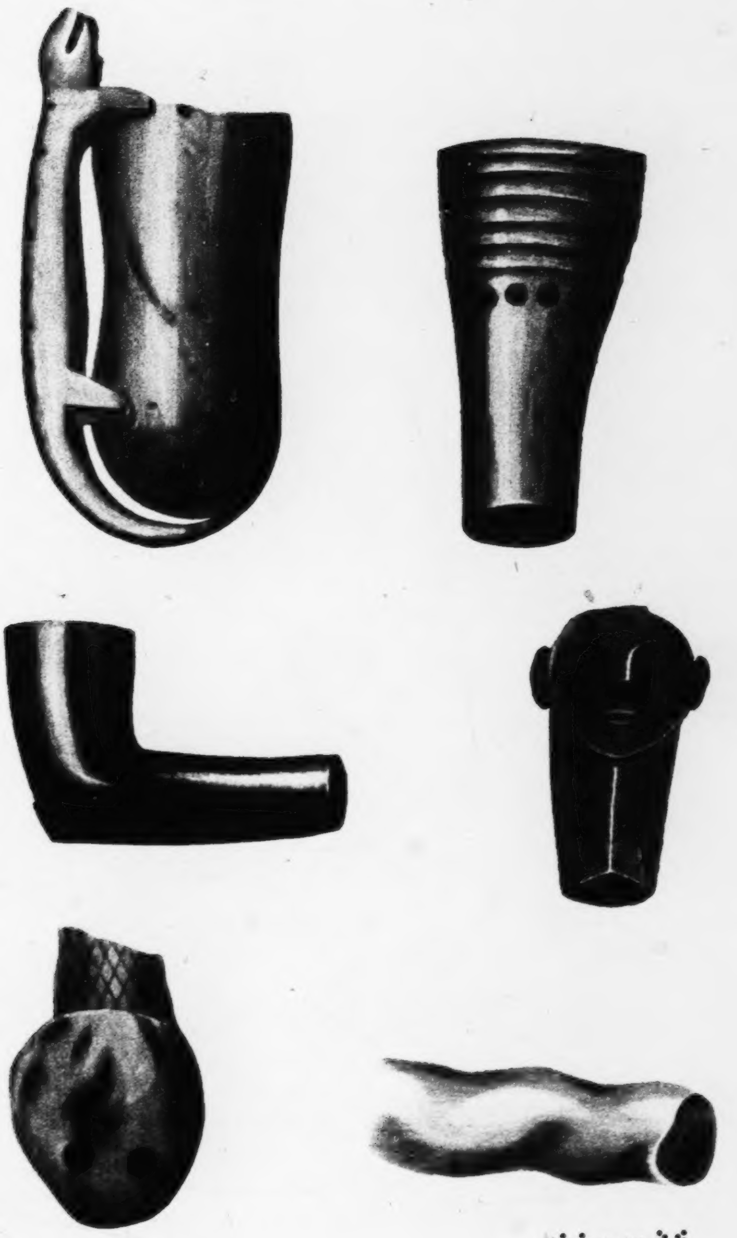
[1] Vol. I., Plate IV., Figs. 1 to 11, p. 48.

In 1848, some twenty-eight years subsequent to Mr. Atwater's examinations, the Smithsonian Institution published, in the first volume of its Transactions, a full and comprehensive memoir on the subject, under the caption of "Monuments of the Mississippi Valley;" the information contained therein having been derived from personal surveys, principally made by Mr. E. G. Squier and Dr. Davis. An elaborate account of these remains is given, illustrated by a large number of engravings. In this work descriptions are presented of the principal earth-works of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, from minute instrumental examinations. Whatever had been previously described, is reproduced, with much new matter respecting mounds, fortifications, altars, articles of art, and other remains of human labor and ingenuity, found scattered over those vast plains and valleys. The prominent impression produced in the minds of these writers, by a survey of this field is, that the country must have been inhabited by a population vastly more dense than any which has existed there since its discovery; or else, that these accumulated labors are the results of much longer, and more indefinite periods of occupation than is supposed. One great merit of this work is, that extravagant theories are therein avoided. There is, however, a gloss thrown over rude and enigmatical monuments, which presupposes the occupation of the valley in former ages, by a people more advanced in arts and polity than the remote ancestors of the present race of Indians. This conclusion, which is produced by the actual declension of Indian art in the north, since its first occupancy, had been the theory of Mr. Atwater in 1820; it had been entertained by General Putnam and the Ohio colonists, in 1787, and by Dr. Stiles, president of Yale college, to whom the facts were reported. Dr. Webster, the lexicographer, was of the opinion that the question of these antiquities was solved by referring them to De Soto, during his extensive explorations and semi-Quixotic marches, in the early part of the fifteenth century. Yet the most northerly point ever reached by De Soto was Coligoa, on the head-waters of the River St. Francis, in Missouri. This chivalric explorer never erected any fortifications beyond temporary shelters, and the only ditched and staked camp he constructed was the one in which he passed the winter of 1541, after crossing the Ozark range of Missouri and Arkansas. This must be located in the prairie county of the Neosho, on the Arkansas, west of Van Buren.

A prominent feature in the Smithsonian memoir is a description of the fortified



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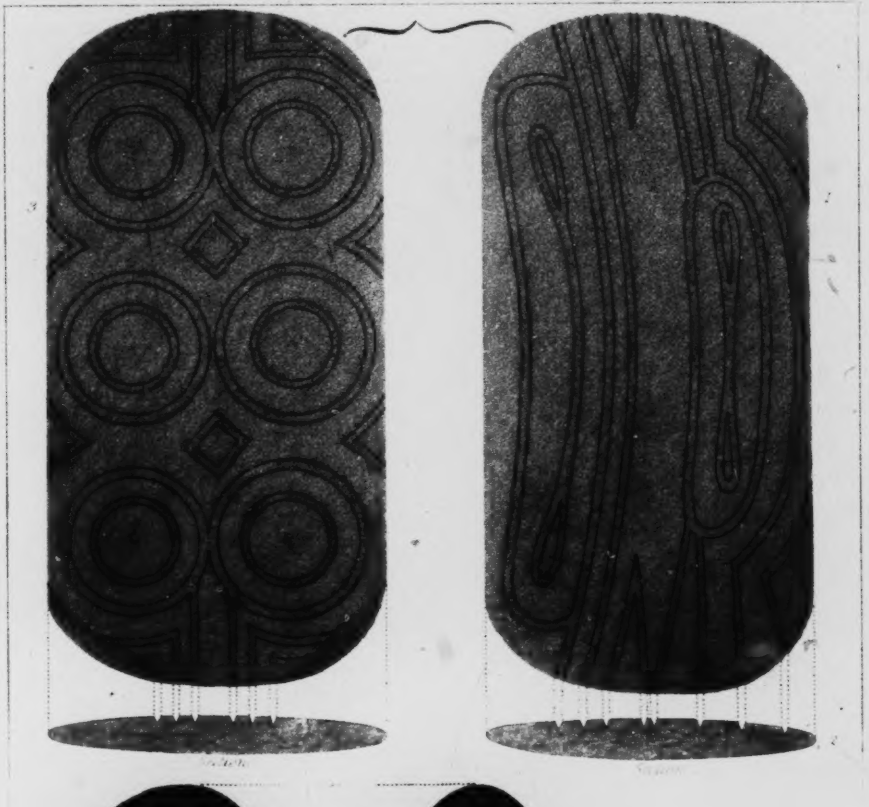
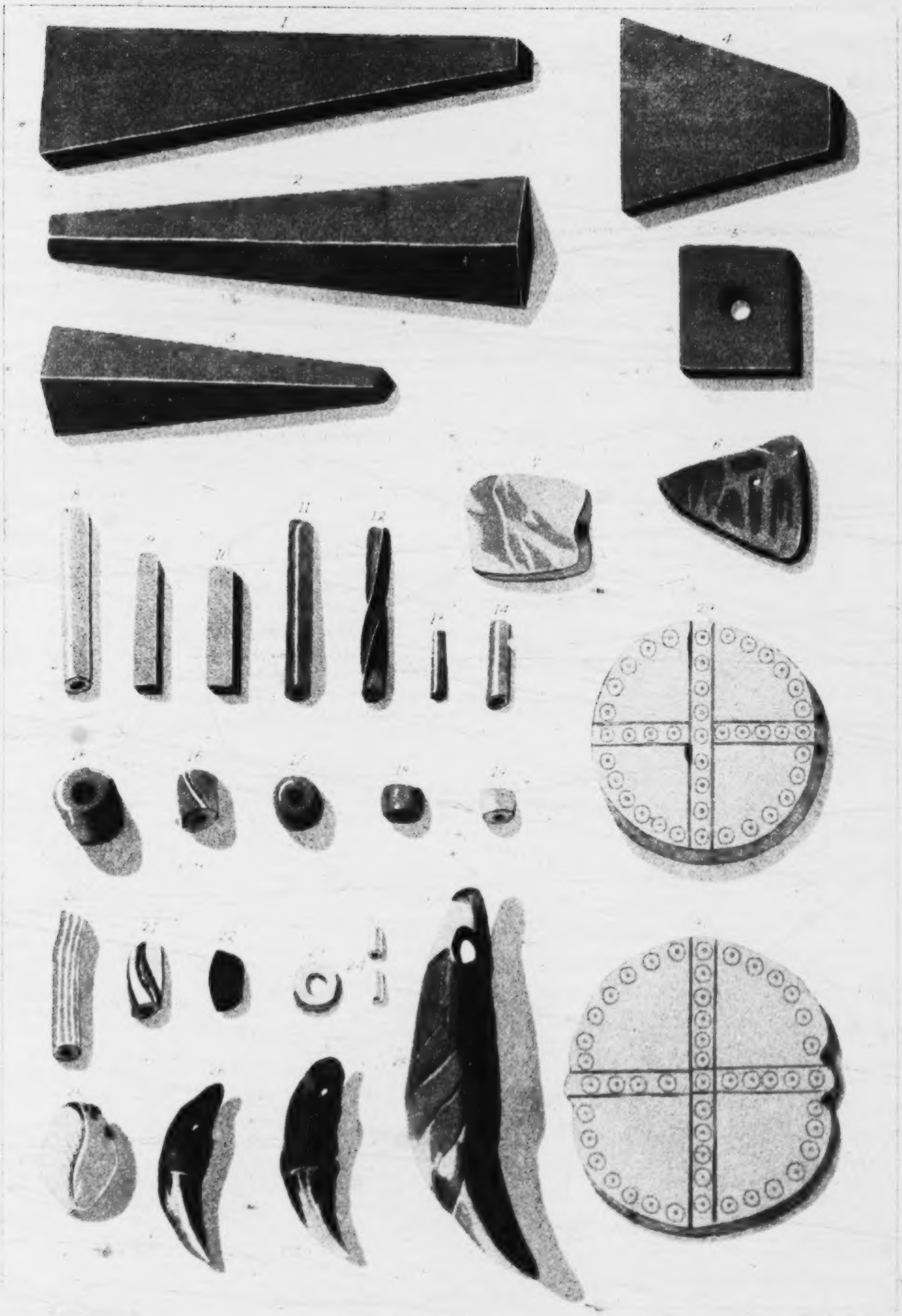


Drawn by Capt S Eastman U.S.A

BLOCK PRINTS AND FLESHING INSTRUMENTS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lines, erected around the escarpment of abrupt hills, which commanded a view of the valleys and plains, and gave great capacity of defence to a comparatively small body of men. This appears to have been the Indian mode of fortification, requiring but little labor and less art; yet evincing a strong natural judgment as to the best means of defence against missiles and hand to hand warfare. Possessing no metallic instruments, trees were felled by kindling fires around their trunks, and then beating off the incinerated parts. This process of girdling and ringing supplied them with pickets to erect around the brows of eminences. Gates were frequently constructed in a zig-zag style, which puzzled the enemy, and brought them unawares into labyrinths, or placed them in a position where they could be cut off by a discharge of arrows.[1]

Among the peculiar earth-works of the Ohio valley, are the raised earthen platforms at Marietta, Ohio, with their geometrical lines and counter lines, and interior redoubts, which have, on account of their anomalous character, been frequently referred to. It was thought, by the early discoverers, that there must have been a subterranean passage to these works from the Muskingum river. A mound of acute conical form near the smaller platform, indicates that it was only one of the numerous specimens of the Indian architecture. The drawings made by Mr. Atwater and Mr. Squier, exhibit considerable discrepancies, which it is not attempted to reconcile, but of which the reader is left to judge from the accompanying Plate.

The whole field of antiquarian research, as represented in the Mississippi valley monuments, may be regarded as the local nucleus and highest point of development of arts and industry attained by the red race, after their segregation from the nomadic Toltec stocks. These monuments were widely scattered, but they assume the same mixed sepulchral and civic character which is apparent in those found along the Alleghany branch of the Ohio, in western New York, and in other parts of the Union. The largest mounds in the Union, and those which are truncated or terraced, bear the closest resemblance to the Mexican teocalli. They occupy the most southern portions of the Mississippi valley, and Florida. They become less in size as we progress north, and cease entirely after reaching the latitude of Lake Pepin, on the upper Mississippi, the head-waters of the Wisconsin,[2] and the mining excavations of Lake Superior.

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[1] Vol. I., Plate IV., p. 48.

[2] Vide Vol. II., Plate LII., p. 91.

CHAPTER IV.

A GLANCE AT THE PICTOGRAPHY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

It was not alone the mechanic arts that determined the ancient status of the Indians; there was also an inscriptive art, which deserves attention: namely, their pictography, or picture-writing. Lord Kingsborough, through the medium of his magnificent royal folios, attracted special attention to the Mexican picture-writings, and gave rise to the expectation that much valuable historical information would be derived from this source. The skill displayed in the execution of the native parchment scrolls, the richness of the coloring, and the systematic method evinced in the arrangement of the devices, presented an attractive feature in the study of the history of Indian mental development; and it was confidently believed that some phonetic key to these writings would be revealed. Time has, however, fully demonstrated the fallacy of this expectation. These carefully drawn and painted scrolls are purely ideographic and representative, containing a system of signs for days and years, and an astronomical calendar, formed from a long series of observations on the sun's recessions, by means of which the true length of the solar year was determined to within the fractional part of a day. The totemic devices of clans or families, as they appear in the pictorial writings, are carefully depicted as the eagle, lotus, serpent, &c.[1] A small circle, or a congeries of circles, are the symbols of times, phases, and quantities. There is no equivalent for digits, and no device by which to denote sounds. Much of the subject matter of the drawings relates to astrological theories and horoscopes, of which a peculiar and anomalous mythology forms a prominent feature. It was, evidently, an art devised and perfected by the native priests, and constituted the employment of a class of hieroglyphists, or rude scriveners, to whom the subject was fully explained beforehand; and where the pictographic art failed, symbolic characters were substituted, when the device became wholly mnemonic. The entire scrolls could never have been read without these verbal interpretations. The Spanish missionaries who accompanied the conqueror, finding the subjects to be designed by the native priesthood to uphold a system of dæmonology, promptly de-

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[1] Vol. I., p. 20, Plates I. and II.

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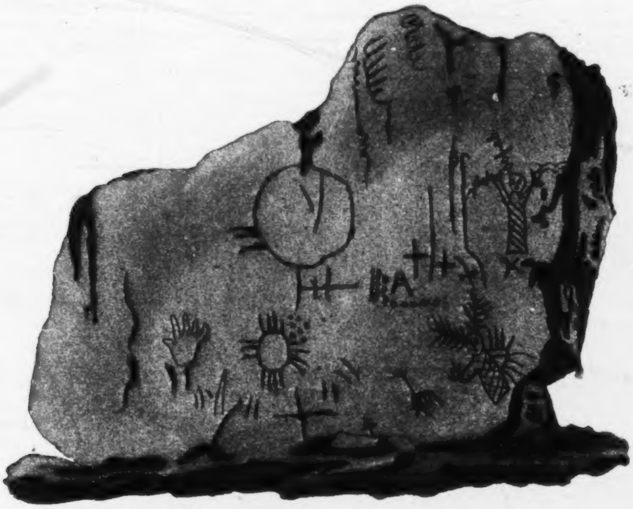
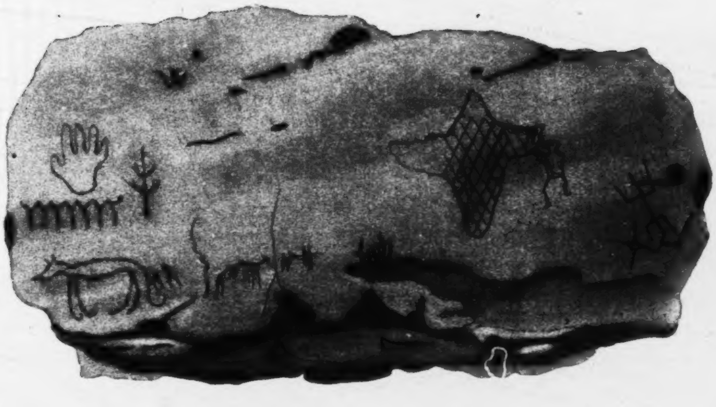
INDIAN [illegible] SCULPTURE [illegible]





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ANCIENT PICTOGRAPHS_NEW MEXICO

PUBLISHED BY J.B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. PHILADELPHIA nounced it, and destroyed the scrolls indiscriminately, without attempting to preserve those portions relating purely to history. It does not appear that the latter constituted any considerable part of their contents. The late Mr. Gallatin, who elaborately examined the Kingsborough collection, found it rather a barren and unfruitful field of historical research.[1] The term "picture-writing" can in truth be only hyperbolically applied to those semi-mnemonic scrolls, for they are a series of paintings, designed to represent natural objects, and not to express sounds.

The system, as it exists amongst the Vesperic tribes, has been more correctly designated pictography. No specimens of it, equalling the beauty of coloring which characterizes the Aztec drawings, have been found among the northern tribes; nor any that indicate achievements in astronomy or arts; but the scrolls of bark, the paintings on buffalo-skins, the inscriptions on trees and rocks, the notation of the songs of their necromancers, medas, and priests, and their sepulchral records, display a similar art. It was evidently used by them to perpetuate their war, hunting, sepultural, and mystical songs or triumphs of skill or prowess. It was not the practice of the founders of Canada, New England, or the central and southern colonies, to represent the Indians as possessing an advanced state of art. They were described as active, quick-witted, intelligent races, who were alike notable for their skill and courage in war and hunting. The pictographic element was, however, described.[2] In 1696, when Frontenac marched an army into the Iroquois country, he discovered a large tree, on one side of which there was a pictographic drawing of his army, with symbolic figures, indicating defiance, and representing the numbers ready to oppose him.[3]

This is the highest development of the pictographic art of the Indians, and is called KEKEEWIN, or instructions. The rock inscriptions are called *muzzinabiks*. Tabular drawings of its elements as employed in the various grades of Indian life, of which it is designed to commemorate the acts, are exhibited in preceding pages,[4] and herewith reproduced. One of the earliest noticed instances of the use of this art, on the faces of rocks, was found on a massive fragment of greenstone, lying on the shores of the Assonet river, in Massachusetts.[5] An inscription in the character of the Kekeewin was noticed on the face of an upright tabular rock, at Venango, on the River Alleghany. This has been visited, and a drawing of it is presented in a previous volume, together with a view of the scene.[6] One of the most extensive and complicated instances of the muzzinabik inscriptions exists on a tabular limestone rock, on an island in Lake Erie.[1]

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[1] Transactions of the Am. Eth. Society, Vol. I., p. 305: New York, Bartlett & Welford, 1845.

Mr. B. Perley Poore, the historical agent of Massachusetts, found Indian pictographs, of an early date, represented in the Marine Department of France.

[3] Vol. I., p. 334. A synopsis of this inscription is given in Plate XXXVII., Vol. I.

[4] Vide Plates LVIII, and LIX., Vol. I., pp. 408, 409.

[5] Vide Vol. I., Plate XXXVI., p. 114, of 1790; corrected by a Daguerreotype copy in Vol. IV., Plate XIV., p. 120.

[6] Plates XVII. and XVIII., pp. 172, 173, Vol. IV., (to face p. 423).

The simpler forms of pictography are shown on the Indian *adjedatiks,* or grave posts, which contain the hieroglyphic memorials of their dead.[2] Its application to hunting (with the magic indicia of the medas),[3] to travel, D., to topography, B., and to trade, C, are fully illustrated.[4] Superstitious traditions are evident in the serpent-guarded king, Atatarho, and in the fiery flying heads, and stonish giants.[5] Biography, or personal exploits, are thus handed down to posterity.[6] The application of it to warlike excursions is shown by a copy of a pictograph drawn on the face of a rock on Lake Superior.[7] The mystic arts of the pow-wow, or prophet, are designated.[8] The totemic uses of the art in distinguishing families and tribes, are also shown.[9]

The separation of the elementary from the concrete, in language, pictography, and whatever denotes mental development in the hunter races, does not appertain to the hunter state, but is, at once, one of the proofs of the possession of a logical intellect by civilized man. Yet a modified term for the pictographic art is applied to such of their complicated drawings as imply medical, mystical, or necromantic knowledge. These blendings of mystical ideas with actual knowledge are not simply called kekeewins, but ke-kee-(no)-wins. The best-executed specimens of the kekeenowin are those which are applied by the Indians to the notation of their mystical songs. In their drawings they employ the ideographic art to represent the living, inanimate, or fancied subjects of the song, but so combined with the mnemonic element that he who sings must have been previously familiar, not only with this special branch of Indian attainment in the art of divination and magic, but also with the words of the song: the theme alone appeals to his memory. The earliest illustrations which are presented of this part of the subject, were printed on a hand-press, by the late Mr. Maveric, from the original drawings on tablets of maple-wood, called "music-boards," obtained from the meda-men, resident on the basin of Lake Superior.[10] The devices were ingeniously cut in the wood, and subsequently colored with vermilion, ultramarine blue, and other bright pigments, obtained through the medium of trade.

The Indians possess no art which is so characteristic of their mental traits as these various forms of pictography and hieroglyphics, the evidences of which are spread from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. They are found on the sources of the Mississippi, on the elevated plains of New Mexico, and along the Pacific coasts of California and Oregon. No memorials of their condition which will descend to futurity, so fully

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[1] Plate XLI., Vol. III., p. 85, (to face p. 423).

[2] Plates XLIX. and LIII., Vol. I., p. 382.

[3] Plate L., Vol. I., p. 356.

[4] Plates XLIX. and LXI., Vol. I.

[5] Plates LXX., LXXI., and LXXII., Vol. I.

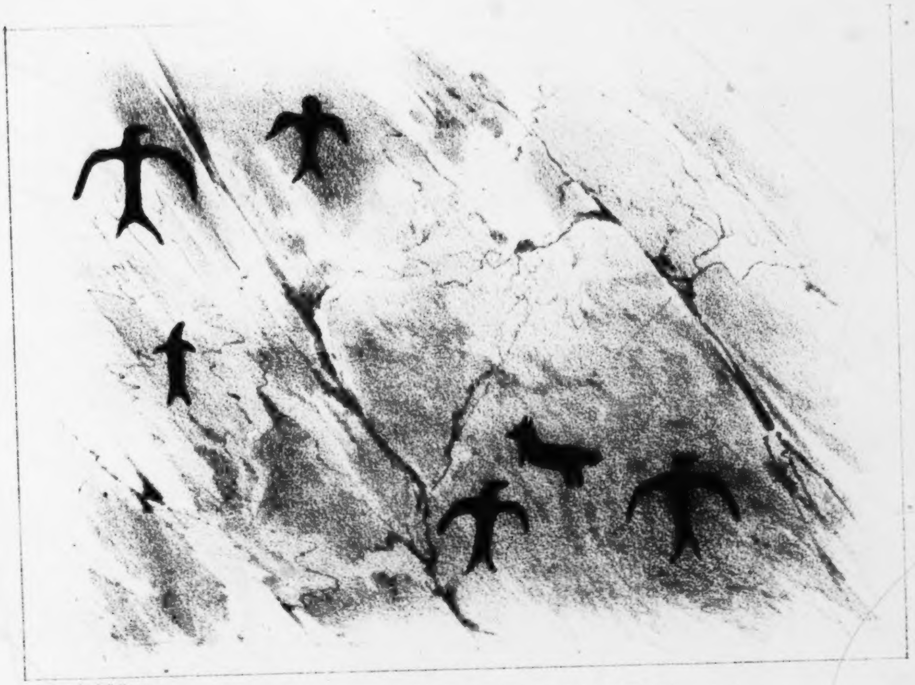
[6] Plate LIV., Vol. I.

[7] Plate LVII., Vol. I., p. 406.

[8] Plates LIV. and LVI., Vol. II., pp. 222, 226.

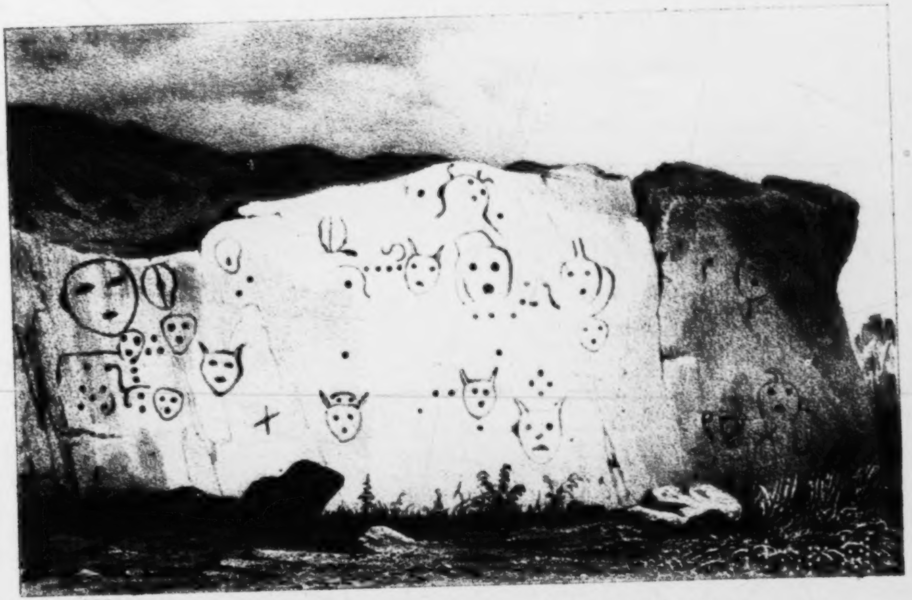
[9] Plates XLIX. and LV., Vol. I., B.

[10] Plates LI. and LII. Meda and Wabena songs. Vol. I., pp. 360, 372.



Drawn by A.C.Hamlin

TOTEMIC DEVICES, WEST RIVER, (Vermont)



Drawn by A.C.Hamlin

PICTOGRAPHIC INSCRIPTION AT BELLOWS' FALLS, (Vermont) reveal the present condition and idiosyncrasies of the Indian mental development. Frequently these pictographs are found traced on the surface of a tabular stone, on a boulder, on the scapula of a buffalo, or on the face of an inaccessible cliff. They exhibit the distractions of the savage mind, between the ideas of a deity and a devil; and, among the northern tribes, are most commonly found on sheets of the betula bark, while the prairie tribes west of the Missouri have more generally made use of skins. Frequently the entire history of a chief and of his band, are depicted, in pigments, on a dressed buffalo robe. Specimens of these endeavors to perpetuate their fame, or secure a remembrance among their cotemporaries, as found in various latitudes, and among all the existing stocks, are added,[1] that the wide-spread prevalence of the custom may be perceived.

The subjoined fac-simile of an ancient Indian record of a battle-scene, copied by Dr. A. C. Hamlin from the face of a rock at Bellows' Falls, Vermont, is one of the recently-developed specimens of the pictographic inscriptions found on the rocks of New England. It is accompanied by a totemic device from West river, in which the family clan of the Eagle record their location.

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[1] Plate XLII., Vol. III., from the Rocky mountains. Plates XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII., XXXIV., Vol. IV. Plates XV., XIX., XXXI., Vol. V.

CHAPTER V.

INTRUSIVE ELEMENTS OF ART FROM EUROPE AND ASIA.

SCANDINAVIAN sagas and records[1] inform us that, in the year 1000, Biorn landed on the American shores of the north Atlantic, in a flat country, which he found to be covered with forests. The following year Leif, son of Eric the Red Head, followed in his track from Greenland. He first discovered a rocky and barren country which he called Helluland, now known as Newfoundland; and then, sailing in a southerly direction, arrived at some lowlands covered with evergreens and forest trees, which he named Markland, subsequently the Acadia of the French, or Nova Scotia. Continuing his voyage in the same direction during two more days, he again saw land, which presented the appearance of a finely wooded shore, with mountains in the distance. Sailing thence, he came to an island, and subsequently to a river, which he entered, and landed on its banks. This country received the name of Vinland.

It is conjectured that Vinland comprised the area at present occupied by the States of Maine and New Hampshire; and the island appears to have been that of Monhagan, contiguous to the coast of Maine. An ancient inscription, traced in letters resembling the pointed Runic characters, has been found on the face of a rock on that island, from a plaster cast of which, transmitted to me by Dr. A. C. Hamlin, of Bangor, the drawing on a reduced scale, herewith submitted, has been made. This inscription has not been critically examined, but appears to belong to an early, and, perhaps, to the eccentric age of the art. Dr. Hamlin, in presenting the subject to the notice of the section on Ethnology, at the late scientific meeting held at Albany, expressed the opinion that the Vinland river, which the Scandinavians entered, was the Kennebec, the mouth of which is distant only about two leagues from the island of Monhagan. In confirmation of this opinion he stated, that when the first settlements were made on the Kennebec, about the year 1657, the settlers, as they cut down and cleared off the trees, found the remains of chimneys and mouldered ruins, which had been overgrown by the forest.[2]

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[1] Antiquates Americanæ.

[2] Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Tenth meeting. Albany, 1856: Cambridge, 1857, p. 214.

This new theory of the location of Vinland will not have to encounter the nautical and astronomical objections, which have been urged against the geographical position previously assigned to it in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, by the learned association of Copenhagen; a location which is farther, by several days' sail, towards the south and south-west, than the sagas indicate. It also avoids the mal-interpretation of the figures and devices on the Dighton Rock, which are not of Scandinavian origin, or of any alphabetical value whatever; but, as I have suggested in a paper read before the American Ethnological Society, in 1843,[1] and also in my Ethnological Researches,[2] are in the ordinary style of the Indian kekeewin, or mnemonic pictographs. This kekeewin is a rude ideographic mode of communicating thought, by which triumphs in war and hunting, deaths, and other subjects, are commemorated by the Indians. Chingwalk, an Algonquin, versed in this species of the peculiar knowledge of his people, pronounced it to be one of their ancient muzzinabiks, made when their internal wars were rife; and, taking figure by figure, readily explained it to be the record of a victory gained by the chief of the tribe (probably the ancestors of the Pokanokets), over their enemies.[3] A daguerreotype copy of the inscription is herewith submitted.[4]

During the establishment of the settlements made in the Onondaga country, in western New York, subsequent to the close of the Revolutionary war in 1783, when settlers were enabled to enter that ancient part of the Iroquois dominions, numerous monumental traces of European occupation were discovered, which excited a local interest. Most of them, however, were found to be the result of the labors of the early French missionaries during the seventeenth century. None of these once enigmatical remains could, it is believed, date farther back than A. D. 1650. A single vestige of an earlier date was brought to light, as the agricultural laborers cut down the forest growth. This was a boulder, on which was inscribed the digits 1520, and Leo VI., which date is eight years subsequent to the discovery of Florida. This archæological relic, which appears to have been the head-stone of a grave, was noticed in a previous work in 1845,[5] and is herewith presented, as re-figured from the original preserved in the Albany Academy.[6]

Mr. Jefferson gives a description of an ancient Indian mound, which was opened in eastern Virginia.[7] After the settlements were extended into western Virginia, antiquities of this kind, some of which were of larger dimensions, were frequently found in the forest. At the period referred to by Mr. Jefferson, they were regarded by the Indians as merely places of honorable interment for the remains of their great men; and he states that they were, even at that time, visited by parties of Indians, journeying through the country, for the purpose of spending a short time in pious reflection and communion with the dead, according to their beliefs. When the settlements reached the Ohio valley, where these rude mausolea of the Indians were very numerous, the changes of manners and customs brought about by the introduction of European society, had led the Indians to drop the practice. Indians of the modern generation were unacquainted with the purport of these mounds. Replies given by the older sagamores to queries propounded, were vague, and may be regarded as having been designed, in some measure, to repress that inquisitive spirit among the emigrants, which is known to be distasteful to the natives, and is calculated to arouse the suspicious character, and awaken the superstitions of the Indians.

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[1] Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I., p. 11: New York, 1845.

[2] Vol. I., p. 108: Philadelphia, 1851.

[3] Vol. I., p. 108, where the inscription is analyzed and described in full.

[4] Vol. IV., Plate XIV., p. 120.

[5] Notes on the Iroquois, p. 324: Albany, 1847.

[6] Vol. V., Plate VIII.

[7] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 156.

During the process of opening the great tumulus at Grave creek, in Western Virginia, in the year 1838, and the extension of a gallery to its centre, a small inscribed stone was discovered, in connection with the remains of a human skeleton and its accompanying mementoes, which appears to possess an alphabetical value. This curious relic, a drawing of which is given,[1] appears to reveal, in the unknown past, evidences of European intrusion into the continent, of which no other vestiges have, thus far, been discovered. Copies of the inscription have been transmitted to London, Paris, Copenhagen, and Lisbon. Mr. Rafn, with considerable confidence, pronounces it to be Celiberic; but no interpretation has, however, been attempted.

During a visit which Mr. Thomas Ewbank made to Brazil and South America, he had his notice directed to some antique instruments made of bronze, belonging to the ancient Peruvian epoch, of which he has furnished descriptions for pages of this work.[2] The introduction of this element appears conclusive.

We must regard the invention of the distaff as one of the oldest forms of human art. This ancient implement, as well as the blow-pipe, were certainly employed at the period of their highest development by the semi-civilized tribes of Mexico and Peru. Among the Aztecs, the mode of forming the spools of cotton thread from their peculiar distaff, or spindle, which revolved in a bowl, appears, from the picture writings,[3] to have been a laborious art, which it was necessary for the mistress of a homestead to teach to the children at an early age. The arts of spinning and weaving, as now in use among the Navajo and Pueblo tribes of Mexico, have been illustrated in antecedent pages.[4]

The Rev. George Howe, of Columbia, South Carolina, has described, in previous pages,[5] what appears to be an ancient Indian crucible for melting gold, which was found in one of the present gold diggings of North Carolina, nine feet below the solid surface.

Prior to the introduction of the steel and flint, the Indians produced fire by percussion. The method employed for this purpose was to cause an upright shaft, resting in

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[1] Vol. I., Plate XXX., p. 122.

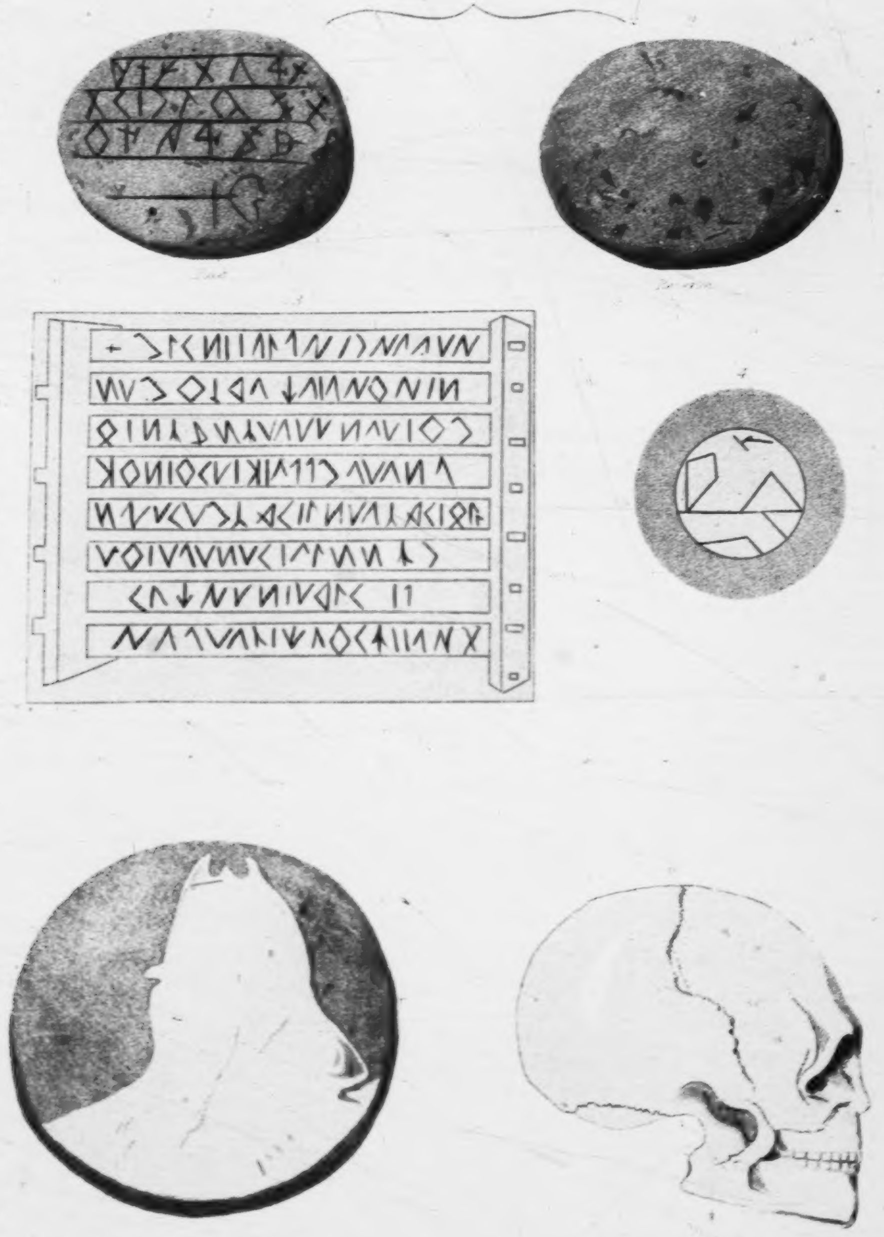
[2] Vol. IV., Plate XXXIX., p. 438.

[3] Vol. IV., p. 441.

[4] Vol. IV., Plates XXXVI. and XXXVII.

[5] Vol. IV., p. 164.

Plate [illegible]



STONES WITH INSCRIPTIONS AND SKULL FROM GRAVE CREEK MOUND.

an orifice, to revolve rapidly by means of a string and bow. Descriptions of this process have been furnished in preceding pages.[1]

No trace has been discovered of that ancient and simple invention, the potter's wheel. All the pottery of America was made by hand, from the most elaborate vases of Peru and Mexico, to the rude akeeks used by the natives of the Mississippi valley, and by the hunter tribes of New England.

To this resumé of the traces of foreign art found in America, must be added the evidences regarding the mining for native copper in the basin of Lake Superior. This topic has been elaborately discussed by Charles Whittlesy, Esq., of Ohio, whose descriptions are given in prior pages.[2] The theory of foreign art is not, however, without objection. The process employed was rude, and does not appear to have been beyond the capacity of the ancestors of the present Indians, who, judging from a survey of our antiquities, possessed a higher state of art prior to the discovery of America by the Europeans. The excavations seem to have been made during short intervals in the summer, by parties who came thither for that purpose from more southerly positions, whence their food was necessarily procured. No degree of art in metallurgy was developed equalling, certainly none surpassing, that known to be possessed by the Toltecs and Aztecs. It is therefore a more rational inference to refer the mining art of the northern tribes to that source, than to indulge in speculations which would assign to it a foreign origin.[3]

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[1] Vol. III., Plate XXVIII., p. 228.

[2] Vol. I., p. 95. Vol. IV., p. 143. Vol. V., p. 85.

[3] In connection with the archæology of the country, in its intrusive features, and not as resulting from Indian art, the annexed antique inscription, in the old Phœnician letters. from Asia Minor, is presented. Several of these letters are identical with those found in 1838, on the small ovate inscriptive stone disinterred on opening the large tumulus at Grave creek, in Virginia. [Plate XXXVIII., Vol. I. p. 122.] The Asiatic inscription was copied by Edward Daniel Clarke, from a tomb, cut in the rock, near the ruins of the ancient city of Macri, on the Bay of Glaucus, Caria. (Clarke's Travels, Vol. II., p. 254.) Ethnographists tell us that the Phœnician alphabet is the parent of all the Western forms of letters, which were employed, with modifications, prior to the spread of the Roman alphabet. M. Jomard detects the Lybian elements in this Virginia relic.

CHAPTER VI.

ANTIQUITIES ON THE PACIFIC COASTS OF OREGON.

A critical examination of the Indian antiquities of the United States, it was thought, might furnish some clue to the track of ancient migrations. If the Vesperic tribes came directly from the west, anterior to the period of mound building in the Mississippi valley, it would be but reasonable to expect to find vestiges of the same kind of antiquities on the Oregon coast. With this view, extensive inquiries were directed to that quarter soon after the commencement of these investigations; but, thus far, without the discovery of any such remains. Mr. G. Gibbs, who has had extensive opportunities of examining this coast, is of opinion that no analogous remains of the sort exist.[1] This view is concurred in by Mr. Ogden, of Fort Vancouver, and by other persons who have directed their attention to the subject. Governor Stevens, in the report of his reconnoissances, during 1854, between the valley of the Missouri and the Pacific, concurs in the same view.

He remarks:—"A very interesting subject of inquiry has been pursued by Mr. Schoolcraft, in his endeavor to follow the earth-works of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys into the region west of the Rocky mountains. A careful inquiry among the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the most intelligent free-trappers of Oregon, had satisfied Mr. Gibbs that none such existed in the country. During an examination of the Lower Yakama, however, the old Indian guide who accompanied him pointed out, on the left bank, a work which may possibly be considered as belonging to the same system, although being, so far as is known, a solitary one, it is somewhat questionable. The work consists of two concentric circles of earth about three feet high, with a ditch between. Within are about twenty cellars, situated without apparent design, except economy of room. They are some thirty feet across, and three feet deep, and the whole circle eighty yards in diameter. Captain M'Clellan's party had no time to examine it more particularly, and no tools to excavate. The ground was overgrown with artemisia bushes; but, except the form of the work, there was nothing to attract particular attention, or lead to the belief that it was the remains of any other

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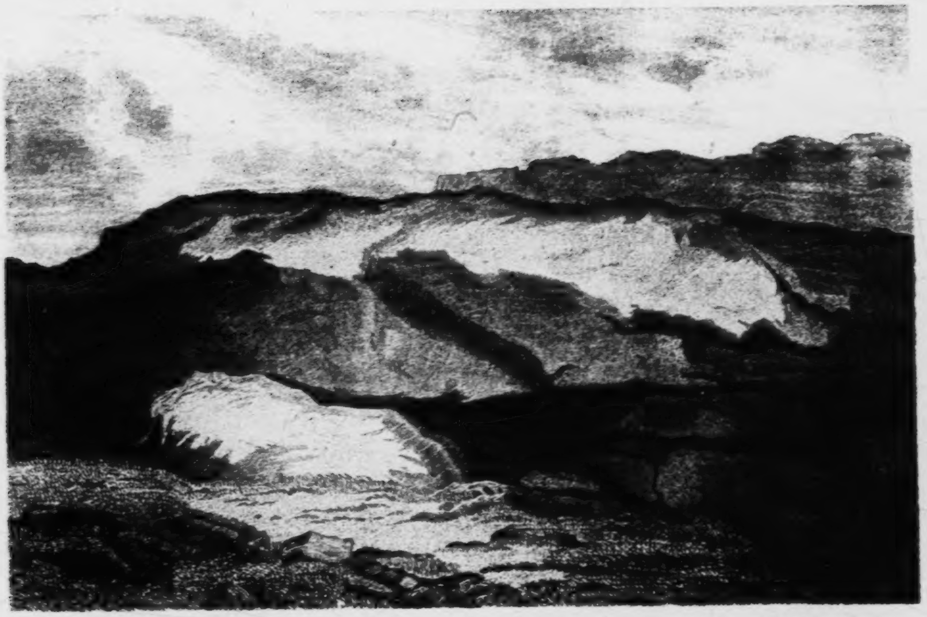
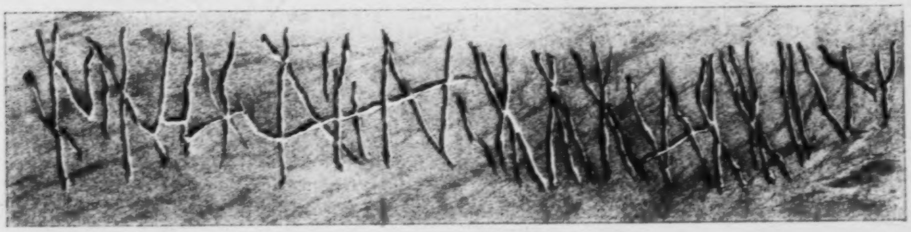
[1] Vide Vol. V., p. 594.



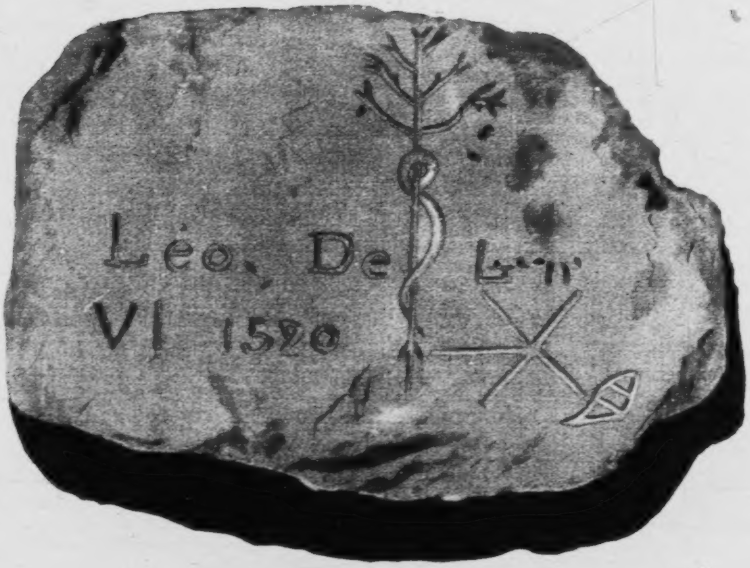
NEAR VIEW OF INSCRIPTION ROCK.

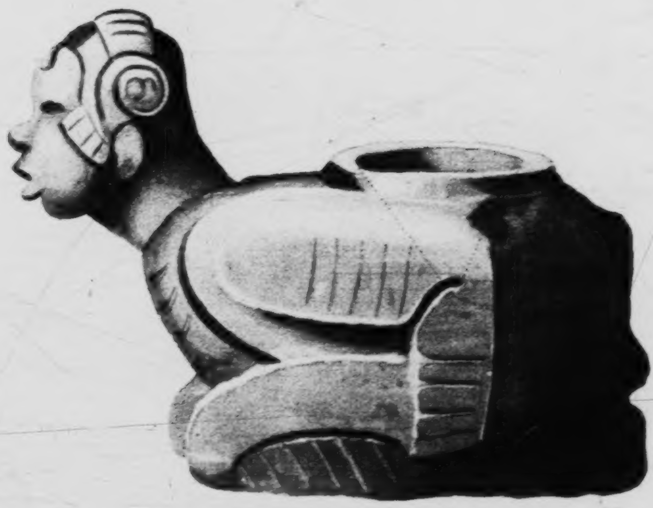


Drawn by A.C. Hamlin

MONHEGAN ISLAND, five miles distant

MANLIUS STONE A.





than a Yakama village. Their guide, however, who was a great authority on such matters, declared that it was made very long ago, by men of whom his people knew nothing. He added that there was no other like it. It is well posted for defence in Indian warfare, being on the edge of a terrace about fifteen feet high, a short distance from the river, and flanked on either side by a gulley. Outside of the circle, but quite near it, are other cellars, unenclosed, and in no way differing from the remains of villages frequently met with there. The Indians also pointed out, near by, a low hill or spur, which in form might be supposed to resemble an inverted canoe, and which he had said was a ship. It deserves investigation at least whether any relation can be traced between the authors of this and of the mounds in Sacramento valley, yet occupied by existing tribes.

"In this connection may also be mentioned a couple of modern fortifications, erected by the Yakamas upon the Sunkive fork. They are situated between two small branches, upon the summits of a narrow ridge some two hundred yards long, and thirty feet in height, and are about twenty-five yards apart. The first is a square with rounded corners, formed by an earthen embankment capped with stones; the interstices between which served for loop-holes, and without any ditch. It is about thirty feet on the sides, and the wall three feet high. The other is built of adobes, in the form of a rectangle, twenty by thirty-four feet, the walls three feet high, and twelve to eighteen inches thick, with loop-holes six feet apart. Both are commanded within rifle-shot by neighboring hills. They were erected in 1847 by Skloo, as a defence against the Cayuse. We did not hear whether they were successfully maintained, accounts varying greatly in this respect. In the same neighborhood Captain M'Clellan's party noticed small piles of stones raised by the Indians on the edges of the basaltic walls which enclose these valleys, but were informed that they had no purpose; they were put up through idleness. Similar piles are, however, sometimes erected to mark the fork of a trail. At points on these walls there were also many graves, generally made in regular form, covered with loose stones to protect them from the cayotes, and marked by poles decorated with tin cups, powder-horns, and articles of dress. During the summer the Indians for the most part live in the small valleys lying well into the foot of the mountains. These are, however, uninhabitable during the winter, and they move further down, or to more sheltered situations. The mission which, in summer, is maintained in the A-tá-nam valley, is transferred into that of the main river."[1]

If the Toltecs had passed down this coast in the eleventh century, with the art which they displayed in Mexico, it appears almost impossible that they should not have left some vestiges of it along the route they pursued.

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[1] Annual Indian Report, 1854, p. 232.

SECTION TWENTY-FIFTH.

INDICIA FROM MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CHAPTER I.

VALUE OF THIS SPECIES OF TESTIMONY.

Pritchard, who has so elaborately investigated the natural history of the races of men, places but little reliance on manners and customs, as a means of drawing a comparison between the ancient condition of a people and their modern development. Lord Bacon, speaking of civilized and refined nations, refers to their changing customs, "as if they were dead images and enigmas." An astute writer, who flourished during the early part of the seventeenth century, and had travelled extensively among the Indian tribes of this continent, speaks of their manners and customs as being fallacious sources upon which to rely for any historical proofs. "The manners very soon degenerate by means of commerce with foreigners, and by the mixture of several nations uniting in one body, and by a change of empire always accompanied with a new form of government. How much more reason is there to believe such a sensible alteration of genius and manners amongst wandering nations become savage, living without principles, laws, education, or civil government, which might serve to bring them back to the ancient manners. Customs are still more easily destroyed. A new way of living introduces new customs, and those which have been forsaken are very soon forgotten. What shall I say of the absolute want of such things as are most necessary to life? and of which, the necessity of doing without, causes their names and uses to perish together?"[1]

It appears to have been too frequently the object of travellers to glean details bordering on the marvellous, and illustrations of a picturesque character, with which to amuse, rather than instruct, the readers of their journals, and by this gloss to divert public attention as much as possible from their inability, or failure, to procure and disseminate sound and reliable information. Geographical phenomena, the means of subsistence, and the natural history of countries, exert an important influence on customs. Nations, as they are near to, or distant from, the equator, require or reject the use of clothing. A tribe living where bears and wolves abound, would acquire skill in catching those animals. Sea-coast tribes are ichthyophagi. As the arts of a rude people pass away with them, the evidences of such arts must be sought in the relics of their mounds, tumuli, and sepulchres. Thus ossuaries and places of sepulture become, as it were, evidences of osteology, and present a subject for the study of archæologists. A wrought shell, a pipe, a wedge of copper, a bone awl, thus become evidences of some consequence. Having placed on record the various customs of the tribes, as regards hunting, fishing, feasting, dancing and worship, and the thousand phases and positions which the Indian assumes in the forest, it will here be sufficient to refer to these instances, and their illustrations.[1]

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[1] Charlevoix.

The effects of climate and geographical location on the manners and customs of the Indians must always have been considerable. Tribes living under the equator, or within the tropics, have need of but little or no dress. Where the banana, the yam, and other tropical fruits, furnished the spontaneous means of subsistence, only a small amount of labor was required. The ancient Caribs, who resided in a country possessing a delicious climate, and on a soil which produced all that was required to support existence, went almost entirely naked, and loitered away life in idleness; while the Athapascas, of the Arctic latitudes, were compelled to wrap their feet in furs, and to rely on the forests for their entire supplies of animal and vegetable food. There were no generic differences between these tribes, either mentally or physically. A Carib, transferred to the northern confines of British America, would envelop his body in warm clothing; and an Athapascan, who emigrated to St. Domingo, would throw by his elk-skin coat, coarse woollens, and moccasins, and soon fall into the effeminate manners of the subjects of Queen Anacoana.

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[1] In Vol. I., Mental Type, 29 to 42. Tribal Traits, 193 to 309. Mythology and Traditions, 316 to 329. Pictography, 333 to 421.

In Vol. II., Generic View, 44 to 47. Constitution of the Indian Family, 48 to 50. Forest Teachings, 50 to 62. Art of Hunting, 53 to 55. Sugar-Making, 55. War and its Incidents, 55, 58. The Wigwam, 53, 64. Births and their incidents, 65. Death and its Incidents, 67, 71. Games, 71. Hunter's Grounds, 74 to 79.

In Vol. III., Traits of Thinking, 54. Orientalism, 59. The Chase, 62. Costume, 65. Arms, 69. Tribal Traits, 181 to 306. Oral Fictions, 313 to 329. Art, 465. Magic, 483 to 493.

In Vol. IV., Manners in the Forest, 48 to 51. Traits of the Winnebagoes, 51 to 55. Morals, 56. Costume, 58. Customs of Dakotahs, 59 to 72. Of Navajoes, 72 to 88. Buffalo Hunting, 92 to 110. Tribal traits, 197 to 244. Pictography, 251, 253, with illustrations. Art, 435. Dæmonology, 489. Medical Skill, 523. Religion, 635.

In Vol. V., Resumé of Observations, 49, 81. Tribal Traits, 129 to 217. Synopsis of Art, 391. Religion and Mythology, 401. Magic and Witchcraft, 415. Information of sundry Latitudes, 631.

The Spaniards introduced the horse into Mexico in 1519. In 1538, both the horse and the hog were introduced into Florida. How long did it require to diffuse these species over all the habitable parts of the continent? A drove of hogs had been driven through Florida by De Soto, to sustain his army under exigencies. Coronado adopted the same precaution in 1541, by driving flocks of sheep into New Mexico, under the protection of his army. Many of these were taken by the celebrated seven tribes of Cibola, against whom he waged war with the view of compelling them to reveal the location of treasures of gold. The information they furnished had led him thither in search of cities said to be renowned for progress in the arts; that progress, however, only existed in his own imagination, which drew largely on the traditionary fables of Tejou.[1] Thus the Navajoes and Moquis obtained the breed of sheep which have so multiplied in their hands; whence have originated the false and extravagant theories regarding their condition and origin.[2]

The horse multiplied so rapidly on the plains and savannahs of Mexico, that all the tribes of Indians, east, west, and north of that province, soon supplied themselves with this efficient auxiliary to man in his journeys and labor. The predatory tribes west of the Missouri carried this animal with them to the north, and introduced it among the Dakotahs and Assinaboines, whence it found its way in to Oregon through the passes of the Rocky mountains. A singular and marked result attended the possession of the horse by the outgoing tribes of the Shoshonee stock, which is indigenous to the broad range of the Rocky mountains — a barren region abounding in rugged peaks and defiles, possessing a very limited flora and fauna, and but few resources. These Indians are compelled to live on roots and larva. Driven by the Pawnees and Crows from the open country at the foot of the mountains, they at times venture down their gorges to seek the buffalo; but they have always evinced a pusillanimous character, and have been generally pronounced to be the lowest and most degraded of all the tribes. Yet, the tribes of this inferior stock, who successfully emigrated to, and made their home on, the plains of Texas, where they are known by the Spanish name of Comanches, have been improved, both in their spirit and character, by the possession of the horse; and have acquired so much skill in its management, that they are regarded as the Arabs of the plains. Those portions of the Shoshonee stock who descended the Lewis or Snake river into Oregon, have also progressed in the social scale by the use of the horse; whilst the bands and septs inhabiting the interior of California still retain their grovelling habits, are footmen, and dwell in caves and in excavations in the earth.

Nothing produces a more immediate effect upon the customs of the Indians, than the introduction of domestic animals. All the stock-raising habits of the North American tribes, as developed in their attention to the rearing of the horse, domestic cow, hog, and sheep, date back only to the period of the discovery and conquest of the country. Among the tribes of the great lake basins, extending thence to the sources

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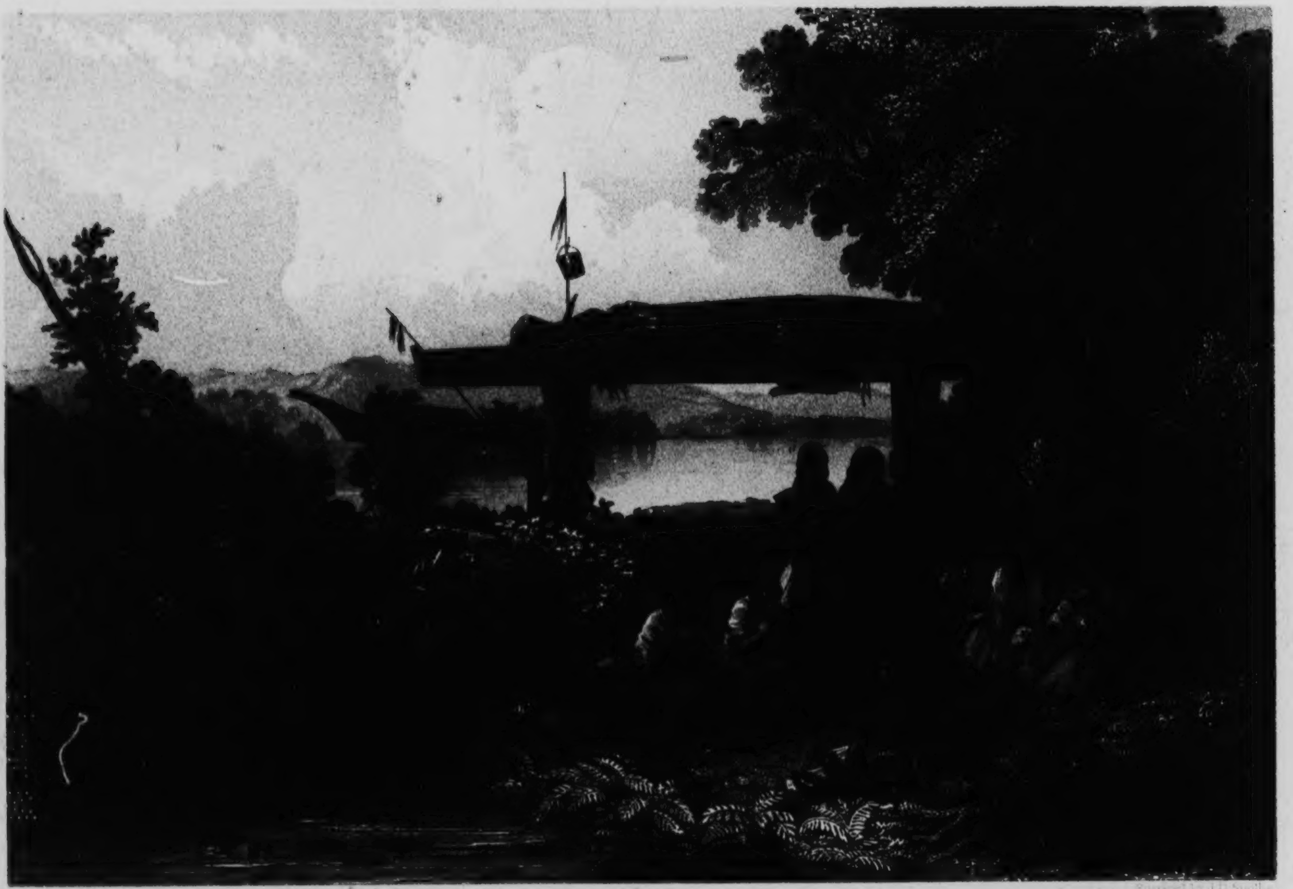
[1] Vol. IV., p. 22.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.



[illegible] Engraved by [illegible]

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of the Mississippi, and to the forest regions east of that river, the canoe has supplied the place of the horse. The same remark applies also to the country situate north of latitude 40°. In all this part of America hay must be cut for the horse, and he must be housed during the winter. Those of the tribes living on the Atlantic coasts, at the era of the establishment of the colonies, navigated the rivers in canoes formed from solid trees, hollowed out by the alternate use of fire and stone picks. In the latitudes in which flourished the betula papyracea, sheets of the outer rind of that tree, spread over a frame-work of cedar, furnished the common facilities for conveyance and transportation. Yet, when the Shawnees and various tribes of the Algonquin stock removed from the north to the interior latitudes of Kanzas, they abandoned the art of fabricating the bark-canoe, and relied solely on horses.

The flora of the United States has also greatly affected the Indian customs. When the exploratory ships of Raleigh first visited the coasts of Virginia, they there procured the potato, which was thence introduced into Ireland and England. The Powhatanic tribes, in whose territories this valuable tuber grew, had never thought of cultivating it. The females sought it in the forests, as the Assinaboines seek the tepia at the present day on the plains of Red River; (for a sketch of which practice see the drawing[1] herewith.) When, in after years, the same root was re-introduced into this country from Europe, the tribes began to cultivate it very extensively; and the potato is so easy of cultivation and so productive, that its use has been disseminated by them throughout a wide latitude.

The tribes are much given to imitation of each others' customs. Some of the Iroquois dances have been deemed very characteristic of that family; but it is found that one of the most noted of their war dances has been derived from the Dakotahs.[2] The Algonquins of the lakes, who are forest tribes, invariably bury their dead; while the Dakotahs, of the plains of the Mississippi, place the remains of their deceased friends and relatives on scaffolds. It has been observed that, for many years past, the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi, and also the Sauks and Foxes, who anciently practised the same mode of sepulture, have adopted the Dakotah custom of placing their dead on scaffolds. The dead are placed in canoes by the Chinooks of the Pacific coast. See Plate herewith.[3]

While their mental habits are remarkably permanent, many changes in the external customs of the Indian tribes are constantly occurring, in accordance with their varying positions and circumstances. Nor can it be inferred, from the constitution of hunter society, that changes which are adopted on the Mississippi, on the great lakes, and on the western prairies, may not be found to have previously existed, under the same circumstances, among affiliated nations residing on the banks of the Yenissee, Lena, and Obi, where the Mongolic and Tartaric races predominate.

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[1] Stanley's picture.

[2] Morgan's Iroquois League.

[3] Vol. II., Plate XVI., p. 70.

CHAPTER II.

FLUCTUATIONS OF CUSTOMS AMONG THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, AND PACIFIC COAST TRIBES.

TRIBAL changes in the mode of disposing of the dead, from interment to exposure on scaffolding, have been mentioned; and, it is believed, result from the military element in the Indian character, which seeks to preserve, by sepultural display, the memory of the brave exploits of the departed. But this is not the most important change in their sepultural customs which has taken place since the discovery of the continent. No fact is better known than the former existence of the custom of permitting the body to decay in charnel-lodges, or other situations, above ground, and of subsequently interring the bones, with public ceremony, in trenches; accompanying this duty with pious rites, in which the inhabitants of entire villages participated. In these ultimate rites, the amulets and charms were carefully re-deposited. These articles of cherished value, left by the deceased person, consisted of medals, or pieces of sea-shells formed into segments and circles, or beads of the same material; sometimes of entire shells, bones, animals' claws, sculptured pipes, ornaments made of red steatite, and of other soft or fissile stones, domestic or warlike utensils, or articles of copper. Relics, and articles of this kind exhumed from their graves and mounds, have been figured in prior pages.[1] One of the ancient ossuaries referred to exists on the small island of Mennisais, one of the Michilimackinac group.[2]. These antique ossuaries have sometimes given rise to the opinion that great battles had been fought at these localities, and the slain promiscuously buried. But such an opinion is controverted by the discovery of these carefully and deliberately deposited mementoes. The large size and number of the sepulchral bone trenches, found in the west and north, such as the noted depositories at Beverly, Canada West, are often a matter of surprise.[3] Such ossuaries would appear to have been the charnel-houses of entire districts. There are localities in the Mississippi valley where the bones have been walled in with flat stones, as on the lands above the Battery Rock, on the Ohio. In other places, it would seem that the thigh-bones and tibia have sometimes been placed in trenches in short piles, as on the banks of the Merrimack, in Missouri.[1] The Indians never carried stones, for sepulchral purposes, a long distance. Habit slowly altered among the tribes, but may be supposed to have been sometimes affected by density of population, or to have given way before the necessity of labor, or some prime difficulty. They placed their dead in caves where the country was cavernous: parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, affording great advantages for this mode of depositing the dead. The earth of these caverns, being strongly impregnated with nitre, frequently produced the effects of embalming. The individual enclosed in wrappings of bark, found in the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, was an instance of exsiccation.

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[1] Vol. I. Plates 8, 9, 10, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 19, 24, 25, 38, 35.

[2] Oneota, p. 400.

[3] Personal Memoirs.

Along the shores of the Pacific, where a canoe constitutes the principal personal property of an Indian, the deceased owner is placed in it, and the vessel deposited in the forks of trees, until the flesh has resolved itself into its elements, when the bones are carefully buried. This method of depositing the dead is shown in the accompanying Plate.[2] The Indian has a peculiar regard and respect for his dead; and whatever *other* traits he lacks in this world, he makes important provisions, according to his creed, for the convenience of his friends in the next. The rites of sepulchre are always performed with exact and ceremonious attention. Their belief is, that the spirits of the dead, though unseen, are present on these occasions, and are very scrupulous that the rites should be duly performed. The ritual of canoe burial, as practised by the Chinooks, at the mouth of the Columbia, is given by my correspondent, Mr. James G. Swan, in the following words:

"When a chief, or person of consequence, either male or female, is taken sick of any fatal disease, recourse is had to the Indian doctor, or medicine-man, after it is found that all their applications of simples have failed. The doctors are supposed to possess different powers; one excels in removing the Skookum, or evil spirit, which is thought to prey upon the vitals, causing death; and another professes to be endowed with the faculty of driving away the spirits of the dead, that are believed to be always hovering round their friends on earth, ready at all times to carry them to the land of spirits."

The same observer, who was present at the burial of an aged female of rank, at Shoalwater Bay, in Washington Territory, gives the following graphic account of what occurred:

"She had been sick some time of liver complaint, and finding her symptoms grew more aggravated, she sent for a medicine man to *mamoke To-mah-na-was*, or work spells, to drive away the *memelose*, or dead people, who, she said, came to her every night.

"Towards night the doctor came, bringing with him his own and another family to assist in the ceremonies. After they had eaten supper, the centre of the lodge was cleaned up and fresh sand strewn over it. A bright fire of dry wood was then kindled, and a brilliant light kept up by occasionally throwing oil upon it. I considered this to be a species of incense offered; for the same light could have been produced, if desired, by a quantity of pitch knots which were lying in the corner. The patient, well wrapped in blankets, was laid on her back, with her head slightly elevated, and her hands crossed on her breast. The doctor knelt at her feet, and commenced to sing a refrain, the subject of which was an address to the dead, asking them why they had come to take his friend and mother away, and begging them to go away and leave her. The rest of the people in the lodge then sang the chorus in a low, mournful chant, keeping time by knocking on the roof overhead with long sticks they held. The burthen of the chorus was to beg of the dead to leave them.

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[1] Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains, p. 243.

[2] Stanley's Picture, Plate XVII.

"As the performance proceeded, the doctor got more and more excited, singing loudly and violently, with great gesticulation, and occasionally making passes with his hands over the face and person of the patient, similar to those made by mesmeric manipulators, a constant accompaniment being kept up by the others with their low chant and knocking with sticks. The patient soon fell asleep, and the performance ceased. She slept a short time, and woke refreshed. These ceremonies were repeated several times during the night, and kept up for three days; but it was found that the patient grew no better, and another doctor was sent for, who soon came with his family (some three or four persons), the first doctor remaining, as the more persons they have to sing, the better. Old John, as the last doctor was usually called, had no sooner partaken of food, than he sat down at the feet of the patient, covering himself completely with his blanket. He remained in this position three or four hours, without moving or speaking. He was communing with his *To-mah-na-was*, or familiar spirit.

"When he was ready, he commenced singing in a loud and harsh manner, making the most vehement gesticulations. He then knelt on the patient's body, pressing his hands and clenched fists into her sides and breast, till it seemed to me the woman must be killed. Every few seconds he would scoop his hands together, as if he had caught something; then turning towards the fire, would blow through his hands as though he had something in them he wished to cast into the flames. The fire was kept stirred up, so as to have plenty of coals, on which it appeared he was trying to burn the evil spirit he was exorcising. There was no oil put on the fire this time; for the Indians told me they put on the oil to light up their lodge, to let their dead friends see they had plenty, and were happy, and did not wish to go with them. But now, all they wanted was to have the fire hot enough to burn the Skookum, or devil, the doctor was trying to get out.

"The pounding and singing were kept up the same as with the first performance. Old John first sang to his *To-mah-na-was* to aid him. Then addressing the supposed evil spirit, he by times coaxed, cajoled, and threatened, to induce it to depart; but all was of no avail, for in two days the woman died.

"One of the best canoes belonging to the deceased was then taken into the woods, a short distance from the lodge, and prepared for the reception of the boay. These canoes are carved out of a single log of cedar, and are of the most beautiful proportions. Some are of a size capable of holding a hundred persons, with all their arms and accoutrements. The canoe in question was about thirty-five feet long. It was first thoroughly washed; then two large, square holes were cut through the bottom, probably for the two-fold purpose of letting out any water that might collect in the canoe during rain storms, and also to prevent the canoe from ever again being used. Nice new mats of rushes were then placed inside, and on these the corpse, wrapped in new blankets, was laid.

"All the household implements and utensils that had been the property of the deceased were placed in the canoe beside her; care being taken to crack or break all the crockery, and to punch holes through the tin or copper utensils. Blankets, calico dresses, and trinkets, were also placed around the body, which was then covered over with more new mats; and a small canoe, that fitted into the large one, was turned bottom up over all. Four stout posts of cedar plank were then driven into the ground, and through holes, morticed near the top, were thrust two parallel bars, about four feet from the ground. The canoe was then raised up, and firmly secured on the top of the bars, and the whole covered over with mats.

"The object of elevating the canoe was, to keep the wild beasts from tearing the body, and to allow of a free circulation of air, which, by keeping the canoe dry, prevented a rapid decomposition of the wood, which would be likely to take place if the canoe was on the damp earth. Although the majority of canoes I have seen were placed on the horizontal bars, yet it is not a general rule; as, sometimes, two posts formed of forked branches are used, and the canoe rests in the fork. Neither do the coast tribes always use the canoes to bury their dead in; for I have noticed, at the mouth of the Columbia, several instances where boxes made of boards were used instead of canoes.

"After a person dies, and before the body is removed from the lodge, there are no outward signs of grief; but no sooner are the burial rites completed, than they commence singing the death-song, which is simply an address to the spirit of the departed friend or relative, bewailing their loss, and telling of their many virtues.

"The burthen of the song, in the instance just cited, was: —

"'Oh! our mother, why did you leave us?
We can hardly see, by reason of the water that runs from our eyes.
Many years have you lived with us, and have often told us words of wisdom.
We are not poor, neither were you poor.
We had plenty of food, and plenty of clothing:
Then, why did you leave us for the land of the dead?
Your limbs were stout, and your heart was strong.
You should have lived with us for many years longer, and taught us the deeds of the olden time.'

"This song, with some slight variation, was sung every morning at sunrise, and every evening at sunset, for thirty days; at the expiration of which time, the lodge was pulled down, and the family moved to another part of the bay."

In speaking of the general customs regarding sepulchre among the tribes of that part of the Pacific coast, the same gentleman gives the following account: — "At the expiration of a year, the bones are taken out of the canoes, and, after being wrapped in new white cotton cloth, are enclosed in a box and buried in the earth, usually under the canoe; but, in some instances, they are gathered into a sort of family burying-ground.

"There are many instances where bones may be found in canoes, where they have laid for many years; but, in these cases, the immediate relatives of the deceased had either died, or gone to some other part of the coast. I endeavored to witness the ceremony of collecting and burying the bones of several Indians; but, as I found the relatives objected, I did not urge the matter. They said they were afraid to have me with them, as the dead were standing round to see the ceremony, and would be angry if a stranger was there. It was formerly the custom, and is now, among the tribes further north, to kill a favorite slave whenever a person of importance dies; or, instead of a slave, a favorite horse; but, where there are any white settlers among the Indians, this custom is abandoned. It has been stated that the Indians of Oregon and Washington always kill the doctors when they are unsuccessful. Instances have undoubtedly occurred, where the relatives of a deceased person have become exasperated with a doctor, and have killed him; but it is not a general practice, nor have I ever known of an instance of the kind from personal observation. An account was also published, of a mummy found in Washington Territory, and afterwards exhibited at San Francisco, causing much learned discussion among the scientific. The real history of that mummy is this: — I was engaged, with a friend, in examining some old canoes which were on a narrow and very bluff promontory on the east side of Shoal-Water bay. As we were about to step over what we supposed was an old log, overgrown with moss and bushes, the brush gave way, and we then discovered it to be a large canoe, bottom up; and, on turning it over, we found under it a small canoe, containing the dried carcass of an Indian man, and the skeletons of two children. The body looked precisely as if it had been smoked; and my impression was, that the man was much emaciated at the time of his death, and, having probably been buried during the summer, when there is usually a clear dry atmosphere, and having been placed on this promontory, where there is always a fine breeze, had dried up: and I think I am justified in my impression, when it is recollected that, during the summer months in California and Oregon, meat, when exposed to a current of air in the sun, will dry and not putrify. The idea of any embalming process being used, or the veins being injected with a pitchy substance, as was stated, is simply absurd. The Indians in that section, like all others I ever have heard of, have the same manners and customs as their ancestors; and, if it ever had been customary to embalm bodies at any period, it would most certainly have been perpetuated by common custom, or handed down by tradition: but, after the most diligent inquiry among the Indians, I found no evidence of such fact. Their universal opinion was, like mine, that the body had dried up.[1]

"There is, however, a peculiar preservative quality in the soil around the bay. Being of a very siliceous nature, petrifactions abound; and carnelians, agates, and other precious stones, are found in abundance. I have also noticed that, where bodies have been interred in certain localities, they did not decay. An instance of this kind occurred at my own place. A young Indian, about twenty-five years old, died, and was, at my suggestion, buried by his friends in a large camphor-wood chest, such as are usually brought from China. This chest was placed in a grave about five feet deep, and covered up with sand. The following year the relatives were desirous to remove the bones to their own burying-spot across the bay; and, on opening the chest, the body was discovered to be as fresh as it was when first buried; and, probably, if it had been carried to San Franciseo, would have excited the admiration of the quid nuncs quite as much as the mummy did. It is far better, when natural causes can be assigned for any novelty, to cite them, rather than attempt to mystify the minds of the public by speculative theories, which have no foundation in facts.

"When any person dies in a lodge, the family never will sleep in it again; but either burn it up, or, as in the instance I have mentioned, remove it to some other location. This, I believe, is an invariable custom. Sometimes the lodge is immediately destroyed, and at other times remains for a while and is then removed; or, if the boards are not wanted, the lodge will be deserted entirely, and suffered to remain and gradually go to decay.

"Since the whites have settled among the coast tribes, they have induced the natives, in many instances, to bury their dead in the ground; but, when left to themselves, they almost universally retain and adhere to their ancient custom, and bury their dead in canoes."

The fluctuations in the manners, customs, and condition of the Pacific coast tribes, are destined to be more abrupt and striking than they were in the settlements east of the Rocky mountains. All these settlements were, more or less, the effects of causes long operating. But the sudden rush of population to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington, was of so resistless a character, that the Indian tribes were dismayed. Driven, with little ceremony, from the permanent points first occupied by the incoming migration, they fled to the smaller valleys and mountain passes. Lacking the necessary physical power of resistance, possessing minds of but feeble capacity, and very low in arts, manners, and customs; living on spontaneous productions along the coasts, or in the forests; cunning, treacherous, and revengeful, their efforts to redress themselves, by sudden attacks on the towns and settlements, only involved them more deeply in misfortune, and in a few years aroused against them feelings of hatred, as deep as they were universal. Emigrant miners, who were deeply intent on digging for gold in the auriferous soils of California, could bear but little interruption in their labor; and when reprisals were made on their rapacity, blood was the price of the attempt; and war and discords soon became common along the coasts.

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[1] The mummy referred to was afterwards sent to San Francisco by Mr. Russell, near whose house it was found.

These sudden changes have greatly complicated the Indian affairs on that border. Mr. Palmer, the superintendent in 1854, found the tribes in a state of disturbance, alarm, and distraction, which he essayed to allay by personal conferences:—"I visited several bands of the Umpquas. I found many of them wretched, sickly, and almost starving. Their habits being exceedingly improvident, and the winter unusually severe, they have been kept from perishing by the limited assistance afforded by a few humane settlers.

"Through the operation of the law, lately enacted, prohibiting the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to Indians, they can no longer procure game, rendered scarce and timid by the presence of the white man; and the cultivation of the soil, together with the grazing of large herds of domestic animals, has greatly diminished the subsistence derived from native roots and seeds.

"They said, truly, that they were once numerous and powerful, but now few and weak; that they had always been friendly to the whites, and desired them to occupy their lands; that they wanted but a small spot on which they might live in quiet. Many of their number they said had been killed by the whites, in retaliation for wrongs committed by Indians of other tribes, but that they had never offered violence in return. That they should receive the means of subsistence for the few years they will exist, they claim to be but just, in return for lands once yielding them abundant supplies. Presents were made them, and agent Martin instructed to secure them small tracts of land, on which I learn they are now cultivating potatoes, corn, peas, and other vegetables, giving promise that, under the wise and fostering care of the Government, they may become a domestic and agricultural people. The country of the Umpquas is bounded east by the Cascade mountains, west by the Umpqua mountains and the ocean, north by the Calipooia mountains, and south by Grave creek and Rogue river mountains—an area of not less than 3600 square miles, much of which is already settled by the whites. Of this tract, the Indian title is extinguished to 800 square miles by the treaty with the Cow creek band.

"Near the Grave creek hills reside the feeble remnant of several bands, once numerous and warlike. Their constant aggressions and treacherous conduct has brought upon them the heavy hand of vengeance, both of the whites and Indians. They speak the Umpqua language, and, though so different in character, may be regarded as belonging to that tribe.

"I found the Indians of the Rogue river valley excited and unsettled. The hostilities of last summer had prevented the storing of the usual quantities of food; the occupation of their best root-grounds by the whites greatly abridged that resource; their scanty supplies and the unusual severity of the winter had induced disease, and death had swept away nearly one-fifth of those residing on the reserve. Consternation and dismay prevailed; many had fled, and others were preparing to fly to the mountains for security."

In no part of America have the Indian manners and customs been found in so low a condition. The tribes have no agriculture at all — a fact which appears to be in part owing to the abundance of sustenance spontaneously furnished on that coast. Mr. Palmer remarks:—"To a sparse, roaming, savage population, no portion of Oregon yields a greater abundance and variety of spontaneous products for their subsistence. Muscles deeply encase the rocks rising from the ocean near the coast; several species of clams abound on the beach, and crabs in the bays; while salmon, herrings, sardines, and other fish, in perpetual succession, visit the streams. The mountains yield a profusion of berries, and the lowlands, in the proper season, swarm with wild fowl."

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN THEORY OF THE DEIFICATION OF THE SUN.

The idolatrous and heathen nations of the oriental world held the same views as our aborigines on the subject of the deification of animals, to whom offerings were made. Nor were they less united in their ideas with regard to the mysterious nature of fire and the sun. Both these theories infatuated the American Indians. None of the general customs of the American tribes have so greatly changed as those connected with the external ceremonies of the worship of the sun — once so prevalent throughout the continent. The idea of a trinary central seat of heat, light, and life in the sun, was once the general belief of the entire Indian population of America. In Peru it had originally been the worship of the Indians of the old Atacama period, before the era of Manco Capac; but it was reinvigorated by the power and influence of the dynasty of this, apparently, Persian adventurer, or Parsee ecclesiastic, who connected his personal supremacy with the national religion. When Cortez landed in Mexico the theory was there still in vogue, and was recognised by the priesthood, who annually renewed the sacred fire, and thus secured their influence; but its vitality was sapped by a system of horrid human sacrifices to the Mexican Moloch, who was worshipped under the name of Huitzilapochtli.

In the Mississippi valley, the Natchez, or Chigantualgas of the Spaniards, one of the early groups of tribes, practised its prominent rites for at least a decade after the close of the seventeenth century. As late as the year 1721, P. de Charlevoix, the learned envoy sent by the French Court to inspect the American missions, found it in existence among the Natchez, occupying the present area of the State of Mississippi, who had a temple in which the fire was kept burning, and a regularly appointed priesthood, who enforced the system. They received the offerings, dedicated them to the sun, and exacted the fees, or tenths, whether of birds, fish, animals, or other objects.

According to this writer,[1] the Natchez, in their external appearance, did not differ from the other Indians of Louisiana or Canada. Contrary, however, to the custom of these tribes, their government was despotic. The chiefs possessed an absolute sway over the liberty and property of the people; their manners assumed a greater degree of haughtiness and rapaciousness, founded on the theory of their descent from the sun. The effects of this had been to drive the mass of the population more from the central location, where they were subject to heavy exactions, and to cause them to found new villages. A few years earlier the military strength of the nation had been estimated at 4000 warriors, but it had dwindled to 2000. The ruling chief bore the title of the Sun, and the succession was vested in the female line; as it was with the Iroquois, among whom the son of the nearest female relation of the ruling chief succeeded. The ruling chief had a guard of men called *allouez*, whose office was, to dispatch or make way with any who resisted his authority, or made himself obnoxious. He required his subjects [illegible] salute him thrice every morning with a kind of salaam, and to bring him a portion of what they obtained by hunting and fishing. The Hurons, Charlevoix remarked, as well as the Natchez, believe that they descended from the sun; but they are too jealous of their personal rights to succumb to the Natchez system of external police and government.

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[1] Charlevoix, Vol. II., p. 259.

A rustic temple, forty feet by twenty, constructed of wood, without any floor, was erected for the worship of the luminary. In this edifice a fire was kept perpetually burning, by means of three massive pieces of wood, which appointed keepers watched in turn. As in Mexico and Peru, the duties and powers of the chief executive and head ecclesiastic were united in one person. Every morning the Sun-chief stood at the door of the temple, facing the east, and addressed the rising luminary thrice; after which he prostrated himself, and then offered the incense of tobacco, by smoking a pipe appropriated to this occasion, blowing the smoke first towards the sun, and then towards the cardinal points, very much after the manner described by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, as practised among the Kenistenos and Assinaboines[1] of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, of the North.

The heads of families never failed to carry the first fruits of all they gathered to the door of the temple. The keeper, having first dedicated them, took them to the chief, [illegible] his prerogative. Offerings of bread were also made at every full moon; and the corn and other grains, before planting, were first brought to the temple for a benediction. Compare this theory with the blood sprinkled on the planted corn in the sacrifice of Haxta, on the Missouri, in 1838.[2]

It is evident, from the description of Charlevoix, that the system was then in its wane, though it had prevailed extensively, and was yet recognised by the Appalachian group of tribes. "The greatest part of the nations of Louisiana," observes M. de Charlevoix, "had formerly the temples as well as the Natchez; and in all these temples a perpetual fire is kept up. It should seem that the Mobilians[3] enjoyed a sort of primacy in religion over all the other nations in this part of Florida; for, when any of the fires happened to be extinguished, through chance or negligence, it was necessary to kindle them again at theirs. But the temple of the Natchez is the only one existing at present, and is held in great veneration by all the savages inhabiting this vast continent; the decrease of whose numbers is as considerable, and has been still more sudden than that of the people of Canada, without it being possible to assign a true reason for this result. Whole nations have entirely disappeared, within the space of forty years at most, and those who still remain are no more than the shadow of what they were.[1]

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[1] Vol. V., p. 169.

[2] Section XX., Chapter V.

[3] A name bestowed by De Pratz on the Choctaws

This numerical decline of the Natchez may be ascribed to the oppressive power of the chiefs, and the consequent decline and extinction of the external rites of the sun-worship in the country. Tradition represents the last Sun of the Natchez to have been an inflated man, who, with a high notion of his descent, office, and position, appears to have neglected the means of preserving his peaceful relations with the French, with whom he waged war. The French under Louis XIV. had other notions of political power, than to yield to a forest king. They extinguished his idolatrous fire, attacked the nation with irresistible impetuosity, killed the greater number of them, and finally drove the remainder to a place of refuge on the Washita river, where monumental evidences of their residence still exist. They were compelled to take shelter in the Creek confederacy, of which they yet constitute an element.

But, although the deification of the sun had, at an early day, been a cardinal principle in the religion of all the Vesperic tribes from the Gulf of Mexico to the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the St. Lawrence, it had sunk into secondary importance, and its worship was only acknowledged by genuflections, long before the extinguishment of its last altar-fires at Natchez. Evidences that the system had been diffused among the northern tribes, still exist in their inartistic monuments, as also in their traditions and pictographs. The essential rites performed by the Great Sun-chief, at Natchez, namely, the offering of the nicotiana in a State pipe, kindled with sacred fire, were precisely the same as those practised at all public and solemn assemblies of the tribes, from the era of the primary European emigration to Virginia, throughout all periods of our history. No public functionary resident in the Indian country has failed to notice the extraordinary importance attached to these ceremonies by the Indians. We have, personally, witnessed them in the presence of approving thousands, who believed in the sacredness of the rites, at public conferences held in Washington City, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Chicago, St. Louis, at Prairie du Chien, St. Peters, St. Marys, and on the vast steppes at the sources of the Mississippi. Neither the Ghebir, nor the Parsee could, apparently, evince more devotion in the practice of the rite, than is manifested by these children of the forest. No person at all conversant with Indian manners and customs is ignorant of the great value they attach to the fumes of tobacco, which they regard as an acceptable offering to the Great Spirit. The plant itself is indigenous in tropical latitudes, but it has been cultivated as far north as the climate will permit. Beyond those latitudes, it is carried, as the most valued article of trade, even to the Arctic circle.[1]

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[1] Charlevoix.

We have the testimony of Charlevoix, who visited all the tribes in New France, between Quebec and New Orleans, and conversed with the resident missionaries, that the sun worship had prevailed among, and was then believed in by the Hurons, and all the other tribes.[2] It is stated by the respected author of the "Notes to Ontwa," published at Boston, in 1824, that an eternal fire had formerly been kept burning on the island of Chegoimegon, in Lake Superior; and in preceding pages we have given the tradition of another person, an educated half-blood, that the Odjibwas there held stated assemblages for religious and political purposes, under the rule of a MUDJIKEWIS, or first-born son of an established dynasty.[3] The worship of the sun is also described in prior pages, as still existing among the ceremonious practices of the Dakotahs — a people who trace their origin to the south.[4]

In investigating the superstitious rites of the Indians, the symbol of the sun is frequently seen in their pictographic scrolls, and signs of mnemonic songs, which have been previously recorded and explained.[5] It is also traceable at an earlier period, in their *muzzinabiks*, or rock inscriptions. Chingwalk, the Algonquin pictographist, recognises the symbol of it in the inscription on the Dighton Rock, on the Assonet, or Taunton river, in Massachusetts.[6]

No system of religion which imposed heavy stated tributes, or trenched greatly on personal liberty, would have been suited to secure the permanent favor of the American tribes, while they were free to migrate ad libitum. In Mexico and South America such systems had been connected with despotic forms of government; and, in truth, had been the veritable means by which such despotisms had been established, both in Peru and Mexico. The very magnificence of the forests, rivers, and lakes of the regions inhabited by the Vesperic tribes, had the effect, as before premised,[7] not only of multiplying tribes and dialects, and of tending to lead them into barbaric and totemic associations, but, conjoined with the vast area of the country which was at their command, it may be considered as having been unfavorable to the growth and development of the Parsaic forms of religion. The Indians, living in vast forests abounding in enormous trees, adopted the belief in wood-dryads, the dæmons of the Greeks, whom they propitiate under the name of Monetos, or local spirits, regarding them as subordinate powers of the Great Spirit. As these dryads were generally thought to be of a malignant nature, the simple offering to them, at consecrated spots, of tobacco, vermilion, red cloth, or any highly valued article, was adopted as the means of appeasing them. Giants, sorcerers, wizards, and other creations of a timid fancy, were supposed to be inspired by these wood-dæmons.

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[1] Mackenzie's Voyages.

[2] Ontwa.

[3] Vol. III., p. 168.

[4] Vol. III., Plate XXVII., p. 227.

[5] Vol. I., Plate I., Figs. 9, 17; Plate LII., Fig. 15; Plate LVIII., Figs. 18, 98.

[6] Vol. I., Plate XXXVI., Fig. 13.

[7] Vol. I.

Another striking feature of their system of deification was the belief that the Indian Moneto concealed himself, not only under the forms of men who mingled in society, and were familiarly conversed with, but that he frequently assumed the shape of a wolf, deer, bear, elk, bird, tortoise, amphibious animal, or even an insect. Here appears the evidence of a fruitful imagination, corresponding with the ancient forms of deification existing among the nations resident in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. The scale of progression in error would seem to be precisely the same here, as there, descending regularly from the human to the brute species. Bel Amon and Osiris were succeeded by the winged bull, the winged lion, and the sphinx; and these, in turn, by the crocodile, the ibex, the cat, and the calf. The Typhon of the Nile may be said to correspond to the Vatipa of the Amazon;[1] and, agreeably to Mr. Layard, to the Nerig and Siluth,[2] and other night-monsters of the ancient necromancers of Nineveh. Of the clan of evil deities are the Kluneolux of the Iroquois; the Chepian, the Wabéno, and the Manitoosh of the Algonquins; and the Skookum of the Oregonians. Some conception may, perhaps, be formed of these creations of Indian sorcery, by a glance at the annexed plate of the Dance of the Giants.[3]

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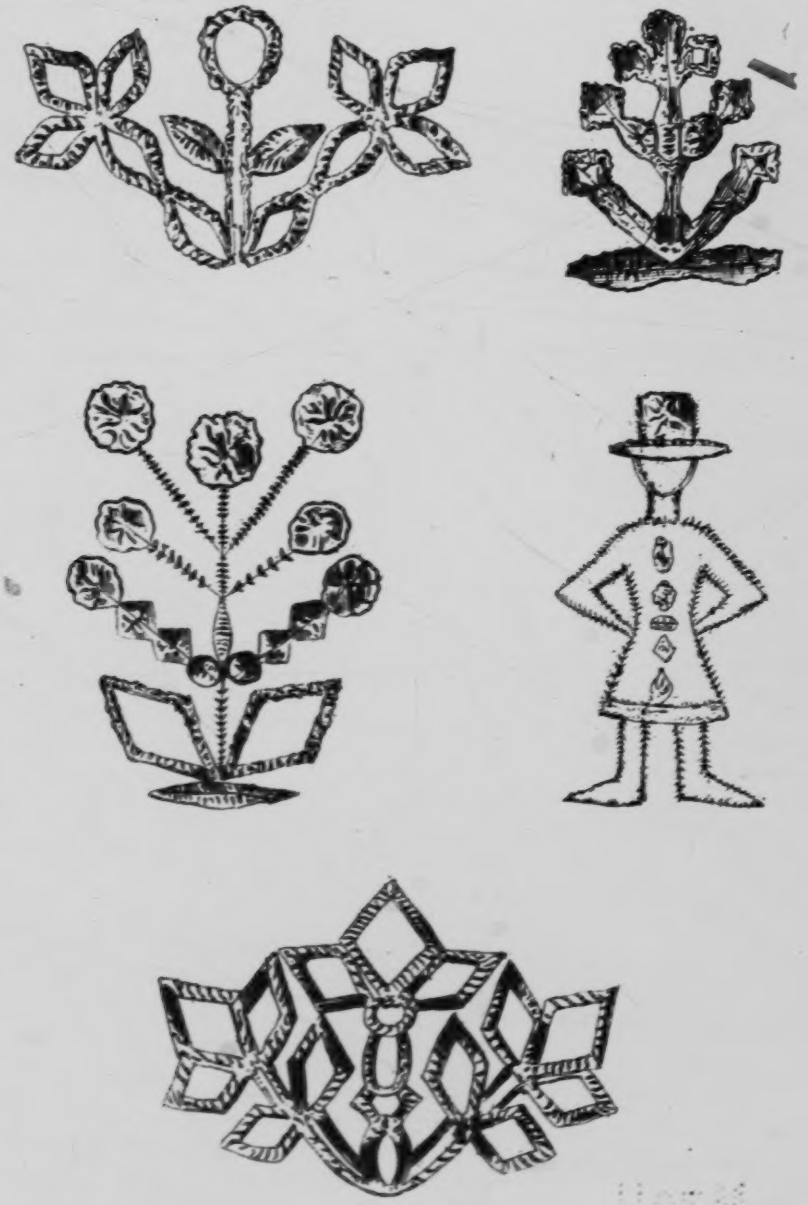
[1] Vol. IV., p. 489.

[2] Ibid. p. 493.

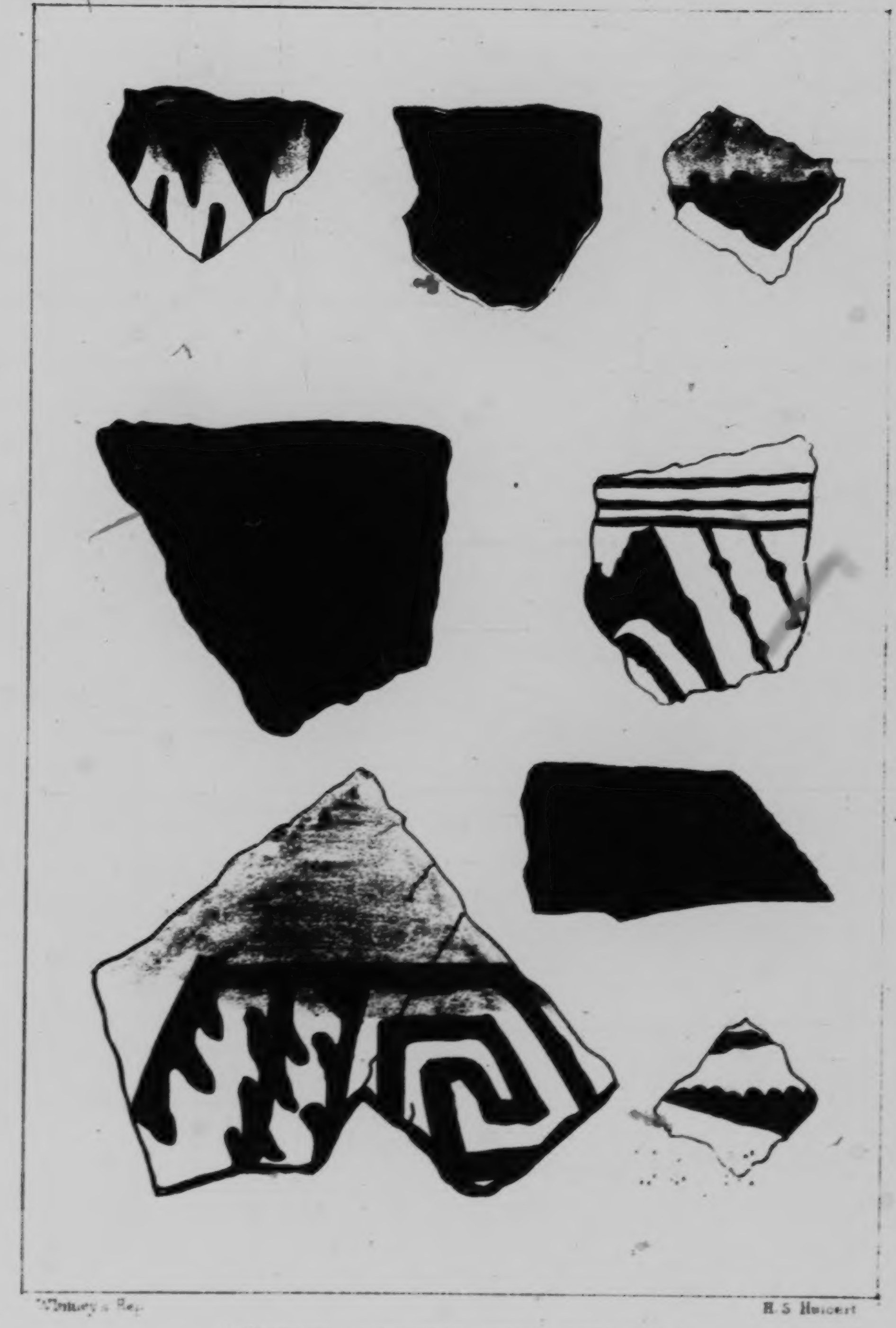
[3] Vol III., p. 486.



CHIPPEWA TOOTH-WORK.

H.S. Hulbert del. from the originals

Dental pictorial figures, on the inner bark of the Betula papyracea



Whitney's Rep.

H. S. Heicert

ANCIENT POTTERY FROM THE GILA

CHAPTER IV.

EXISTING CHARACTERISTIC CUSTOMS.

In prosecuting our inquiries regarding a people so prone to adhere to their ancient opinions, and whose mental peculiarities are so firmly rooted, we should scarcely expect to find original manners and customs, but rather experience an emotion of surprise that any fresh traits had escaped observation. Amongst the Chippewas of Lake Superior there exists a very ingenious art of dental pictography, or a mode of biting figures on the soft and fine inner layers of the bark of the betula papyracea, specimens of which are herewith exhibited. This pretty art appears to be confined chiefly to young females. The designs presented are imitations of flowers, fancy baskets, and human figures. There are so many abatements to the amenities of social life in the forest, that it is pleasing to detect the first dawnings of the imitative and æsthetic arts.

Amongst the Toltecs, whose imaginative creation comprises many of the ideas of the Vesperic tribes, Cinteotl was the goddess of corn. Our tribes have either not incorporated this personification in their nomenclature, or it has thus far escaped notice; though the inhuman tragedy perpetrated on the Missouri, in 1838 — the sacrifice to the corn-power, of Haxta, a captive Sioux girl — reveals the idea.[1] This is still more fully developed by the feast of Mondamin, represented in the accompanying drawing. This feast is strictly an offering of first-fruits to the power which has germinated the grain, promoted the growth, and perfected the favorite food of the aboriginal race. The ceremonies commence with the gathering of the ears from the field, which are conveyed to, and piled in heaps in, the lodge. The corn is simply boiled in water, and then served up, in the ear, to the invited guests, after having been duly offered to the Great Spirit, in thankfulness and with an appropriate address. Each guest brings his own dish, and retires backwards to the door, whence he proceeds to his own lodge with the grain he has received. This ceremony of first-fruits is called *Busk* by the Creeks, and has been previously described.[2]

The knowledge and practice of medicine has, from the earliest date, been held in the highest respect by the Indian tribes. *Muskikiwin* is the term applied to their materia medica, or to the curative properties of botanical and other remedies; and by means of a personal inflection added to this word, the class of doctors, properly so called, is designated. The curative art must be distinguished from the practices of the **Medawin**—a society of men who profess to give efficacy to their remedies by necromancy. When the office of the latter is sought, a course of ablutions, ascetisms, fasts, and ceremonies, is practised, known only to the initiated. The order consists of three degrees of progress, from the initiate or Ogima, through the Sagima to the Master Meda. Presiding persons, who form essentially a faculty, superintend the admissions and grant the awards of the society. The process of this medico-magic association has been elaborately described in antecedent pages.[1]

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[1] Vide. Vol. V., Plate 6, p. 77.

[2] Vol. V., p. 267.

The number of botanical remedies employed by the Indian doctors of the Muskikiwin, in complaints similar to those for which they are recommended by our physicians, is enumerated by Dr. Zina Pitcher in his valuable observations, heretofore published.[2] The pathological knowledge possessed by the Dakotahs has been described by Dr. Williamson,[3] and that of the Winnebagoes by Dr. Andros.[4] In some instances, the herb-doctors, conforming to the superstitions of the people, employ incantations and rattles, as denoted in Plate XLVI., p. 250, Vol. 1. The yokullah, or black drink, used by the Appalachian tribes, is a strong decoction of the cassina plant, imbibed periodically, and regarded as a panacea or catholicon.[5] The root of the zhigowau, a kind of turmeric, is chewed by the Chippewas, with the view of rousing their courage preparatory to war excursions, or to deaden the effects of pain. Charlevoix states that the Natchez had a "medicine of war," which was drank by them previous to their war excursions.[6]

It may be observed of all the tribes, that medical services, if successful, are well rewarded; but if the patient dies, it frequently costs the unfortunate physicians their lives.[7] The responsibility of practising this profession is known to have been great in all ages of their history, and the penalty of failure is, in a great measure, in proportion to the remote position and barbarism of the tribes. A recent observer (Myor. Alvord), in the military service of the government in Oregon, remarks that the massacre of Indian doctors, who were unfortunate in their prescriptions, had taken place in the central parts of the Columbia valley within a short period.[8] It is not to be inferred, however, that equal barbarity is manifested by bereaved Indians along the entire range of the North-West coast, while the respect accorded to doctors in California, Oregon, and Washington, is equally high. In those regions, where the civil power of the chiefs is very circumscribed, and no fixed form of government at all exists, the practitioner of medicine and the Indian priest exert the principal authority.

"In all the Indian tribes," says a recent correspondent, who has spent several years in that quarter, "the doctor, or medicine-man, holds a rank second only, and at times superior, to the chiefs. The arts they employ, the magic they use, and the varied information they must necessarily acquire, can be obtained only by persons possessing natural gifts, and after severe trials by fasting and privation. I am of opinion, from what I have observed, that the principal powers by which these doctors obtain such influence among the tribes are those of mesmerism, and the stronger the physical energies to exert the magnetic development, the greater is the person possessing them considered.

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[1] Vol. V., Plate 32, p. 415.

[2] Vol. IV., p. 501, 516.

[3] Vol. I., p. 247.

[4] Vol. III., p. 497.

[5] Vol. V., p. 266.

[6] Charlevoix, Vol. II., p. 268.

[7] Ibid., p. 270.

[8] Vol. V., p. 651.

"When young men or women are approaching maturity, it is customary for them to prepare themselves for the duties of life by an ordeal of fasting, by which means they are enabled to determine their future career, and ascertain whether or not they are qualified to act as doctors (for, with these tribes, female operators are quite common). A young man, who had passed through the ceremony of the fast, thus related it to me: 'When my father thought I was old enough to seek my *To-mah-na-was* (or guardian spirit), he told me his views, and wished me to prepare myself. I thought over the matter for three days, (*klone sun nika wawa kopah nika tumtum*; or, three days I talked with my heart). At last, when I had concluded, I took with me my axe and my wooden bowl, and getting into my canoe, I paddled up the Whilapah river to the foot of that black-looking hill which you see (pointing to a bluff hill about six miles up the river), and, having hauled up my canoe, I filled my bowl with water and went up to the top of the hill, where I built a fire. For three days and three nights I kept my fire blazing brightly, and did not sleep at all, nor did I eat. At sunrise, I washed myself all over with water from my bowl and dried myself by the fire. I kept awake by singing and calling to my *To-mah-na-was*, and by dancing and jumping over and through the fire. The third day I saw everything appear as if it was surrounded by the sea, and in that sea were the different kinds of *To-mah-na-was*. Those that we first see are not the medicine *To-mah-na-was* — it takes many more days before they appear; but I was faint, and I only saw an inferior spirit; but he has made me a canoe-builder and a hunter. If I could have remained longer, I should have been a doctor.' By this, it appears that it is only those that possess the requisite natural gifts who can become doctors.

"These fasts are the most sacred act of the Indian's life. Like the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, the impressions received during these ceremonies remain fixed on the mind and are never obliterated in after life. The name of the *To-mah-na-was*, or guardian spirit, is never mentioned to the dearest friend. And it is only by hieroglyphic drawings of whales, lizards, porpoises, or birds, that an idea can be formed of what the image of the spirit is like, or the shape in which it was presented to the mind of the seeker. The same feeling of dread is felt at the idea of pronouncing the name of a dead friend. Years must elapse before any one is allowed to speak the name of the departed; and this feeling of respect for the dead is even carried so far, that the survivors change their own names for fear the spirits of the dead may be attracted at hearing the familiar sounds spoken which they loved to hear while dwellers on the earth.

"As soon as a young person ascertains the fact of possessing the power of exerting the magnetic influence, instruction in various forms of the so-called magic, or power of working spells, is imparted by some old doctor, as a professor of mesmerism might instruct a pupil. As I have stated in an article on burials, this gift is of various grades. Hence we find that some are simple magnetizers, possessing the power to put their patients to sleep; others are clairvoyants, and profess not only to read the nature of internal disease by ocular inspection, but to know the forms of simples to be used to work a cure.

"The Indians draw their tropes and figures from surrounding objects. Thus the doctors on the coast, surrounded by marine productions, find in figures of whales, sharks, porpoises, seals, sea-slugs, snails, and reptiles, suitable objects with which to personify and clothe their ideas of skookums, or devils, who are supposed to be the bad spirits who prey on the vitals of the sick, causing death. The canoe among these tribes is the coffin.

"But with the interior tribes, travelling on horseback, and chasing the buffalo, deer, elk, and other animals, different ideas are associated; and with them, as with the coast tribes, familiar objects are made use of. A diseased liver, supposed by the coast Indians to be caused by a crab gnawing the afflicted part, is charged by the dweller of the interior to the malignant spirit in the shape of a frog or a turtle. These people bury their dead either in the ground, or in boxes perched on poles, or in forks of trees; while among the Digger tribes of California the funeral rites are performed by burning the corpse to ashes. A knowledge of simples seems to be pretty general, and they are always resorted to in cases of sickness, before calling in the medicine-man. A species of cress, which is found in the dark recesses of the forest, and is of a very acrid nature, is used for blistering purposes, and prepared by bruising up the leaves and mixing them with grease, forming a blistering plaster equal in its effects to Spanish flies. Another method of blistering, particularly for any affection of the head or eyes, is to apply a coal of fire either to the forehead, temples, or, more frequently, to the back of the neck and shoulders. This severe cauterization is borne by the patients with the utmost fortitude, and the sore kept open till relief is obtained. Running sores and ulcers are healed by a salve, composed of grease and the ashes made from burning the hairs of the tiger-cat (which are supposed to possess great healing powers). Nettle roots and leaves are boiled in water, and the tea drank as a tonic; so is also a tea made from the bark of young hemlock. The polypodium falcatum, or sickle leaf polypod, or liquorice fern, is a very valuable alterative, in much repute among the natives for scrofulous complaints, and as an antisyphilitic. This fern grows upon old trees and decayed logs; it has a root resembling the sweet flag, a decoction of which is used. It is a sweetish bitter, and is thought to be nearly equal to sarsaparilla. The polopody of the ancients, found upon the oak, was formerly held in high repute as a cure for madness.

"The bryonia alba, or white bryony, having a root of the most intense bitterness, is occasionally, but rarely, used in fever cases. The root of the wild celery, possessing an agreeable aromatic odor, is used as a medicine, and is in great repute as a charm to attract the salmon during the fishing season. The heads of spears and barbs of fish-hooks are rubbed with this fragrant root, which is supposed to be particularly grateful to the olfactories of the dainty salmon. The roots and leaves of the cow-parsnip, and the young leaves of the yellow dock, are used both as food and for medicinal purposes. There are undoubtedly many other useful and valuable remedies, which have not come under my observation.

"The doctors have different forms of working their spells, or performing their magnetic operations; but, as all that I have seen tend to the same end, the description I have given in the form of burial used by the Chinooks, will be sufficient to illustrate their general method."[1]

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[1] James G. Swan, Esq.

SECTION TWENTY-SIXTH.

INDICIA FROM MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

TOLTEC AND AZTEC MYTHOLOGY.

FOR the purpose of obtaining a correct idea of the mythology and polytheism of the Vesperic tribes,[1] we must take a cursory glance at the system of the Toltecs and Aztecs. These tribes continued, from age to age, to deify men, and add new names to the catalogue of their deities, until they had accumulated a mass without a system. It was a heterogeneous and confused collection of names and personifications, without any order of gradation, or any attempt to show the precise dependence that one god, or power, had upon another. *Tonuhtiuh*, or the substance of the Sun, was still, theoretically, regarded as the primary god; but the power was so much diffused and divided among other minor deities, that when the Spaniards reached Mexico, the system, if we may so term it, was a wild and discordant mass of dæmonology and devil worship, so thoroughly disgusting in its character, that the Spanish priesthood, being unable to tolerate it for a moment, directed the rude statues to be demolished, and the scrolls of picture-writings to be cast into the flames.

The mental development of the Indians of America may be more readily traced, by comparison of ideas and their modes of expressing them, than by reference to words, or identities of nomenclature — at least, beyond the primary radices and particles; for, in all the savage languages of this continent, names, words and expressions are mere agglomerations of dissevered syllables. Some allusions may here be made to a mythology, which embraced the traditionary history, not only of the Aztecs and

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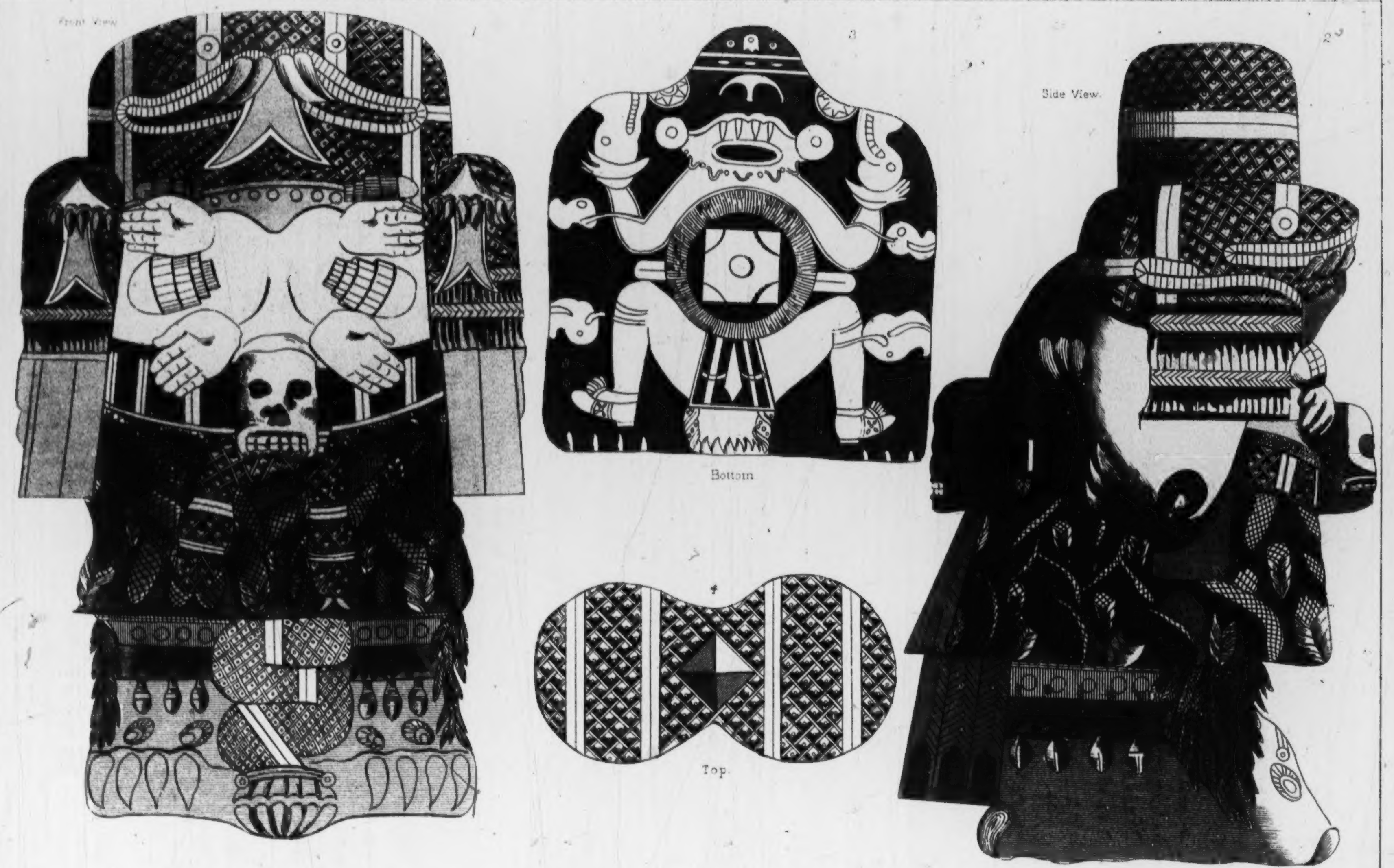
[1] These topics have been discussed in Vol. III., page 483; Vol. IV., page 489; Vol. V., p. 401.



IDOL OF TEOYAOMIQUI.

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Toltecs, but, according to the best interpreters of Mexican history,[1] of anterior nations, who possessed the elements of civilization.

Tlalcol was the keeper of the dead, an important office in all the tribes, which, among those of the north, is assigned to *Chibiabos*. The ceremonial rites are precisely the same; the purpose of the office, and its duties, exactly alike; but the names differ. This variance applies to most of their gods; and, it may be remarked, is analogous to that general difference existing between the Indian languages of North and South America, the ideas of which are similar, but the sounds diverse. The Aztecs placed *Teo*[2] first in the calender of their gods; the Iroquois of the North installed *Neo* as their supreme divinity. After having successfully prosecuted a war, they did homage to *Areouski*, as the god of battle. The Aztecs sacrificed human victims to *Huitzilopochtli*, in the same character.

The personification of good and evil is a very striking characteristic of the savage theogony. *Teo* conveyed the same meaning in Toltec — the formative *tl* being added. In the dialects of the Algonquin tribes of the North, MON is the radix, both for the words God and Devil. In the same language, *edo* added to this form appears to be a transitive particle; but, if the evil god be intended, the term MUDJI is prefixed, denoting an evil character. This is the literal meaning of the compound term, *Mudjimonedo*. Among the Toltecs there was a god of the day, and another of the night; the composite term for the latter power having been *Tlacatecolototl*, who was the bird of night. They believed that this spirit frequently appeared to men for the purpose of doing evil; and, theoretically, it was the *Mudjimonedo* of the Algonquins.

The Otomites believed that the soul died with the body; but the Aztecs, as well as all the other nations of Anahuac, deemed it to be, in its substance, immortal. They held the doctrine that beasts and birds possessed souls; which belief is common to all the North American, or Vesperic tribes.[3] They believed that soldiers who died in war, and women who died in childbirth, were transported to the house of the sun, which they called the lord of glory, where they led a life of happiness and ease; every day greeting the rising sun with music and dancing,[4] which they then accompanied to the zenith, where they met the souls of the women, and, with the same demonstrations of delight, proceeded with them to the setting of the sun. Like the Vesperic tribes, they upheld the theory of the transmigration of souls, and believed that, after leading the life just described during four years, these souls entered into, and animated, the clouds, noble beasts, and birds of beautiful plumage and sweet song — possessing the privilege, while in this state, of ascending to Heaven, or of descending to the earth, there to sing and suck sweets from flowers. The Tlascallans believed that only the souls of the nobles animated noble beasts, birds of beauteous plumage and songsters; while the souls of the lower classes entered into beetles and other meaner forms of life.

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[1] Gallatin; Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., Vol. I., p. 169.

[2] The inflection *tl* appended to this word, changing it to *Teotl*, is merely one of the common formative particles of the Aztec language.

[3] Vide Oneota, page 449.

[4] Comments on Mexican Mythology, by Captain J. P. M'Cown, U. S. A.

Those killed by lightning, or who were suffocated, or died of dropsy, &c., and children sacrificed to Haloc, they believed went to the home of that god, where they lived in peace and pleasure. Their creed likewise taught that these children assisted at the sacrifices to their god on a certain day, and at a certain altar, in the large temple of Mexico. The Mixtecas believed the entrance to heaven was through a cave, which was located in a high mountain of their country. The nobles were buried near this cave, in order to be close to the place they expected to enter. The Mexicans believed, furthermore, that all beside those enumerated, after death entered a dark abode (where reigned the god *Mict-lau-teuct-li*) called *Mictlau*, where the only evil experienced was the total darkness. This abode was supposed to be situated either in the centre of the earth, or at the North Pole.

The cosmogony of the Aztecs bears traces of trans-Atlantic, or oriental origin. They possessed an account of the creation of the world, of the deluge, and of the confusion of tongues, very similar to that given by Moses. They averred that but one man was saved from the deluge, whom they called *Coxcox* or *Teocipactli*, and one woman, called *Xochiquetzal*. This person corresponds with *Hiawatha*, *Manabosho*, and *Atahensic*, in the north. They also relate that this couple debarked on a mountain, where they became the parents of many children, all of whom were born without the faculty of speech; but that a bird had, from the branch of a tree, taught them to speak.[1] The Tlascallans say that the persons saved from the deluge had degenerated into monkeys, but in time recovered speech and reason.

The Mexicans were extreme Theists, worshipping many gods; but their system of mythology comprised only thirteen principal ones. *Tez-cat-li-po-ca* was their principal deity, next in order to the supreme and invisible God. His name means "the looking-glass," and his idol held one in his hand. This was the God of providence, the soul of the earth, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and Lord of all things. He was represented as a youth, to indicate that time did not interfere with him. It was believed that he conferred many benefits on the good, and afflicted the evil-disposed with infirmities and troubles. They placed stones at the corners of the streets as seats for this god, upon which it was supposed he rested when fatigued; and it was unlawful for persons to seat themselves upon them. The principal idol of this god was made of *teotetl* (*divine stone*—a black volcanic stone, taking a polish similar to marble), and was always dressed in court dress. In the ears were gold rings, and on the lower lip was placed a green or purple feather, inserted in a crystal tube. The hair was bound with a gold cord, to which was appended ornaments of the same metal. The breast

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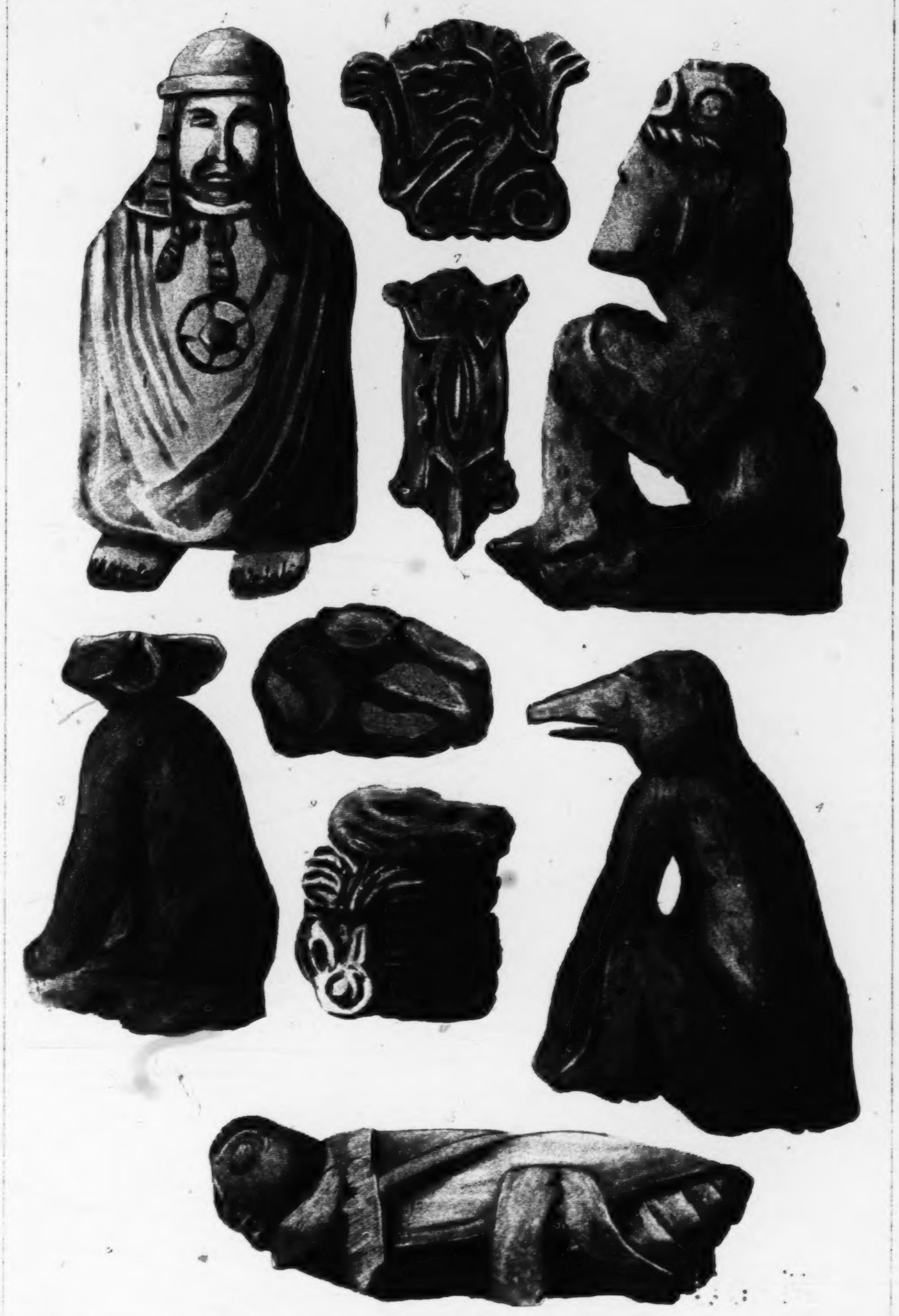
[1] Vide Hackluyt for a pictograph of this figure.



S. Eastman U.S.A. from originals in Brantz Mayer's collection.

MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES

PUBLISHED BY J.B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. PHILAD^A

was covered with gold; the arms were encircled by bracelets of gold; at the navel depended an emerald; and in the left hand was held a fan of gold and feathers. At other places this god was represented seated on a bank, wrapped in a scarlet robe, upon which was figured skulls and other portions of the human skeleton; in the left hand was held a skull and four arrows, and the right was raised in the attitude of throwing a dart. The body was painted black, and the head adorned with quail feathers.

The Indian elysium was ever constructed of things most agreeable here on earth. *O-me-teuct-li* or *Cit-lal-lo-to-nae*, and *O-me-ci-huatl* or *Cit-la-li-cue*, were a god and goddess, whom they believed inhabited a glorious city in heaven, where abounded every pleasure, and whence they watched over the world, and gave to mortals their respective inclinations — the former directing men, and the latter the women. The Mexicans relate that this goddess had many sons, but that finally she brought forth, in childbirth, a knife made of flint, which the sons indignantly cast to the earth, but in falling it was transformed into one thousand six hundred heroes, who had a knowledge of their noble origin. These heroes finding themselves without persons to serve them, as all the human race had been destroyed by a great calamity (the Mexicans believed that there had been three universal calamities), agreed to send to their mother, asking her to create men for their service. She refused their request, but directed them to apply to *Mich-lau-teuct-li*, the god of hell, for one of the bones of the dead, from which, by wetting it with their own blood, would spring a man and woman to people the earth. She warned them to guard themselves against this wicked god, as he might repent having given the bone, and work them some evil. *Xolotl*, one of the heroes, went to the god of hell, asked for the bone and received it; whereupon he fled toward the earth, the god pursuing him. *Xolotl* escaped, but, falling in his flight, broke the bone into many pieces. The fragments were placed in a barrel, and sprinkled with their blood. On the fourth day a boy appeared, and on the seventh, a girl. These two children were the means of repeopling the earth.

The character of woman shared largely in their mythology. *Ci-hua-coh-uatl*, or *Qui-laz-tli*, was supposed to be the first woman who bore twins, for which she was deified. They believed she often conveyed an extra child to some man's cradle.

Their apotheosis of the sun and moon was simply this: *To-na-teuh* and *Miz-tli* (sun and moon) were worshipped by the nations of Mexico. They relate that the earth, having been repeopled as related, was ruled by these demi-gods, each of whom had his subjects. The sun having been extinguished, they all assembled (demi-gods and men) near a great fire, or volcano, when the men were informed that he who would cast himself into the flames would have the glory of being converted into the sun. A man called *Na-na-huat-zin* immediately cast himself in, and went to the lower regions. Waiting to see the new sun rise, they sacrificed quails, locusts, &c., near the place wherein he cast himself. The sun soon appeared in the east, rose to the zenith, and moved towards the west. Anxious lest they should again be left in darkness, they inquired of the sun why it did not stop; when they received for answer, "that it would not stop until all of the heroes were dead." This reply occasioned them fear and grief. One of the heroes took a bow, and with it shot three arrows at the sun. The sun, irritated, cast one arrow back, splitting the forehead of *Citli*, who fired the arrows. Struck with consternation, and not being able to resist the sun's power, they agreed to die by the hand of *Xolotl*, who killed himself after having sacrificed his brothers. Before they expired, these demi-gods bequeathed their garments to their subjects. At the period of the conquest the Mexicans exhibited robes, which they said were the garments left by these said heroes. The people being saddened by the loss of their lords, the god *Tezcatlipoca* sent one of them to the sun for music, to use in the celebration of their feasts or worship; whence they learned to dance and to play on musical instruments.[1] Such was the origin of the use of both in the worship of their gods. The Mexicans also say that the self-sacrifice of the demi-gods led to the adoption of the human sacrifice so common among them. The origin of the moon was accounted for by a continuation of the fable. Other men, casting themselves into the fire, were converted into the moon, which was less bright, as the fire was weaker. To the sun and moon were consecrated the two temples on the plain of Yeotilenacan.

Quetzalcoatl, a serpent covered with feathers, was regarded among all the nations of Mexico as the god of air. They related that, in times past, he was a great god of *Tula*, was a tall, white man, with a large forehead, large eyes, black hair, and thick beard. He was rich, wise, and industrious; and first taught them the art of working and smelting metals. He, like Hiawatha in the north,[2] taught them arts, and gave them just laws, which he obeyed himself. They relate that, in his day, everything grew to a great size, and plenty reigned throughout the land, while the country was covered with birds of beautiful plumage and sweet songsters. His was a golden age. Suddenly he left his country, saying only that it was the will of the gods that he should go to the kingdom of *Tlapallan*, whither he was ordered to go by *Tezcatlipoca*, who appeared to him as an old man, and presented him with a drink, which he quaffed, hoping to become immortal. He left his country accompanied by many of his subjects. They relate that, when he arrived at Cholula, the inhabitants deposed their rulers and placed him in power. The Cholulans say that he taught them the art of smelting, for which they were so famous, gave them laws, established religious rites, and regulated their calendar. After a sojourn of twenty years at Cholula, he continued his journey in search of the imaginary kingdom of *Tlapallan*, taking with him four noble youths, distinguished for their virtue. When he arrived at the coast, in the province of Coatzacoalco, he sent back these four youths, with orders to say to the Cholulans that, after a time, he would return and reign over them. The youths were invested with the government, and he was deified and constituted protector of the city by the Toltecs of Cholula; in the centre of which city they erected a high mound, and on it built a sanctuary in his honor. A mound and temple were also erected in Tula. From Cholula his worship spread throughout all the country.

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[1] The northern tribes ascribed the gift of music to heaven, as an aid in the ceremonies of medical knowledge.

[2] Vol. III., p. 314.

Even the enemies of the government of Cholula were allowed to visit that city to worship this god. The Yucatanos prided themselves upon a supposed descent of their nobles from this deity. Sterile women appealed to him to relieve them from that disgrace. The feasts of this god, observed in the city of Cholula, were grand, and obtained great celebrity. They were preceded by a feast of eighty days, and by the practice of dreadful austerities by the priests consecrated to his service. Sigüenza believed that *Quetzalcoatl* was the apostle St. Thomas. It is a general belief that these people had been visited by Christians before the Conquest.

Tlaloc, or *Tla-lo-cat-euct-li*, lord of paradise, was the god of water. They believed that he was charged with the duty of watering the earth, and was the protector of man's property. They believed that he resided in the high mountains, where he formed the clouds, and sent them to water the earth. They often went to the tops of mountains to implore his protection. The Acolhuans, who arrived in the reign of *Xolotl*, relate that they found upon Mount Thaloc an idol of this god, made of a white stone, which was in the form of a man seated upon a block, with a cup in front, filled with elastic gum and seeds. This offering of gum and seeds was renewed every year. This is believed to be the most ancient idol of Mexico. It was placed where found by the Toltecs, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of the kings, *Alcolhuacan*, wishing to please his subjects, substituted for it one made of more durable stone; but the latter being disfigured by lightning, the old one was replaced in its ancient seat, where it remained until destroyed by the vandalic hand of the Bishop of Mexico. This idol was painted blue and green, to represent the colors of water, and held in the right hand a pointed, spiral rod of gold, to represent lightning. This god was believed to be the ruler of inferior gods, and had an altar in the large temple of Mexico.

Chal-chiuh-que-ye, or *Chal-chi-huit-li-cue*, was the goddess of water, and wife of *Thaloc*. She was known by other names, and the Tlascallans called her *Mat-lal-cue-ye*. Her vesture was blue, and she bore the same name as the mountain near their city on which they supposed she resided, and where they worshipped. This is the goddess called, by Torquemada, *Xoch-i-quet-zal*.

Guih-teuct-li, lord of the year and of planets, and the god of fire, was also called *Ix-coz-auh-qui*, which expressed the color of the flame, and was held in high repute in Mexico. When eating or drinking, the first mouthful was spit into the fire as an offering to this god, and, at certain hours of the day, incense was burned. Every year this god was honored by two feasts, one in the seventh, and one in the seventeenth month,[1] besides one on which the magistrates renewed their obligations of office to the crown. He had a temple in Mexico, and others at various places.

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[1] The Mexican year had twenty months, of thirteen days each.

Cen-teotl, the goddess of earth and of corn, was also called *To-na-ca-yo-hua*, she who sustains us. In Mexico five temples were dedicated to this goddess, and three feasts were observed in her honor, in the third, the eighth, and the eleventh month. No nation venerated her so much as the Totonacas, who looked upon her as their protectress, built her a temple on a high mountain, and appointed to her service many priests. They loved her, as they believed she abhorred human sacrifice, and would in time deliver them from the oppression of the other gods, that demanded human blood. The Mexicans, however, offered human victims to her.

Mict-lau-teuc-tli, god of hell, and *Mict-lau-cih-natl*, his wife, were renowned in Mexico. The Mexicans believed, as before stated, that they had resided in a dark abode in the centre of the earth, or at the North Pole. A temple was erected in Mexico, and dedicated to them, where they were worshipped in the seventeenth month. The principal priest, called *Tlit-lau-tle-na-ma-cae*, was painted black, and performed the rites to these gods in the night.

Xoal-teuc-tli, the god of night, was, in all probability, the same as *Miztli*, the moon. Some believed it to be the sun; others, again, that it was a distinct deity, and was worshipped as the god of sleep.

In this development of deities, childhood was not forgotten. *Xoal-ti-citl* was the goddess of the cradle, and protector of children through the night.

No name, however, was so much honored as the God of War. It was by war that the Mexican empire rose. *Huit-zil-o-pocht-li*, or *Mex-it-li*, was the most celebrated of all the Mexican deities, and the principal protector of the nation. Some relate that this god was self-created; others, that he was born of woman, though begotten by a god. The circumstances of his birth are related in this wise: There lived in Coatpec, a place near Tula, a woman much given to the worship of the gods. She was called *Coat-li-cue*, and was the mother of *Cent-zou-huez-na-hue*. One day, as she was sweeping the temple, as was her custom, she saw a bunch of feathers fall, as if from heaven, which she picked up and placed in her bosom, wishing to use them to decorate the altar; but when she wanted them they were gone, at which she was much surprised, and more so, when she found herself with child. Her sons soon observed her condition, yet did not doubt her virtue; but, knowing the disgrace of the affair, they determined to avoid it by killing their mother. She, being apprised of the project, was much distressed, but was comforted by hearing a voice from her womb, which said, "Don't fear, mother, I will save us, with your honor and my glory." The sons set out to consummate their crime, assisted by their sister, who had been the most forward in the business. On their arrival at their mother's residence, they found *Huitzilopochtli* just born, with a shield in his left hand and a dart in his right, a crest of green feathers on his head, his face striped with blue, the left leg covered with feathers, and the thighs and arms striped. He caused an upright serpent to appear, with which he ordered one of his soldiers to whip to death the sister, as the most guilty, and, casting himself upon the brothers, they were soon dispatched, their houses sacked, and the spoils given to the mother. This affair struck all men with such consternation, that they called him *Tet-za-huitl*, the frightful, and *Tet-zauh-teotl*, the frightful god. They relate that this god, charged with the protection of the Mexicans, conducted them in their journeys, and finally located them where their capital was built, and where they erected the splendid temple to his honor. They appointed to this god three solemn feasts in each year, in the fifth, the ninth, and the fifteenth months, besides those held every fourth and thirteenth year, and at the end of the century. His statue was of immense size, and was seated on a block of blue stone, from the four angles of which issued great snakes. Its forehead was blue, and the face, as well as the neck, covered with a gold mark. On the head it had a beautiful plume of feathers, formed from the crests of birds; the neck was encircled by a bracelet, made of two figures similar to the human heart; in the right hand it held a blue spiral staff; and in the left, a shield, upon which were five balls of feathers, arranged in the form of a cross; and from the upper part rose a banner of gold, with four arrows, which, according to their accounts, were sent from heaven, to be used in those glorious actions for which he was famous. The body was encircled by a great serpent, and covered with figures of many animals, &c., made of gold and precious stones, each figure having some particular significance. When the Mexicans determined upon engaging in a war, they implored the protection of this god with prayers and oblations, and to him were sacrificed most of those human beings who were constantly offered.

Tla-ca-hue-pan-aux-cot-zeu, another god of war, was a younger brother and companion of *Huitzilopochtli*.

Pain-al-ton, the representation of activity and velocity, was a god of war and lieutenant of *Huitzilopochtli*. This god was appealed to in any sudden emergency.

The Aztecs and Toltecs also had gods of commerce and the chase. *Xa-ca-teuct-li*, the god that directs, was the presiding deity of commerce. Feasts in honor of this god were annually held in the temple in Mexico, one in the ninth and one in the seventeenth month. Human beings were sacrificed to him.

Mix-coatl, goddess of the chase, was the principal protectress of the Otomites, who were all hunters. She had two temples in Mexico. Wild beasts were sacrificed to her.

O-pocht-li, protector of fishermen, is said to have invented the net and other fishing implements. A city located on an island in Lake Chalco had a god of fishing, which was called *Ami-mitl*, and was probably the same god.

Huix-to-ci-huatl, god of salt, was feasted in the seventh month.

Tza-pot-lau-te-nau, was the goddess of medicine. An annual sacrifice of human beings was made to her.

Tez-cat-zou-catl, the god of wine, had other names. A temple was consecrated, and 400 priests assigned to his service in Mexico. His feast was celebrated on the thirteenth month.

Ix-tlil-ton, a god with a black face, was probably a god of medicine, as sick boys were carried to his temple to be cured.

Coat-li-cue, or *Coat-lau-lo-na*, was the goddess of flowers, and had a temple in Mexico called Ilopico. Flowers were offered to her, and a feast was held in her honor in the third month. Some believed her to be the mother of the principal war gods.

Tla-zat-teotl was the goddess the Mexicans asked to forgive them their sins, and to save them from the reproach attached to them. The principal worshippers of this goddess were lascivious men, who violated the rites of matrimony. Boturini says this was the lewd Venus, but a native writer says she was the goddess of wedlock.

Xipe, the protector of silversmiths, was much venerated in Mexico, as they believed that all who neglected his worship were afflicted with the itch and other vile sores. The feast to this god, characterized by cruel sactrifices, was celebrated in the second month.

Nap-pa-teuct-li, the god of the potters, had two temples in Mexico, and was worshipped in the second month.

O-ma-catl was the god of fun and frolic. An image of this god was placed in a conspicuous position at all feasts given by the Mexicans, when they considered it incumbent on them to make merry.

To-nant-zin was the goddess of mothers, and probably the same as *Centeotl*. Her temple was located where the church of Gaudalupe now stands.[1]

To-teoi-nan, as her name indicates, was the mother of the gods. The Mexicans believed that they also descended from her. The origin of this goddess, and the sad death of a princess of Acolhuacan, have already been related. She had a temple in Mexico, and ceremonial rites were celebrated in her honor in the eleventh month. She was the protectress of the Tlascallans. Some say that the two last mentioned are the same.

Tla-ma-teuct-li, the goddess of the women, and their protectress, was feasted on the third day of the seventh month.

Te-pi-to-ton was a general name for their household gods. The king and chiefs had six, the nobles four, and the lower classes two. They had gods for every day, after whom the day was named; and also gods for nearly everything and locality. Other nations of Mexico had the same gods, though frequently known under different names. *Huitzilopochtli* was called *Quet-zal-coatl* by the Cholulans, *Heuxatzineas* and *Centeotl* by the Totonacas, and *Mixcoatl* by the Otomites. The Tlascallans, rivals of the Mexicans, worshipped the same gods, which they called *Huitzilopactilli* and *Camaxtli*.

Their vocabulary is instructive. *Cinteotl*, the goddess of corn, was the mondamin or grain spirit of the Algonquins. *Coyote*, meaning primarily a fox, is also applied to a small

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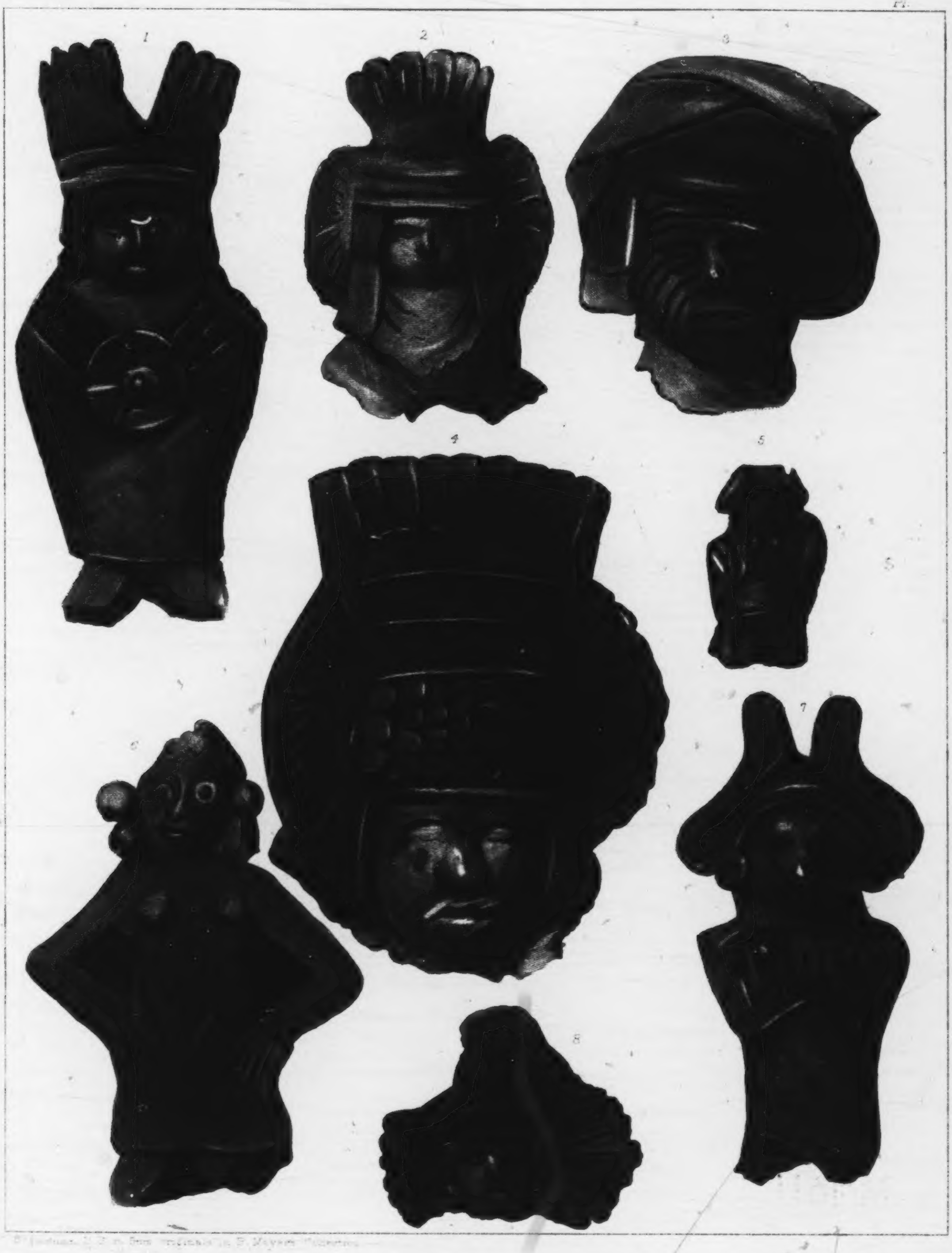
[1] M'Cown's MSS. Comments.



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wolf, resembling our prairie wolf. *Quequecoyote* becomes one of these totemic reliances, which are rather intensified objects of the imagination, than gods to be worshipped. *Ocelotl* is an eagle, and *Quahtli* a tiger; hence the gods of these names. *Xolo* is a monster, and *Xolotl*, god of monsters. *Acatl* is water; *Patecatl*, the apotheosis of a man saved from water, is a flood. *Coatl* is a serpent; *Quetzalcoatl*, the great serpent-wise man, or teacher of arts and laws. *Tonatiuh* is the sun; *Tonatiotl*, sun-god. The juice of the mayaguil personified a female with four hundred breasts. Fire, water, love, death, rain, wind, echo, mountains, and flowers, were the subjects of these mental intensifications, and furnished names which, being preserved in the memory of the priests, or in the calendar, served, in a measure, to keep the Indian mind in subjection to his superstition by a not very onerous tax. But the most monstrous and horrific of all the gods and goddesses, statues of whom were erected, was *Teoyaomiqui*, called also *Tuchiquetzel* and *Chiconecoa* (for neither names nor ideas appear to have had much permanence), who was represented under the form of serpents, twisted around skulls. She was regarded as the cause of famine, sterility, and misery, and as the impersonification of all domestic evil. (See Plate, p. 585.)

The Toltec, and subsequently the Aztec, imagination, appears to have rioted in these personifications of passion, caprice and crime. But there was a lack of generalization; they framed no very connected system of mythology, the parts of which were strictly dependent upon each other, and constituted a whole. Even the sun, which seems, originally, to have been the prime object of worship, eventually ceased to receive their homage, except in theory; while, at the era of the conquest, the principal deity worshipped was the god of war, to whom human sacrifices were offered. The habits and manners of the people appear, at that time, to have reached their ultimate point of degeneracy; they were reported by the Spanish clergy to be steeped in moral degradation, and conversant with every monstrosity of crime. Compared to this Mexican mythology, that of the northern tribes retained greater simplicity, and freedom from the domination of the Indian priesthood. The culminating point of the system of deification adopted by both the Toltecs and the Aztecs had, in all probability, been reached from the same common basis, viz: a totemic identification of septs, bands, and tribes, mutually contending for supremacy, who assigned to their deities a local residence in the bodies of quadrupeds, birds, insects, reptiles, and other species of animated Nature, and lastly, in the bodies of men, who, under the titles of priests, seers, and prophets, made it the business of their lives to teach this system of deification, and thus to endeavor to perpetuate and strengthen their possession of the almost unlimited power they had acquired. Thus, the first effects of emancipation from barbarism, of the development of arts, employments, and manners, and of giving freedom to the power of thought, among a people who had no knowledge of divine truth, was the deification of every object and every passion. At the era of their discovery they were completely involved in a confusion of absurd idolatrous rites, ceremonies, and beliefs. Praise is due to the Spanish priesthood, who strove to abolish every vestige of it.

The late Mr. Gallatin, in concluding an elaborate review of the collection of Lord Kingsborough, condemns the mythological part of the picture-writings as being a barren and unprofitable historical study. "The subject," he observes, "is neither attractive, nor one of great promise. It is not probable that the interpretations of the names and attributes of the deities, represented in the several codices, could throw more light on the religious creed of the Mexicans, or on its influence on their social state, than we derive from the accounts of the conquerors, and the Indian traditions collected by early writers. Their mythology, as far as we know it, presents a great number of unconnected gods, without apparent system or unity of design. It exhibits no evidence of metaphysical research or imaginative powers. Viewed only as a development of the intellectual faculties of man, it is, in every respect, vastly inferior to the religious systems of Egypt, India, Greece, or Scandinavia. If imported, it must have been from some barbarous country, and have been brought directly from such country to Mexico, since no traces of a similar worship are found in the more northern parts of America."[1]

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[1] Transactions of the American Ethnological Society: New York, 1845, Vol. I., p. 351.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS AND MYTHOLOGICAL OPINIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRIBES.

THE office of the Indian seer, prophet, meda, wakon, wapiya, and of the jossakeed, or powwow, was to act as negotiants (it would be a desecration to style them mediators) between the people and the Great Spirit. Hence, the great power which they have wielded throughout all periods of their history. Whether this office was hereditary or assumed, would be a vain inquiry. It does not appear to have been inherited, but rather to have been assumed by persons possessing more than ordinary mental capacity, vigor, shrewdness, or cunning, and art in practising and concealing glaring deceptions. They were aided in their craft by the outward practice of ascetic habits and fasting; by the potent influence of dreams; and by their proficiency in the art of pictography, in which a system of mixed representative, symbolic, and arbitrary signs was employed, to strengthen the popular faith in necromancy, witchcraft, and divination.

No Indian hero, warrior, speaker, or ruler, if we except Uncas, Tahgayuta,[1] Assoyawatha,[2] Skenandoa, and Thyendanagea,[3] ever attained to distinction without an appeal to this class. When the United States have been engaged in hostilities with the tribes, this has always been the most difficult power to conquer — if it can be said to have ever been conquered. Had no appeal been made to the beliefs and superstitions of the Indians, Tuscaloosa, who flourished in De Soto's era, Opechanganough, of Virginia, Sassacus and Pometacom, of New England, or Wappacomigat and Pontiac, of the north-west, could not have aroused the spirit and united the forces of their tribes. Without it, Tecumseh, Osceola, and Black Hawk would have been destitute of either armies or followers. When John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, began his philanthropic undertaking at Natic, in 1640, he acknowledged the existence of this great impediment to his labor; and Brainerd actually quailed before the development of it, on the sources of the Susquehannah, in 1744. So hateful were the truths and teachings of Christianity to those Indians who adhered to their own teachers, that Father Lagard was burned at the stake by the Hurons, and his colleague, together with his son, were hurled from a canoe into the seething waters of the rapids which fill the river St. Lawrence, below Lachine. Those fearful cascades have ever since retained the name of his order, and have been called the *Recollet* rapids.

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[1] Logan. [2] Red Jacket. [3] Brant.

We must not, however, in our retrospect, confound one age with another. The last half century has yielded rich fruits in return for the labor bestowed, and has clearly demonstrated the beneficial effect of patiently teaching the Indians; of which result, tribes of each of the generic Algonquin, Iroquois, and Appalachian groups, have furnished examples. But on the minds of the native hunters, who constitute the large tribes of the Dakotah and Shoshonee stocks, roving over the plains and through the forests of the West, not to mention the vast and predatory hordes of New Mexico, California, and Oregon, subsisting on the flesh of the buffalo and deer, little or no impression has been made. The Rev. Gideon H. Pond, of Minnesota, who has had experience, describes the opinions and rites of the Dakotah tribes of the prairies and plains in the following words:

"The terms by which the medicine-men are known among the Dakotahs, suggest both their character and occupation. They are these: *Wicaxta Wakan* (Wee-chash-tah Wah-kon), and *Taku Wakan ihamnanpi* (Tah-koo Wah-kon e-ham-nan-pe). The former term signifies mysterious, supernatural, or god-men; and the latter, mysterious, supernatural, or god-dreamers — inspired by the gods.

"By the term 'medicine-man,' or Indian doctor, therefore, I mean those persons among the Dakotahs who lay claim to mysterious, supernatural, or god-like abilities; and they may be divided into two great classes, namely, *Zuya Wakan* (Zoo-yah Wah-kon), and *Wapiya* (Wah-pe-yah); the former signifying *War-prophet*, and the latter, *Renovator*, or *Restorer*.

"The questions which I propose to myself in pursuing this subject, are the following, namely, WHAT ARE THE POWERS OF THE MEDICINE-MEN? HOW DO THEY COME IN POSSESSION OF THEM? and WHAT USE DO THEY MAKE OF THEM?

"It seems to be necessary, first, to advert to the Dakotah divinities, by whom the medicine-men are inspired; while, at the same time, this is a subject into which it is next to impossible to penetrate; for little can be obtained from these men concerning it, except by stratagem; and that which they do disclose is often exceedingly confused and contradictory. One will affirm, another deny, and a third, perhaps, inform you that both the others are wrong. After a residence of eighteen years among the Dakotahs, and embracing every opportunity to acquaint myself with matters of this sort, they are still, in a great measure, involved in mystery.

"The most prominent characteristic of the Dakotah deities, is that which they express by the word *wakan*. This word signifies, generally, any thing which a Dakotah cannot comprehend. Whatever is wonderful, mysterious, superhuman, or supernatural, is *wakan*. The generic name for gods is *Tahuwakan*, *i. e.* that which is *wakan*. The Dakotah, therefore, sees a god in every thing; to use an expression of one of their most intelligent men, 'There is nothing which they do not revere as God.' The chief, and, perhaps, the only difference that exists among the ten thousands of the divinities of the Dakotahs, is, that some are *wakan* to a greater, and others to a less degree; some for one purpose, and some for another; but *wakan* expresses the chief quality of them all — the only quality, I believe, which the Indians deify.

"I have never been able to discover from the Dakotahs themselves, the least degree of evidence that they divide the gods into classes of good and evil; and am persuaded that those persons who represent them as doing so, do it inconsiderately, and because it is so natural to subscribe to a long-established popular opinion. I cannot believe that the Dakotahs ever distinguished the *Great Spirit*, or *Great Wakan*, as they term it, from others of their divinities, till they learned to do so from their intercourse with white men; because they have no chants, nor feasts, nor dances, nor sacrificial rites, which have any reference to such a being; or, if they have any reference to the *Great Wakan*, in any religious act whatsoever, there is satisfactory evidence that it is of recent origin, and does not belong to their system of religion. The acts of worship, which Carver tells us particularly that they performed to the Great Spirit, had no reference to the Deity, though that traveller doubtless thought they had. It is, indeed, true, that the Dakotahs do sometimes appeal to the Great Spirit in council with white men, but it is always as to the being whom the *white man worships*.

"As specimens of the supernatural beings, who, it is believed, preside over the destinies of the Dakotahs, and whose *wakan* qualities are imparted to the medicine-men, I will mention more particularly three or four classes of the most respectable of them.

"The *Onkteri* (Onk-tay-he). — The signification of the name of this class of the Dakotah gods is unknown. In their external manifestation, they resemble the ox, but are very large. They can instantaneously extend their tail and horns so as to reach the skies, and these are the seat of their power. They are male and female, and propagate their kind like animals, and are mortal; which is true of all the gods of the Dakotahs. It is believed that the earth is animated by the spirit of the *Onkteri* goddess, while the water, and the earth beneath the water, is the dwelling-place of the male god. Hence the Dakotahs, in their addresses to the water, in religious acts, give to it the name of Grandfather, and that of Grandmother to the earth. The *Onkteri* have power to issue from their bodies a mighty *wakan* influence, which is irresistible, and which the Dakotahs term *tonwan*. The signification of *tonwan* is quite similar to that of 'arrow,' where it sometimes occurs in the Bible. All the gods are armed with a similar power. One of the *Onkteri* gods, it is believed, dwells under the falls of St. Anthony, in the Mississippi river. A few years ago, at the season when the ice was running, it gorged, and so obstructed the channel between the Falls and Fort Snelling, that the water suddenly rose to an exceeding height. When the pressure became sufficient to open the channel, the water rushed down with a tremendous force which swept all before it; and a cabin which stood on the low bank of the river, near the fort, was carried away, with a soldier in it, who was never afterwards heard of. It is universally believed by these Indians that the whole was caused by the *Onkteri*, who passed down the channel of the river at the time, and that the soldier was taken by him for food, as he feeds upon human souls. The following chant, which is much used in the medicine-dance (*wakan* dance), shows the character of this class of the gods, in this respect:

"'I lie mysteriously across the lake,
Decoying some souls.
Let me eat him alive.'

"The sacrifices which the *Onkteri* requires of his worshippers, are the down of the female of the swan and goose, dyed scarlet, white cotton cloth, deer-skins, tobacco, dogs, medicine (*wakan*) feast, and the medicine-dance. Subordinate to the *Onkteri* are the serpent, lizard, frog, leech, owl, eagle, fish, spirits of the dead, &c. These gods made the earth and men, instituted the medicine-dance, &c., prescribed the manner in which earth-paints must be applied, which have a *wakan* virtue to protect life, and are often worn by the warrior for this purpose on the field of carnage. Among all the myriads of the Dakotah deities, the *Onkteri* is the most respected; and it might be said, without much exaggeration, 'seven times a day they worship him,' or some of the numerous gods which are his subjects.

"The *Wakinyan* (Wah-keen-yon).—The name of this class of the gods signifies *flyer*, from the verb *kinyan*, to fly. As the night-hawk produces a hollow, jarring sound, by a peculiar motion of the wings, so the *Wakinyan* produces the thunder, which the Dakotahs denominate 'the voice of the *Wakinyan*.' It is said by some that there are three varieties of the external manifestations of these gods, and others say that there are four varieties; in character, however, they are but one. One of these varieties in form is black, with a very long beak, and four joints in each pinion; another is yellow, beakless, and has also four joints in each pinion, but only six quills; the third, which is of a scarlet color, is remarkable for the length of his wings, each of which contains eight joints; and the fourth is blue, globular, and has no face, eyes, nor ears; but immediately above where the face should appear, is a semicircular line, resembling an inverted half-moon, from below which project two chains of lightning, which diverge from each other as they descend. Two plumes, like soft down, coming out just above the chains of lightning, serve for wings. Each of these varieties represents a numerous race. The *Wakinyan* created wild rice, and one variety of prairie-grass, the seed of which, in shape, bears a strong resemblance to rice. At the western extremity of the earth (which is a circular plain surrounded by water), is a high mountain, surmounted by a beautiful mound, on the summit of which is the dwelling-place of the *Wakinyan*. Watchers are stationed at each door-way of their dwelling, one of which opens towards each of the four cardinal points. A butterfly stands at the east opening, at the west a bear, a reindeer at the north, and a beaver at the south. Except the head, each of these watchers is enveloped in scarlet down.

"The *Wakinyan* are ruthless and destructive in their character, and they ever exert their mighty power for the gratification of their ruling propensity, at the expense of whatever may come in their way. The enmity which exists among all the classes or races of the gods, is like that which is seen to exist among the different Indian tribes; but the *Wakinyan* and *Onkteri* bear a particular hatred to each other, which is hereditary and deep-rooted, like that which exists between the Dakotah and Ojibwa nations, and neither can resist the *tonwan* of each other's *wakan*. It is unsafe for either to cross the other's track. The fossil remains of the mastodon, which are sometimes found by the Dakotahs, they confidently believe to be the bones of the *Onkteri;* and they are preserved by them most sacredly, and are universally esteemed for their *wakan* qualities, being used with wonderful effect as a sanative medicine. The *Wakinyan* are the Dakotah's chief war-gods, from whom they have received the spear and tomahawk, and those paints which will shield them from harm when exposed to the murderous weapons of their enemies.

"*Takuxkanxkan* (Tah-koo-shkan-shkan).—This god is invisible and ubiquitous. The name signifies 'that which stirs.' In cunning and passion, the *Takuxkanxkan* exceeds any of the other gods, and has a controlling influence over both intellect and instinct. He resides in the consecrated spear and tomahawk, in boulders (which are hence universally venerated by the Dakotahs), and in the 'Four Winds.' The ceremony of the 'vapor bath' is a sort of sacrifice to this god. He is never better pleased than when men fall in battle, or otherwise. The object of that strange ceremony of the Dakotahs, in which the performer, being bound hand and foot with the greatest care, is suddenly unbound by an invisible agent, is to obtain an interview with this object of Dakotah superstition, instead of the Great Spirit, as Carver supposed when he witnessed its performance, as related in his book of travels among the Indians. Subordinate to the *Takuxkanxkan*, are the buzzard, raven, fox, wolf, and some other animals of a similar nature.

"The *Heyoka* (Hay-o-kah).—Of the *Heyoka*, like the *Wakinyan*, there are said to be four external forms; but it would be tedious to particularize. They are represented as being armed with bows and arrows, and deer-hoof rattlers, into which is infused the electric fluid; and one carries a drum, which is filled with the same. For a drum-stick a *Wakinyan* is used, the tail serving for a handle. One of the varieties of these gods, like the *Takuxkanxkan*, is invisible; it is the gentle whirlwind. By the virtue of their medicines and *tonwan* powers, they aid men in seeking the gratification of their libidinous passions, in the chase, in inflicting diseases, and in restoring health. The traits of the *Heyoka* are the opposite of nature, *i. e.* they express joy by sighs and groans, and sorrow by laughter; they shiver when warm, and pant and perspire when cold; they feel perfect assurance in danger, and are terrified when safe; falsehood, to them, is truth, and truth is falsehood; good is their evil, and evil their good. I might proceed with an almost endless specification of Dakotah deities, but those already mentioned will suffice for the present purpose.

"In these, and divinities like these, as various as their imaginations can create, or their wants demand, the Dakotahs find all that they desire. The abilities and powers of the gods, combined, are the abilities and powers of the wakan-men.

"*How do the medicine-men come in possession of these powers?*

"Dakotah wakan-men do not spring into existence under the ordinary operations of natural laws, but, according to their faith, these men and women (for females too are *wakan*) first arouse into conscious intellectual existence in the form of winged seeds, such as the thistle, and are wafted, by the intelligent influence of the Four Winds, through the ærial regions, till eventually they are conducted to the abode of some one of the *Taku Wakan*, by whom they are received into intimate communion. Here they remain till they become acquainted with the character and abilities of the class of gods whose guests they happen to be, and until they have themselves imbibed their spirit, and are acquainted with all the chants, feasts, dances, and sacrificial rites which the gods deem it necessary to impose on men. In this manner some of them pass through a succession of inspirations with different classes of the divinities, till they are fully *wakanized*, and prepared for human incarnation. Particularly they are invested with the invisible *wakan* powers of the gods, their knowledge and cunning, and their omnipresent influence over mind, instinct, and passion. They are taught to inflict diseases and heal them, discover concealed causes, manufacture implements of war, and impart to them the *tonwan* power of the gods; and also the art of making such an application of paints, that they will protect from the powers of enemies.

"This process of inspiration is called 'dreaming of the gods.' Thus prepared, and retaining his primitive form, the demi-god now again rides forth, on the wings of the wind, over the length and breadth of the earth, till he has carefully observed the characters and usages of all the different tribes of men; then selecting his location, he enters one about to become a mother, and, in due time, makes his appearance among men, to fulfil the mysterious purposes for which the gods designed him. It is proper, perhaps, here to state, that when one of these wakan-men dies, he returns to the abode of his god, from whom he receives a new inspiration; after which he passes through another incarnation, as before, and serves another generation, according to the will of the gods. In this manner they pass through four incarnations (four is a sacred number), and then return to their original nothingness. Thus the medicine-man comes clothed with power.

"*What use does he make of it?*

"It would doubtless be impossible for the wakan-man to substantiate his claims with an intelligent and enlightened people, but it is not even difficult to do it among such a people as the Dakotahs. Ignorance is emphatically the mother of credulity; and no absurdity is too great to be heartily received by an ignorant savage, when proposed by one of artful cunning; and such the persons in question generally are, who combine their talents for the benefit of the craft.

"The blind savage finds himself in a world of mysteries, oppressed with a consciousness that he comprehends nothing. The earth on which he treads teems with life incomprehensible. It is, without doubt, *wakan*. In the springs which never cease to flow, and yet are always full, he recognises the 'breathing places' of the gods. When he raises his eyes to the heavens, he is overwhelmed with mysteries; for the sun, moon, and stars are so many gods and goddesses gazing upon him. The beast which he pursues to-day shuns him with the ability of an intelligent being, and to-morrow seems to be deprived of all power to escape from him. He beholds one man seized with a violent disease, and in a few hours expire in agony; while another almost imperceptibly wastes away through long years, and then dies. One he sees prostrated with racking pain in an instant, and then as suddenly restored to ease and vigor; while another drops away unnotified of death's approach, and without any cause which he can perceive. Pains which are excruciating will seize upon one part of the body at one moment—at the next, leap to another part, and then vanish. He finds himself a creature of ten thousand wants, which he knows not how to supply; and exposed to innumerable evils, which he cannot avoid. All these, and thousands of other things like these, to the Indian are tangible facts; and under their influence his character is formed. As, therefore, the tinder is susceptible of ignition, so the Indian mind is ready for deception, and hails with joy one who claims to comprehend these mysteries, to be able to contribute to the supply of all these wants, or to successfully contend with all these intolerable evils; and we are prepared to expect that the wakan-men will put bridles into the mouths of their people. To establish their claims, these men and women cunningly lay hold of all that is strange, and turn to their own advantage every mysterious occurrence. They assume great familiarity with whatever astonishes others; they foretell future events, and often with a sufficient degree of accuracy; those at one village affect to be familiar with that which is transpiring at another village, leagues distant; persons who are almost reduced to a skeleton by disease, in a day or two are as suddenly restored to perfect soundness, by their agency. When famine pinches the helpless infant and its disconsolate mother, and even the proud hunter sits down in the gloom of despair, relief often comes suddenly, in an unlooked-for, and even improbable manner, apparently through the influence of the wakan-men; or, if their efforts are for a time unsuccessful, and the suffering is protracted, it is attributed to the sins of the people. By the mental illumination of the *wakan* fires, obtained by almost superhuman abstinence, watchings, and efforts, they discover the movements of an enemy, wherever he may be; of which fact no doubt remains, when the little handful of warriors are led to victory by these god-men. At times, they appear to raise the storm or calm the tempest; to converse with the lightnings and the thunder, as with familiar friends;

and if one of them happens to be injured or killed by the electric fluid, it only proves the truth of all he had said concerning the *Wakinyan*, and his own disobedience to their mandates. To satisfy the cravings of the gods within them, these persons frequently, with great ceremony, publicly tear off with their teeth and eat the raw and bleeding flesh of slaughtered animals, like starving beasts and birds of prey; thus devouring parts of dogs, a fish entire, not excepting bones and scales; and they even quaff considerable quantities of human blood! By the performance of thousands of wonders such as those enumerated, these pretenders triumphantly substantiate their claims to inspiration, and are believed to be 'the great powers of the gods;' and if some are looked upon as impostors, this fact only serves to enhance the importance of those who, being more crafty, are successful. I do not know an individual Dakotah who does not yield full credence to the claims of some of these impostors; or if there are a few solitary exceptions, it must be attributed to the introduction of Christianity among them.

"As a *priest*, with all the assurance of an eye-witness, the wakan-man bears testimony for the divinities — reveals their characters and will — dictates chants and prayers — institutes dances, feasts, and sacrificial rites — defines sin and its opposite — imposes upon the people a system of superstition to suit his own caprices, with an air of authority which may not be resisted, and with a precision which it would be difficult to exceed; a system so artful, so well adapted to the condition of the Indian, that it weaves itself into every act, is embodied in each individual, and ensures his most obsequious surrender to its demands. Sin consists in any want of conformity to, or transgression of, the arbitrary rules prescribed by the priest, or want of respect for his person; and holiness consists in conformity to these rules, and well expressed respect for the wakan-men; while the rewards and punishments are of such a nature that they may be appreciated by the grossest senses. In the capacity of a priest, the influence of the Dakotah medicine-men is so extensive and complete, that scarce an individual can be found in the nation who is not a servile religionist.

"*The wakan-man as a warrior.* — Every Dakotah warrior looks to the wakan-man as almost his only resource. From him he receives a spear and tomahawk, constructed after the model furnished from the armory of the gods, and painted by inspiration, containing the spirit of the gods, and also those paints which serve as an armature for his body. To obtain these things, the proud applicant is required to become a servant to the *Zuya-wakan*, while the latter goes through those painful and exhausting performances which are necessary preparatory to the bestowment of them; such as vapor-baths, fastings, chants, prayers, &c. The implements of destruction being thus consecrated, the person who is to receive them, wailing most piteously, approaches the war-prophet and presents the pipe to him as to a god; while in the attitude of prayer, he lays his hands upon his sacred head, and penetrated with a sense of his own impotency, sobs out his request in substance as follows: 'Pity thou one who is poor and helpless — a woman in action — and bestow on me the ability to perform manly deeds.' The prophet then presents the weapons desired, saying, 'Go thou, try the swing of this tomahawk and the thrust of this spear, and witness the power of the god to whom they belong; but when in victory thou shalt return, forget not to perform thy vows.' Each warrior is required to paint himself for battle in the same manner that his arms have been painted by the prophet; and may never paint in the same manner at any other time, except it may be in the performance of extraordinary religious rites. In this manner every young man is enlisted for life into the service of the war-prophet. These weapons are preserved as sacredly by the Dakotah warriors as was the 'ark of the covenant,' by the Israelites. They are carefully wrapped up in a cloth cover, together with plumes and sacred pigments, and are laid outside of the tent every day, except in the storm; and may never be touched by a female who has arrived at the age of puberty. Every warrior feels that his success, both in war and hunting, depends entirely upon the strictness with which he conforms to the rules and ceremonies imposed upon him by the *wakan warrior*. The 'armor feasts' are of almost daily occurrence in the Dakotah camp, when the fruits of the chase are sufficient to supply them, at which time these arms are always religiously exhibited. Thus the influence of the medicine-man, as a warrior, pervades the whole community, and it is hardly possible to over-estimate it; it is, however, vastly weakened by coming in contact with civilization and Christianity; and the medicine-men themselves seem to be well aware of the fact, that the dissemination of knowledge among the people tends directly to its destruction.

"*The wakan-man as a doctor.*—In the capacity of a doctor, or *wapiya*, the influence of the Dakotah medicine-man has scarcely any limits. Health is hardly more necessary to the happiness of the Indian than the wakan-man is for the preservation of health. It is believed that they have in their bodies animals (gods), which have great powers of suction, and which serve as suction-pumps, such as the lizard, bull-frog, leech, tortoise, garter-snake, &c. Other gods confer on them vocal powers, and their chants and prayers are the gifts of inspiration. The following, inserted here as a specimen of the chants which are used by these doctors, is evidently from the *wakinyan* god; and the manner of the person using it is such as to impress all present that he is *conscious* that it expresses his own abilities.

INDIAN.

"'Marpiya mibeya wakanyan awakinye;
Maka cokaya ojanjanwaye.
Tatankadan maka nabaza wanke,
Miye wau iyarpewaye.'

TRANSLATION.

"'Flying god-like, I encircle the heavens:
I enlighten the earth to its centre.
The little ox lies struggling on the earth,[1]
I lay my arrow to the string.'

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[1] The suffering patient.

"If the doctors are long without practice, they suffer great inconvenience from the restlessness of the gods within them. To pacify these, they sometimes take blood from the arm of some person and drink it. When one of them, having been respectfully and reverently called upon, and liberally prepaid, is about to operate upon a suffering patient — 'a little ox struggling on the earth' — he has him placed upon a blanket on the ground, in a tent, with the body chiefly naked. He also generally strips off his own clothes, except the middle-cloth. After chants, prayers, the rattling of the gourd-shell, and innumerable other trite ceremonies, and making a variety of indescribable noises, and muttering something like the following, 'The god told me that having this, I might approach even a skeleton and set it on its feet,' he gets down upon his knees, and applying his mouth to the affected part of the patient, sucks with an energy which would seem to be almost superhuman; the gourd-shell still rattling violently. In this manner the god which is in the doctor pumps the disease from the sufferer. After sucking thus for a considerable time, the doctor rises on his feet in apparent agony, groaning so as to be heard a mile if the atmosphere is still, striking his sides, writhing, and striking the earth with his feet so as almost to make it tremble, and holding a dish of water to his mouth, he proceeds with a sing-song bubbling to deposit in the dish that which has been drawn from the sick person. This laborious and disgusting operation is repeated, with short intervals, for hours. The operant is thus enabled not only to relieve the sufferer, but also to discover the sin on account of which he has been afflicted, the spirit of which he sees rush into the lodge, and violently lay hold of the unfortunate sinner, as if he would rend him to atoms. The doctor now makes an image of the offended animal whose enraged spirit he saw, and causes it to be shot by three or four persons in quick succession, when the god that is in him, leaping out, falls upon, not the image, but the spirit of the animal which the image represents, and kills it. Now the sick man begins to convalesce, unless other offended spirits appear to afflict him. Sometimes the doctor is overcome by these spirits and the patient dies, unless one of greater *wakan* powers can be obtained; for they are *wakan* to different degrees, corresponding to the strength of this attribute as it exists in the gods by whom they are respectively inspired. It seems to be the general impression that there are wakan-men who are able to repel any foe to health till the superior gods order otherwise; but it is difficult to obtain their aid; for if they are not properly respected at all times, and well remunerated for their services, they let the sufferers perish without exerting their power to save them; doing their work deceitfully. It is also believed that they can inflict diseases as a punishment for sins committed against themselves, and that death is often the effect of their *wakan* power. When they thus kill a person, they cut off the tip of his tongue and preserve it as a memento of the fact. The people stand in great fear of these medicine-men, and when sick will give all they possess, and all they can obtain on credit, to secure their services; and will often give a horse for a single performance.

They are always treated with the greatest respect, and generally furnished with the best of everything; and if there are impostors, this fact turns decidedly to the advantage of those who are believed to be true. There are from five to twenty-five of these men and women at each of the villages, most of whom have a fair reputation and considerable employment; and that, notwithstanding these Indians are now receiving so much aid from persons of our own people who follow the medical profession. I do not believe that an individual Dakotah can be found, who does not believe that these jugglers can heal diseases without the help of vegetable or mineral medicines, except as this faith has been destroyed by the introduction among them of science and Christianity; and, even at this day, the persons who do not employ them as *wakan* jugglers, are very few indeed.

"Thus the Dakotah wakan-men, in their various capacities, exert an influence which flows from the centre to the circumference of Dakotah society — an influence which is deeply felt by every individual of the tribe, and controls all their affairs, except as it has been partially interrupted by coming in contact with civilization and Christianity; and, for reasons too obvious to need to be mentioned, they, as a class, combine their influence to oppose the introduction of knowledge generally, and religious knowledge in particular, among their people. As wakan-men, each in particular, and all together, are not only useless, but a decided and devouring curse to their nation, on whose neck, mentally and morally, they have firmly planted the iron heel of priestly despotism: and, until they are put down by the mighty operations of the Divine Spirit, through the word of Christ, they will effectually baffle any effort to elevate and civilize the Dakotahs."[1]

In these superstitions of the Dakotahs, there is much to remind the historical student of the wild and incoherent theories once common among the original tropical tribes of northern Mexico. To that quarter of the continent some of the northern traditions point, as the place of their origin; from the tropics, as we are led to infer from climatic affinities, their ancestors brought the zea maize and the tobacco plant. It would appear that the Vesperic tribes made less use of the theory of demi-gods, impersonations, dryads, or wood-dæmons, and stellar magic, than did the tribes who resided on the confines, and in the heart of Mexico; and we should incline to this belief, did we not perceive in the legends and lodge stories of the northern tribes, which are frequently related as creations of imagination, that demigods, giants, wizzards, and spirit-craft, in all its wildness, constituted a prominent part of the poetic machinery of their legendary lore.[2]

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[1] Vol. IV., p. 642.

[2] Vide Algic Researches; also, The Myth of Hiawatha: Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co.

CHAPTER III.

ALGONQUIN MYTHOLOGY AND SUPERSTITIONS.

To convey some idea of the mythology, beliefs, and superstitions of the Algonquins, it is necessary to remark, that they (and here is a strong point of analogy between them and the ancient idol worshippers) conceive the universe to be filled with invisible spirits. This spirit-life the Indians believe bears the same relation to matter that the soul does to the body. The Algonquins regard spiritual matter as infinitesimal, and believe a soul alike pervades all animate creation, the brute as well as the human. *They believe that every animal has a soul;* and the necessary consequence is, as might be expected, no distinction is made by them between the impulses of instinct and the powers of reason. Every animal is supposed to be endowed with a reasoning faculty; and the movements of birds, beasts, reptiles, insects, as well as of every other class of the brute creation, are deemed to be the result, not of mere instinctive animal impulses, implanted and limited by the Creator, without power to exceed or enlarge them, but of a process of ratiocination. According to their theory, a bear reasons as well as a man. They even go a step farther, and believe that animals, particularly birds, can see into, and are familiar with, futurity, and with the vast operations progressing in the arcana of spiritual life. Hence the great respect they pay to birds, as agents of omen; and also to some quadrupeds whose souls they expect to encounter in another world. Nay, it is a settled belief among the northern Indians, that animals will fare better in another sphere, in the precise ratio that their lives and enjoyments have been curtailed in this world. Herein will be perceived what we shall, for the sake of being understood, call the *sensuality of spirituality*—that is, material things made spiritual, and then degraded to the position of sensual accidents. The spiritual world of the Indian is not, therefore, such in a piatistic sense, but merely as opposed to materiality.

In these leading doctrines of an oral, and of course varied school, may be perceived the groundwork of their mythology, and the general motives which operate on the Indian mind, in selecting birds and beasts as personal manetos. Maneto is simply a synonyme for spirit, and there is neither a good nor a bad meaning attached to the word, when not governed by some adjective, or qualifying expression. Not only are all animate objects regarded as endowed with the powers of spirits, but, as the language provides inflections of its words, through the use of which all inanimate objects may, by grammatical transformations, be invested with supposititious life, the whole inanimate creation comes under the rule; including, as prominent agents, the class of aerial fluids, mists, clouds, and exhalations; the rays of the sun and moon, the light of the stars, and all electric phenomena. To these must be superadded the countless creations of a fertile imagination, in order to comprehend the multiplicity and variety of objects comprised in the Indian mythology. The classification of subordinate spirits into good and bad, is remarkably vague, and as various as the minds of individuals; for, the same object which one deems to be propitious, another will consider baneful. The intention of the person by whom these objects are worshipped, or invoked, being the only rule of classification, bad men among them, who follow soothsaying, and practise the arts of the meta, the wabena, and the jossakeed, have a very wide field from which to select, and, by a little ingenuity, can so manage their resources as to bring a large circle under their influence. We learn, from the confessions of Chusco,[1] that the theory of the art practised by these men teaches, that the evil spirit imparts energy to whatever object is assumed as a personal maneto, and becomes, as he distinctly announced to us, *the animating soul* of that object. It could hardly be conceived that the idea of a universal spirit could be carried to a greater extreme of latitudinarianism and sensuality; yet, it may be asked, what more benign result could have been expected, or can now be anticipated, from an ignorant and wandering people, subject to innumerable external wants, and exposed to countless trials, without the guidance of the Light of Revelation? Mr. Pond remarks that the Dakotahs have no duality in the class of wakans.

Some of their mythological subjects are adapted to, and might become, the theme of poetic effusions, by that peculiar license accorded to the imagination of the ancient poets. *Manabozho* may be considered as a sort of terrene Jove, who, though he lived on the earth, could perform all things, and excelled particularly in feats of strength and manual dexterity, yet feared manitos. He survived a deluge, which is spoken of in their mythology; having climbed to the summit of a high mountain, where he remained until the subsidence of the waters. The four cardinal points are personified, and the winds from each of these points are each assigned a distinctive government. The west, called *Kabean*, is regarded as the oldest, and east, north, and south are considered to be his sons by a maid, who incautiously exposed herself to the west wind. *Iagoo* is the god of the marvellous, and to him is referred the paternity of many most extravagant tales concerning forest and domestic adventures. *Kwasind*, a counterpart of Samson, uplifted and hurled from him a huge mass of rock, such as the Cyclops cast at Mentor. *Weeng*, the god of sleep, is represented to have numerous small emissaries at his command. He reminds us of Pope's creation of gnomes, wielding a tiny club, who clamber upon the foreheads of individuals and cudgel them to sleep. *Paugak* personifies death. It would be easy to extend this enumeration of personages; but those named will serve to indicate the character of this class of supposititious beings, who constitute the familiar personifications of conversation. There is no character of sacredness attached to them, nor are they worshipped in any manner.

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[1] New York Theological Review.

Dreams they consider to be a medium of direct communication with the spiritual world; and hence the great influence which they exert over the Indian mind. They are considered as beneficent indications made to them by their personal gods. An entire army will retrace its steps if the dreams of the officiating priest are unfavorable. To give a character of greater solemnity to his office, the carved or stuffed images of animals, charms, and bones, constituting the *sacred reliquæ*, are placed in a sack, and never exhibited to the common gaze, except under the most imperative circumstances. To profane the medicine-sack would be like violating the altar. Dreams are objects of solicitude to every Indian youth, who assiduously seeks to produce them by fasting. These fasts are sometimes continued a great number of days, until the devotee becomes pale and emaciated. Those animals, the images of which impress themselves on the mind of the dreamer, are assumed as personal spirits, and are ever after regarded as guardians. This ceremony of fasting and dreaming is deemed as essential by them, as the observance of any religious rite whatever would be by Christians.

The naming of children has an intimate connection with this supposed mythological agency. Names are usually bestowed by some aged person, a relative or not, who acts under the presumed guidance of his favoring spirit or spirits. Names are commonly derived from aerial phenomena, or from the classes of animate creation. Little Thunder, Bright Sky, Big Cloud, Spot in the Sky, Spirit Sky, are common appellations. The names thus bestowed with ceremony in childhood are deemed sacred, and are seldom pronounced, from an apparent belief that it would be displeasing to the spirits under whose supposed influence the name had been selected. In the family circle, the children are usually called by some other name, which can be familiarly used. By the mother, a male child is usually denominated *bird*, or *young one*, or *old man*, as terms of endearment; or *bad boy*, *evil doer*, &c., in the way of light reproach; and these appellations frequently adhere to the individual through life. But the name solemnly bestowed at the time assigned therefor, when there is usually a family feast, is seldom or never uttered by the parents, who content themselves by saying "my son," "my elder or younger son," or "my elder or younger daughter," for which the language has separate words. When an individual is asked his name he is reluctant to mention it; a fact noticed by all writers. If pressed, his real name is stated by some third person; or, if he attempts compliance himself, he commonly gives his *soubriquet*.

The Indian "art of mystery," applied to hunting, is a tissue of necromantic reliances.

The personal spirits are invoked to promote success in the chase. Their images are often carved in wood, or drawn, by the metais, on tabular pieces of wood; and the mystic medicines, applied to these images, or figures, are supposed to operate in such manner on the animal sought for, that he voluntarily enters the hunter's path. When the animal has been killed, the Indian feels that, although it is an authorized and lawful prey, yet there is something like accountability, not to God, but to the animal's soul. An Indian has been known to ask the pardon of an animal he has just killed in the chase. Drumming, shaking the rattle, and dancing, are the common accompaniments of all their superstitious observances, and are not peculiar to one kind alone. In the wabena dance, which is esteemed by the Indians the most latitudinarian, love-songs are introduced.

The system of maneto-worship is marked by another peculiarity, which has an intimate bearing on Indian history, as illustrative of character. During the fast, ceremonies, and dances, by which a warrior prepares himself for active participation in the toils and duties of war, everything that savors of effeminacy is discarded. The spirits which preside over bravery and war are alone relied on, and these are supposed to be offended, if the votaries pay attention to objects less stern and manly than themselves. It would be considered a complete desecration if a warrior, while engaged in war, would profess any other than Platonic love for an individual of the opposite sex. We think this principle has not been duly estimated, in the general award of praise which history bestows on the chastity of Indian warriors. It is not alone purity of thought, or an innate phlegmatic temperament, which has caused him to pursue a course of honorable respect to female character; but he has also felt a fear of offending his warlike manetos, and of exciting the ridicule of his companions. We would record the fact in his favor, and award him as full a meed of praise as has been already done.

The mental traits of the Indians constitute a topic which we do not intend to discuss; but it must be manifest that some of the fundamental peculiarities of their intellectual organization are developed by their system of mythology, and superstitious observances. War, public policy, hunting, strength, courage, abstinence, and endurance under seffering, form the principal topics of their oratorical efforts. These are deemed the appropriate themes of men and warriors. But there is also a domestic theatre for intellectual display, where the Indian mind unbends itself, and reveals some of its less obvious traits. We have had occasion to observe, that their best and most popular speakers are referred to as standards of purity in language, and models for imitation in the mode of pronunciation and intonation, so closely observed. Their public speakers cultivate a particular branch of oratory; but they appear to have an accurate ear for the rythm of a sentence, and a delight in rounding off a period: the language affords great facilities for this purpose, by its long and stately words, and multiform inflections. A current of thought, a lofty style, is observable in their public speaking, which is not developed in private conversation. Hence it is, that those among them who excel in private conversation, are not always orators. They generally become, however, where a good memory accompanies the gift, the oral chroniclers of the tribe, and collect all their floating fables and tales. In the rehearsal of these, transformations are frequently relied upon as the groundwork of the fable; and some of them are as accurately adapted to the object of amusement, or instruction, as if Ovid himself had been consulted in their production. According to their notions, several animals had other forms, in their first stages of existence, which they lost, rather by the power of necromancy, than by transmigration. The evening star, it is fabled, was formerly a woman. A small boy became one of the planets. Three brothers, travelling in a canoe, were transformed into stars. The fox, the robin, the mouse, and numerous other animals, retain places in Indian astronomy. It is a coincidence, worthy of note, that Ursa Major is called by them the Bear. The earth is also a fruitful theatre of transformations. A shell, lying on the shore, was changed into the raccoon; the present name of which animal, *aisebun*, signifies shell, with the inflection indicating the past tense; for it is one of the peculiarities of the language, that nouns, as well as verbs, admit of tensal forms. The brains of an adultress were converted into the *addikumaig*, or white fish. This power of transformation was variously exercised, but most commonly possessed by magicians, of whom Manabosho retains much celebrity in story, as the magician of the lakes. He had a magic canoe, which would rush forward through the water, on the utterance of a charm, at a speed outstripping even that detailed in "Wacousta," in the miraculous canoe-journey. Hundreds of miles were traversed in so many minutes. The charm which he employed consisted of a monosyllable, containing one consonant, which does not belong to the language. The word has no definable meaning; so that the language of magic and dæmonology has one feature in common, in all ages, and with every nation. To be at the same time a demigod and magician, was consistent with Indian ideas.

The intellectual creations of the Indians admit of the agency of giants and fairies. Their giants, termed *ween-degos*, were generally cannibals, who devoured men, women, and children. Their fairies comprise two classes, into which they are divided according as the location of their haunts is either on the land, or in the water. The favorite residence of their land fairies is the vicinity of promontories and water-falls, and in solemn groves. Besides furnishing a habitation for its appropriate class of fairies, the water is supposed to be the residence of an animal called *nibau-auba*, which has its counterpart, except as to sex, in the mermaid. The Indian word indicates a male. Ghosts are the ordinary subjects of their tales of terror and mystery. There is a glimmering of the doctrine of retributive justice, in the belief that ghosts can live in fire, and that this is one of the frequent modes of their manifestation.

As we have partially entered on the subject of Indian intellect, as influenced by popular superstition, it would be but a natural transition to an examination of some of the considerations which their existing ceremonies and institutions furnish, to countenance the belief of their Ephraimitic origin, which is a theory of the old divines, who had not, however, access to the best means of supporting it. But the limits of this article do not admit of it. Enough has been stated regarding them to indicate their claims on the benevolent and high-minded classes of the community. We will not say these claims press exclusively on the American churches, as the tribes are objects of their strenuous efforts; although we may, in the sequel, advert to some considerations which should have great weight with them, in view of their responsibilities to the heathen tribes of our own land as distinguished from those of the Asiatic continent.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN THEORY OF THE ACTION OF THE MIND DURING SLEEP.

DREAMS exert a more marked influence on the religious opinions and acts of the Indians than any other operating cause. Two terms are used to express the word "dream" in the Algonquin language. *Inâbundum* refers to that panorama of sensations presented to the mental vision during sleep. The *apowa*, as contradistinguished from this, is a vision, or sacred dream.

Dreams being generally regarded as revelations, are sought to be procured by abstinence and fasts. Among every class they are anxiously courted, and are explained by the medas and jossakeeds, wise men, who constitute, in Indian society, the learned class. Youth and age alike pay respectful deference to these nocturnal warnings; and, when the male youth attain the age of puberty, revelations of this kind are sought with much solicitude, and their advent promoted by rigorous fasts. As at this time a guardian spirit must be chosen for life, these fasts are continued for several days; no nourishment at all being taken, with the exception of water; and, as the fast constitutes a period of ceremonial and religious trial, the parents of the youth do everything in their power to encourage him to perseverance. Under the operation of these causes, some object in animate nature is usually presented to the imagination in an inviting manner. This animal is adopted as the guardian or personal maneto of the individual during life. This spirit is not, however, the Indian's *totem*, or symbol of the family tie, or clanship (which is also generally the figure of some bird or animal), but exclusively a personal maneto.

The *jebi* is a ghost or apparition, and the mind is called *inaindum*. *Otchichaug* is the soul, or semblance of the human frame or organization, after its dissolution. The three terms are, therefore, not convertible, or synonymous. But the action of the soul is inseparable from the operation of dreams. It is an opinion of the Indians—I know not how universal—that there are duplicate souls, one of which remains with the body, while the other is free to depart on excursions during sleep. After the death of the body, the soul departs for the Indian elysium, or the Land of the Dead; at which time a fire is lighted, by the Chippewas, on the newly-made grave, and re-kindled

Plate 2

Drawn by Capt^{n} A.A. Gibson. U.S.A.

Eng^{d} by J.C. M^{c}Rae

NOCTURNAL GRAVE LIGHT

nightly, for four days — the period allowed for the person to reach the Indian elysium. This practice, which is common, it is believed, to all the Algonquins, is of a very impressive character. The scene is represented in the accompanying plate.[1]

Having requested a Chippewa Indian to explain the duality of the soul; "It is known," he replied, "that, during sleep, while the body is stationary, the soul roams over wide tracts of country, visiting scenes, persons, and places at will. Should there not be a soul, at the same time, to abide with the body, it would be as dead as earth, and could never reappear in future life." The theory of the sensations experienced by the mind during sleep, and the operation of the flitting train of active memories and fancies, has been frequently described in highly refined and imaginative language; but this ingenious mode of detailing its operation is, it is believed, the first attempt of the kind ever made by an Indian.

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[1] Vol. V., Plate II.

CHAPTER V.

IROQUOIS COSMOGONY.

THE interpretation of an Iroquois tradition requires a great degree of caution, there being always something concealed by metaphor, or to be explained by after investigation. The mental reservations of the Indian are numerous, and his communications always clothed in figurative language. Still greater circumspection is requisite where the object of research is confessedly mythological, or relates to mysterious agencies. Subjoined, is a copy of a written mythology of the Six Nations, from the pen of the late James Dean, Esq., of Oneida county, New York. Mr. Dean had, from the period of his boyhood, passed his life among the Oneidas, spoke their language fluently, was familiar with their manners and customs, and ever enjoyed their respect and regard. In introducing a paper which is rather marked by plain understanding than by imaginative or descriptive power, it may be observed that no effort has been made to re-construct it, and no change whatever made, which has not been deemed essential to the explanation of the Indian theory.

"An unlimited expanse of water once filled the space now occupied by the world we inhabit. Here was the abode of total darkness, which no ray of light ever penetrated. At this time the human family dwelt in a country situated in the upper regions of the creation, abounding in everything conducive to the comfort and convenience of life. The forests were full of game, the lakes and streams swarmed with fish and fowl, while the earth and fields spontaneously produced a profusion of vegetables for the use of man. An unclouded sun enlivened their days, and storms and tempests were unknown in that happy region.

"The inhabitants were strangers to death, and its harbingers, pain and disease; while their minds, freed from the corroding passions of jealousy, hatred, malice, and revenge, were perfectly happy.

"At length, however, an event occurred which interrupted their tranquillity, and introduced care and anxiety, till then unknown. A certain young man, of high position, was observed to withdraw himself from the circle of their social amusements. The solitary recesses of the grove became his favorite walks; care and chagrin were depicted in his countenance; and his body, from long abstinence, presented to the view of his friends the mere skeleton of a man. Anxious friends again and again vainly solicited to know the cause of his grief, until, debilitated both in body and mind, he yielded to the importunities of his associates, and promised to disclose the cause of his troubles, on condition that they would dig up by the roots a certain white pine tree, lay him on his robes near the edge of the hole, and seat his wife by his side. Complying with his request, all were ready, and the fatal tree was taken up by the roots, in doing which the earth was perforated, and a passage opened to the abyss below. The robe was placed by the side of the opening, and the youth laid thereon; his wife taking her seat by his side. The multitude, eager to learn the cause of such strange and unusual conduct, pressed around; when, on a sudden, to their horror and astonishment, he seized upon the woman, then enciente, and precipitated her headlong into the darkness below; then, rising from the ground, he informed the assembly that he had for some time suspected the chastity of his wife, and that having now disposed of the cause of his mental suffering, he should soon recover his usual health and vivacity. All the birds and amphibious animals which now inhabit the earth, then occupied the watery waste, to which the woman in her fall was hastening.

"The loon first discovered her coming, and called a council to prepare for her reception. Observing that the animal which approached was a human being, they knew that earth was indispensably necessary for her accommodation. The first subject of deliberation was, who should support the burden. The sea bear first presented himself for a trial of his strength. Instantly the other animals gathered around, and seated themselves on his back; but the bear, unable to support the weight, sunk beneath the surface of the water, and was judged by the whole assembly unequal to the task of supporting her, and her prerequisite, the earth. Several others in succession presented themselves as candidates for the honor, and with similar ill-success. Last of all, the turtle modestly advanced, tendering his broad shell as the basis of the earth, now about to be formed. The beasts then made trial of its strength to bear weight, and finding their united pressure unable to sink the turtle below the surface, adjudged to him the honor of supporting the world. A foundation being thus provided, the next subject of deliberation was, how to procure earth. It was concluded that it must be obtained from the bottom of the sea. Several of the most expert divers went in quest of it; and uniformly, when they rose to the surface of the water, they were dead. The mink at length took the dangerous plunge, and, after a long absence, his carcass floated to the surface. By a critical examination, a small quantity of earth was discovered in one of his claws, which he had scratched from the bottom. This being carefully preserved, was placed on the back of the turtle. In the meantime, the woman continued falling, and at length alighted on the back of the turtle. The earth had already grown to the size of a man's foot, when she stood with one foot covering the other. Shortly after she had room for both feet, and was soon able to sit down. The earth continued to expand, and soon formed a small island, skirted with willow, and other aquatic plants and shrubbery; and at length it stretched out into a widely-extended plain, interspersed with rivers and smaller streams, which, with gentle current, rolled forward their tributary waters to the ocean. Atahentsic,[1] the woman, then repaired to the sea-shore, erected a habitation, and settled in her new abode. Not long after she became the mother of a daughter, and was supported by the spontaneous productions of the earth until the child arrived at adult years. She was then selected in marriage by several animals, changed into the form of young men. The loon first presented himself as a suitor, in the form of a tall, well-dressed, fine-looking young man. After due consultation with the mother, his suit was rejected. Several others presented themselves, and were rejected by the mother; until, at length, the turtle, with his short neck, short bandy legs, and humped back, offered himself as a suitor, and was received. After she had laid herself down to sleep, the turtle placed upon her abdomen two arrows in the form of a cross, one headed with a flint, the other with the rough bark of a tree, and took his leave. She, in due time, became the mother of two sons, called, in Iroquois, Yoskiki and Thoitsaron,[2] but died in giving them birth. When the time arrived that the children should be born, they consulted together about the best mode of egress from their place of confinement. The youngest determined to make his exit by the natural passage, whilst the other resolved to take the shortest route, by breaking through the walls of his prison; in effecting which he consequently destroyed his mother, thus giving the first evidence of his malignant disposition. The grandmother, enraged at her daughter's death, resolved to destroy the children, and, taking them in her arms, threw them both into the sea. Scarcely had she reached her wigwam, when the children appeared at the door. The experiment of drowning them was several times repeated, but in vain.

"Discouraged by her ill success, she determined to let them live. Then, dividing the corpse of her daughter into two parts, she threw them upwards towards the heavens, when the upper part became the sun and the lower part the moon, which is the reason why the latter has always presented the form of the human face. Then began the succession of day and night in our world. The children speedily became men, and expert archers. The elder, whose name, in Oneida, was *Thau-wisk-a-lau* (a term expressive of the greatest degree of malignity and cruelty), had the arrow of the turtle pointed with flint, and killed with it the largest beasts of the forest. The younger, whose name, in the same dialect, was *Tau-lou-ghy-au-wan-goon* (a name denoting unbounded goodness and benevolence), had the arrow headed with bark. The former was, on account of his malignant disposition, and his skill and success in hunting, a favorite with his grandmother. They lived in the midst of plenty, but would not permit the younger brother, whose arrow was not sufficiently powerful to destroy anything but birds, to share in their abundance. As this young man was one day wandering along the shore, he saw a bird, perched upon a bough projecting over the water. He attempted to kill it; but his arrow, till that time unerring, flew wide of the mark and sank in the sea. He determined to recover it; and, swimming to the place where it fell, plunged to the bottom. Here, to his astonishment, he found himself in a small cottage. A venerable old man, who was sitting in it, received him with a smile of fraternal complacency, and thus addressed him: 'My son, I welcome you to the habitation of your father. To obtain this interview, I have directed all the circumstances which have conspired to bring you hither. Here is your arrow, and here is an ear of corn, which you will find pleasant and wholesome food. I have watched the unkindness both of your grandmother and your brother. While he lives, the earth can never be peopled; you must, therefore, take his life. When you return home, you must traverse the whole earth; collect all the flint-stones into heaps which you find, and hang up all the bucks'-horns. These are the only things of which your brother is afraid, or which can make any impression upon his body, which is made of flint. They will furnish you with weapons, always at hand, wherever he may direct his course.' Having received these and other instructions from his father, he returned to the world, and began immediately to obey his father's directions. This being done, the elder at length resolved on a hunting excursion. On their way to the hunting-ground, he inquired of the younger what were the objects of his greatest aversion. He informed him (falsely) that there was nothing so terrific to him as beech-boughs and bulrushes, and inquired in turn of *Thau-wisk-a-lau* what he most dreaded; he answered, nothing so much as flint-stones and bucks'-horns, and that nothing else could injure him; and that lately he had been much annoyed by them wherever he went. Having arrived at their place of destination, the elder went in quest of game, leaving the younger to attend to the menial occupation of erecting his hut, and preparing such other accommodations as he required. After an absence of some time, he returned exhausted with fatigue and hunger. Having taken a hearty repast, prepared by his brother, he retired to his wigwam to sleep; and when he had fallen into a profound slumber, the younger kindled a large fire at its entrance. After a time, the elder found himself extremely incommoded by the heat; and the flinty materials of his body, expanding by its intensity, were exploding in large scales from his carcass. In a great rage, and burning with revenge, he broke through the fire in front of the hut, hastened to a neighboring beech, armed himself with a large bough, and returned to chastise and destroy his brother. Finding that his repeated and violent blows had no effect upon his brother, who pelted him with flint-stones and belabored him with bucks'-horns, which caused the flinty scales to fall from his body in copious showers, he betook himself to a neighboring marsh, where he supplied himself with a bundle of bulrushes, and returned to the contest, but with the same want of success. Finding himself deceived, and failing of his purpose, he sought safety in flight. As he fled, the earth trembled. A verdant plain, bounded by the distant ocean, lay before him; behind him, the earth sunk in deep valleys and frightful chasms, or rose into lofty mountains or stupendous precipices. The streams ceased to roll forward their waters, and, bursting their barriers, poured down the cliffs in cataracts, or foamed through their rocky channels to the ocean. The younger brother followed the fugitive with vigorous steps, and wounded him continually with his weapons. At length, in a far distant region, beyond the savannahs of the west, he breathed his last, and loaded the earth with his flinty form.[1]

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[1] Vol. I., page 316.

[2] Ibid., page 317. These are the symbolical principles of Good and Evil.

"The great enemy of the race of the turtle being destroyed, they came up out of the ground in human form, and for some time multiplied in peace and spread extensively over its surface.[2] Atahentsic, the grandmother, roused to furious resentment for the loss of her darling son, resolved to be revenged. For many days successively, she caused the rain to descend in torrents from the clouds, until the whole surface of the earth, and even the highest mountains, were covered. The inhabitants fled to their canoes, and escaped the impending destruction. The disappointed grandmother then caused the rains to cease, and the waters to subside, when the inhabitants returned to their former places of abode. She then determined to effect her purpose in another manner, and covered the earth with a deluge of snow. To escape this new evil they betook themselves to their snow-shoes, and thus eluded her vengeance. Chagrined at length by these disappointments, she gave up the idea of destroying the whole human race at once, and determined to wreak her vengeance upon them in a manner which, although less violent, should be more efficacious. Accordingly, she has ever since been employed in gratifying her malignant disposition, by inflicting upon mankind all those evils which are suffered in this present world. Tarenyawagon, in Oneida, *Tau-lou-ghy-au-wan-goon*, on the other hand, displays the infinite benevolence of his nature by bestowing on the human race the blessings they enjoy, all of which flow from his bountiful providence. This personage afterwards dwelt among his brethren under the name of Hiawatha. The name Tarenyawagon, literally translated, is 'the Holder, or Supporter of the Heavens.' Hiawatha was the minister of Tarenyawagon, and agent of his good will to mankind."

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[1] Supposed by the Indians to form the lofty range of the Rocky Mountains.

[2] The Oneidas, so long as they were Pagans, used to show the precise spot of ground, a small hollow, where they said their ancestors came up.

SECTION TWENTY-SEVENTH.

INDICIA FROM LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE.

LANGUAGE is one of the most reliable aids to the student of the mental organization of the Indians. The tribes had not, until the advent of the very modern Cherokee Cadmus, in 1824, made the least progress towards the invention of signs by which to express sounds, but made use of the lowest form of the hieroglyphic art. In their attempts at mnemonic pictography, their invention was tasked to its fullest extent to produce ideographic representative figures — a crude method of recording inscriptions, by which some memorial of past transactions was figured on trees, bark scrolls, and rocks. No effort was made to produce a system of vocal notation. The pictographic artist made use of a series of figures, having the character of nouns in grammatical definition — action being inferible from the proximity of the devices. The ancient nations of the Euphrates employed the cuneiform character in the record of their actions; and the inhabitants of the Nile possessed a phonetic system; but the American tribes, it appears, came to this continent without either alphabet, phonetic sign, or digit. Still, their languages had fixed vocabularies, and there were mental laws, older than letters, prescribing the practical bearing of one idea upon another. These vocabularies were made up from primary sounds, or particles, indicating objects and acts, which denoted affiliation. There was a mental rule, which prescribed how the nominative should be distinguished from the objective. Inflections were employed to distinguish numbers and personal plurals. Even in the least advanced tribes, the necessity of expressing an adjective sense was experienced. Black and white, red and green, were required to be denoted; the light of the sun must needs be contradistinguished from the gloom of night; and the location of an object, whether high or low, above or beneath, within or without, called for the use of such an adjunct. Others followed. In most of the languages, the quick repetition of the same syllable implies a superlative signification; a peculiar inflection of the verb transforms it into a substantive; there are also tensal and multiplied forms of syllabification. These peculiarities of language are common among circles of tribes, and afford a clue to their history.

No column or shaft exists, to afford an evidence to posterity that the Indians of the United States were ever skilled in architectural art; no inscriptions, of a higher grade than those of primitive pictography, record the triumphs of one tribe over another. Their true monuments are comprised in their languages. The simple terms used by the child to express the names of its father and mother, of the sun and moon, of light and darkness, constitute elements in the primary material of the linguistic edifice, which must serve, for historical data, in lieu of imposing monuments of marble and brass. On this basis, one of the incontrovertible truths of ethnology reposes.

In prosecuting an inquiry into the affiliations and history of the Indian tribes of this continent, there is certainly nothing which presents so fruitful a field for research, or promises to yield so great a fund of information, as the study of their languages. Mere manners and customs must ever depend, in a great measure, on the agricultural productions, the natural history, and the geographical phenomena, of a country. The introduction of the horse, the sheep, and the hog, on this continent, but three centuries and a half since, has very greatly changed the habits and customs of many of the prairie tribes. Tribes of the Shoshonees, of the Rocky Mountains, by migrating into the plains of Texas, became possessed of the Spanish horse, and their customs have been changed by its use; they are now the bold and warlike Comanches; while the parent tribe, wandering on those bleak and elevated summits, still subsists on larvæ and roots. The same effects have followed the introduction of this animal amongst the predatory bands roaming along the Upper Missouri, and over the vast steppes of Oregon; while the Chippewas, and other tribes of the Algonquin stock resident on the upper lakes, where the long and severe winters preclude the spontaneous growth of food adapted to the wants of the horse, still rely, for the means of locomotion, on their favorite canoe, and for subsistence on the products of the wide-spreading waters of the lakes and streams. These are the effects of climate, and of the fauna, on the development of a tribe.

The conquering Iroquois, whose war-cry was so long potent on this continent, adhered to their primitive mode of water conveyance, in their kaowas, and pursued their long overland marches, requiring more than Lacedæmonian endurance, during the entire epoch which witnessed the introduction of civilization on the continent. Nor did they adopt the use of the horse until a very recent period, when they discarded the tomahawk, and embarked in agricultural pursuits. A new era has been inaugurated in their history; and whoever visits their reservations in the western extreme of New York, will find the once proud and belligerent Iroquois driving oxen, following the plough, and speaking the English language, as a necessary auxiliary to the transaction of business. The process by which such results have been produced in this nation was not, in an ethnological sense, a very long one; but it was very severe, and has been remarkably effectual. The alternative presented was, simply, to WORK or DIE; and I doubt whether any of the numerous tribes resident within the area of the United States will be released by Providence on easier terms.

These, and similar changes of manners and customs, are essentially the resultant effects of climate, geography and natural history, and afford no clue whatever to the ancient history of the Indians. The languages of the tribes, however, similate a historical chart, upon which we can trace back the tribes to the period of their original dispersion over this continent, and mark their linguistic relations. By developing those frequently obscure connections, we are enabled to perceive that a single genus or family of tribes, speaking one common language, occupied the shores of the Atlantic, from North Carolina to the mouth of the St. Lawrence—thence extended westward through the great lake basins to the sources of the Mississippi, and down the left bank of that stream to the mouth of the Ohio; that another genus were residents of the country surrounding the southern prolongation of the Alleghanies, or Appalachians proper; and that a third genus had burst, with its sonorous language, and as if with Vandalic impetuosity, into the central and western area of New York. These three stocks were the Algonquins, Iroquois, and Appalachians.

In calling attention to the peculiarities of one of three leading stocks, I would have been pleased to offer more extended illustrations, than would be consistent with the space at my command. The examples offered are therefore less full than could be wished, yet more extended, it is apprehended, than may be thought interesting by the general reader.

The Algonquin language has been more cultivated than any of the North American tongues. Containing no sounds of difficult utterance, capable of an easy and clear expression, and with a copious vocabulary, it has been the favorite medium of communication, on the frontiers, from the earliest times. The French at an early period made themselves masters of it; and, from its general use, it has been sometimes called the court language of the Indian. In its various ethnological forms, as spoken by the Delaware, Mohican, Shawnee, Miami, Illinois, Chippewa, Ottowa, Pottawattamie and Kickapoo, and by many other tribes, it has been familiar to the English colonists, from the respective eras of the settlement of Virginia, New York, and New England.

The plan of thought, revealed by an examination of the Algonquin language, differs the farthest possible from that which an Englishman, or an American, employs. Its object is, not to express elementary sounds, but to combine, it would seem, as many ideas as practicable in a single expression. There is a constant tendency to accretion in the syllabification. Words are ever the representatives of associated, not simple, thought. A word grows by clothing the original idea with auxiliary and explanatory meanings. Dr. Lieber has called these languages polyphrastic. The Indian is, at all times, a being of fears. Placed in the forest, surrounded by dangers, he fears, and is suspicious of everybody and everything. He notices with astonishing quickness every sound of the voice and of the elements. This trait is traceable even in his linguistic forms. He fears to be held to account, or to be misapprehended; and when he recites what he thinks a spirit might overhear and condemn, he omits particulars which would give offence, or invents dubitative forms. Neither does he subsequently compress or reorganize his forms of speech. As the language is not written, and he has no scholars, the redundancies of meaning, the defects and inelegancies, go on from century to century, running more into concrete forms, and, with the lapse of ages, diverging farther and farther from the primitive stock. Verbs and nouns form, as it were, but the chain of thought, into which pronouns, adjectives, and other adjuncts are interwoven, merely as the woof. But it is all of a piece—all are woven together on one plan. It has been said to be polysynthetic; yet the synthesis exhibits a remarkable unity. It is, *sui generis*, pollysyllabic indeed, but not properly polysynthetic. It is rather unasynthetic; the plan of thought is a unity. There is a oneness of thought, by which the whole train of Indian conceptions is made to conform to the same rules of grammar; and this peculiarity in their lexicography links most of our tribes together in one generic family, more closely than mere coincidences of sound. For, wherever the structure of their language is examined, they are found to think, if they do not speak, alike. No trait is more characteristic of our Indian languages than their *word-building capacity,* which is very prominent in the Algonquin. They revel in the power of combination. Taking the root of a noun, or verb, they add particle to particle, until, like an edifice which has received numerous additions, it is made to cover a great space, and often to rise to a height, which rather dazzles the eye than adds to its conveniences. But, by the power of analysis, these words are readily resolved into their elements, and evidence the existence of laws of combination which are regular and philosophic. To examine these rules need occupy but a few moments' attention here.

The Indian, in any view, is no analyst. He estimates things *in the gross,* and hastens to unburthen his mind in the same way. If an animal or object is black, or white, or assumes any striking peculiarity, this idea must accompany, and be expressed by, the radix. Both the noun and the verb, in fact the entire vocabulary, is encumbered with these declarative and descriptive inflexions. To see, to love, to eat, are always said in an adjective sense of what is seen, loved, or eaten. The infinitive is entirely ignored. The Indian's thoughts crowd closely upon him. If he love or hate, the object, whether it be in the animate or inanimate class of creation, must at once be indicated by a transitive inflection. *Inini,* is man—*homo;* and the verb *saug,* is the *amo* of the language. But an Algonquin cannot say, "I love a woman," or, "I love a pipe, or gun," without letting this principle of classification appear by transitive inflections; showing that the one object belongs to the animate, and the others to the lifeless or inanimate class. In order to denote this principle, the entire vocabulary is divided into two classes, viz: animates and inanimates. The animates terminate in the letter *g*, the inanimates in the letter *n*. If a word terminates in either of the vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, the orthography of the animate class, to be precise, and conform to the Indian grammar, must be *ag*, *eg*, *ig*, *og*, or *ug*. But if it be of the inanimate class, the terminations become *an*, *en*, *in*, *on*, *un*. This is not still the sum of the inflections used to express class, for, if the vowels be long, or broad, the terminations are *aig*, *eeg*, *oog*, or *oag*, in the animate, and *ain*, *een*, *oon*, or *oan*, in the inanimate. This principle in the grammar takes the place of gender, which it at the same time destroys. There are no masculine or feminine genders; neither are there masculine or feminine pronouns. The language resembles, in this respect, what, we are told by Gesenius, the old Hebrew was in the days of the Pentateuch, viz: destitute of sexual distinctions—having no separate pronouns to express *he* and *she*.

Another important function is performed by these inflections for class, which is, that they denote the number of the noun and verb, and, in the conjugations, supply the place of objective pronouns. The following tabular view will impress these principles on the mind, while the exhibit serves materially to simplify rules which, at first, assume a character of complication. Of this nature is the rule for eighteen modes of forming the plural, when it is perceived that there are, in reality, but two, and these of the simplest kind; and, while this object is attained, the gender, or class, of words is at the same time designated. "Tell me," said my instructor, "how the plural is formed, and I will tell you the class of every word in the language."

1. *Plural and class in* A, *as in* Day.

Ojibwa,	A Chippewa.	*Ojibwä-g*,	Chippewas (Animate).
Shayta,	A Pelican.	*Shayta-g*,	Pelicans "
Mayma,	A Woodpecker.	*Mayma-g*,	Woodpeckers "
Sugema,	A Mosquito.	*Sugema-g*,	Mosquitos "

2. *Plural and class in* E, *as in* Freedom; I, *as in* Machine.

Ojee,	A Fly.	*Ojee-g*,	Flies (Animate).
Azandee,	A Poplar Tree.	*Azandee-g*,	Poplars "
Opechee,	A Robin.	*Opechee-g*,	Robins "

3. *Plural and class in* I, *as in* Pin.

Inini,	A Man.	*Inini-g*,	Men (Animate).

4. *Plural and class in* O, *as heard in* Moan.

Ahmo,	A Bee.	*Ahmo-g*,	Bees (Animate).
Mittig,	A Tree.	*Mittig-og*,	Trees "
Moz,	A Moose.	*Moz-og*,	Moose "

5. *Plural and class in* U, *as heard in* Drug.

Ais, ...	A Shell.	*Ais-ug*, ...	Shells (Animate).
Shesheeb, ...	A Duck.	*Shesheeb-ug*, . . .	Ducks "
Keegoi,[1]	A Fish.	*Keegoi-ug*, ...	Fish "

The plural being ascertained, the class is determined. But the class terminations can never be affixed indiscriminately to any given word; the final letter, *g*, being interchangeably an animate, and the letter, *n*, an inanimate.

These distinctions must be constantly observed by the speaker, and in this manner inflection is often piled on inflection, and affix and suffix added to radix, till the lexicography, graphic and descriptive as it generally is, assumes a formidable character to the eye, as well as to the ear. The accumulation of auxiliary ideas is not always, to European ears, productive of poetic sounds; but, in our geographical nomenclature, this object is so often attained, as to have ensured universal admiration. The names of Ontario and Niagara, Peoria and Missouri, Ticonderoga and Talladega, will long continue to impart a pleasing cadence of sounds in our geographical terminations, when the people who first bestowed them shall have passed away. An analysis of these names develops a singularly terse mode of combination, of which the term Ontario may be taken as an example. In this word, the syllable *on* is the radix for "hill" and "mountain," characteristic of some parts of its shores. *Tar* is from *dar*, the radix for "rocks standing in water;" and *io*, the felicitous termination of a compound term for "the beautiful in a water landscape," which is heard also in the word Ohio. These particles are Iroquois.

In tracing the principles of the Algonquin language, the oldest words are found to be substantives. Objects seen, or referred to, generally precede the ideas of motion, quality, or position. The radix, *os*, is the primitive for "father;" but it admits of little use in expressing personal distinctions, and is seldom or never heard, without at least the pronominal signs, *n*, *k*, *w*, or *o* — rendering the word *nose*, or *nosa*, "my father;" *kos*, or *kosa*, "thy father;" *os*, or *osun*, "his or her father." In these terms, pronominal signs represent full pronouns, which is a common rule. The letters, *n*, *k*, *w*, and *o*, in these cases, are fragments of the pronouns, *neen*, "I;" *keen*, "thou;" *ween*, "he," or "she;" which, in other combinations, are also employed in their segregated or elementary forms. But this is not the case with the positively *inseparable* pronouns, which are, in their character, strictly suffixes. Thus, *aindaud* signifies "a home or place of living or abiding;" *aindauyaung* is "*my* place of living;" *aindauyung*, "*thy* place of living;" *aindaud*, "*his*, or *her*, place of living;" and so on, throughout all the persons and numbers. In these cases, *yaung*, *yung*, &c., are the inseparable pronouns, and can only be employed as inflections of the verb.

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[1] The *oi* here is a diphthong.

When verbs are constructed from nouns, they have their nominative in ā, as *chimā*, "to propel," from *chimāun*, "a canoe;" *paush-kiz-zigā*, "to fire," from *paush-kiz-zegun*, "a gun, or firelock;" *puketā*, "to strike," from *puketāigun*, "an implement for inflicting blows." *Gee*, or *geez*, the radix for the sun, evidently preceded in origin, *geez-is*, the modern name for that planet, which conveys an adjunct meaning. *Nod* is the radix for "wind;" and the inflection *in*, in the modern word, *nodin*, merely transfers it to the inanimate class.

In conversational expressions, the substantive must generally precede the verb. "I see a man" — *Inini waubuma, i. e.*, "Man I see." "Give me apples" — *Mishemin meesizhin*, "Apples give me." "Have you any fish? *Keegōi-ke-di-a-unuh?* "Fish have you any?" In converting verbs, with the infinitive or indicative present form, into substantives, the inflection *win* is simply subjoined.

Kegido	To speak.[1]	*Kegido-win*	Speech.
Paupi	To laugh.	*Paupi-win*	Laughte
Annoki	To work.	*Annoki-win*	Labor.
Onwaybi	To rest.	*Onwaybi-win*	Rest.
Nebau	To sleep.	*Nebau-win*	Sleep.

Prepositional senses are conveyed by the inflections, *aing*, *eeng*, *ing*, *oong*, &c.

Throw it into the fire	*Puggidon-ishkod-aing.*
Go into the plain	*Mushkod-aing-izhan.*
He is in the elm-tree	*Unnib-eeng-iau.*
It is on the water	*Nib-eeng-attai.*
Look in the book	*Inaubin-muzziniegun-ing.*
What have you in the box?	*Wagonanattaig-mukuk-oong?*

Diminutives are formed by inflections in *ais*, *ees*, *os*, *aus*. It has been said that the superlative is formed by a duplication of the first syllable, and this may be regarded also as an augmentative.

The Indian is one who, whatever may be thought by the auditor of what appears to be an undistinguishable rhapsody of words, has a quick and correct ear for his vernacular sounds, notes the ungrammatical use of the classes, and derides the imprecision of the jargon of trade. He is an adept in the use of accents, quantity, and stress of voice, which are the life of his language, and never misplaced by him, nor employed with a false utterance. The whole force of his language, its very vitality, depends on the proper use of these. The designation of the class of objects is the test of grammmatical accuracy, and constitutes the true rule for estimating a good speaker, and, it may be remarked, there is no distinction in Indian society so much appreciated as the reputation of being a good orator. Sassacus and Miontonimo, Pontiac and Tecumseh, may occupy prominent positions as warriors in Indian reminiscence, but Garrangula and Cannassatigo, Logan, and Red Jacket, were honored and admired by the Indians as orators and, indeed, by the entire world, for their simple and eloquent mode of expressing aboriginal thought.

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[1] For "he speaks."

It is doubtful whether any man, born beyond the precincts of the wigwam, or not reared under the influence of the Indian council-fire, has ever attained to perfection in speaking the Indian language, in giving it the proper accentuation and stress of utterance, or in comprehending the minute laws of its syntax, and revelling, so to say, in the exfoliation of its exuberant transpository expressions. I have witnessed the effects of its stirring appeals in the brightening eyes of an excited auditory, as the speaker directed their thoughts to themes of thrilling interest. He seemed to move their hearts with such a talismanic power, that they were ready to seize the lance and rush forth to a perilous encounter, without allowing a controlling thought to restrain them. And, what is far more remarkable, I have observed the transporting effects produced by the voice of an Indian convert to Christianity — a Mongazid, or a John Sunday — who, with an entirely new group of thoughts and reasoning, depicted the Great Spirit, whom they had ignorantly adored in the clouds, under the true name by which he is revealed in his Word. Such men, knowing the emptiness of their former beliefs from their own experience, subdued their hearers by a bold appeal to the power of truth, which they could not resist, and before which they bowed contritely and submissively.

Under the influence of such feelings the Indian no longer regards the Great Spirit as the mere ruler of the elements, but realizes the adaptability of his incarnation to the needs of a frail and erring humanity. Having arrived at this conviction, he raises his voice in the spirit of prayer, uttering that comprehensive petition: "*Nosinaun gezhigony abiyun; Takinjinaunjigad eu kedishinikazowin.* My Father in heaven abiding; hallowed be thy name." The language itself, though so long devoted to the expression of mere objects of sense, is, however, adapted to convey the leading thoughts of Christianity. It either already contains, or admits of, the formation of words, which are equivalents for sin, repentance, faith, a Saviour, and man's destitution of innate righteousness. The knowledge of this fact enables us to comprehend why Eliot and the Mayhews, in 1640, and Brainerd, in 1744, produced such amazing effects on the Indian mind, converting it completely to the principles of the gospel, and winnowing from it, as it were, the chaff of its long-cherished monetoästic and demoniac reliances. But this subject requires caution, time, and study: the work of a translator is one of vast labor.

In examining the principles of the Algonquin language, its curious pliancy of forms, and the applicability of its syllabic power to express new ideas, there is danger of imprecision, and of committing errors in its interpretation, precisely in proportion as the subjects are of an abstract character, or have a novel or critical import. I have seen a version of the gospel in this language, in which the whole mystery of the Incarnation is nullified by the substitution of the expression "young woman," for "virgin," and by giving to some of the figurative teachings of the record a meaning utterly at variance with their import. This perversion of meaning results from the employment of interpreters, well versed, it is true, in the native tongue, so far as is required by the necessities of trade and ordinary conversation, but who, with a Bartimean indistinctness, see gospel truths only as "trees walking."

An analysis of the forms of the language would seem to indicate that it was founded on a limited number of monosyllabic stock particles, substantive, verbal, adjective, and pronominal — such as the radices for "fire, air, earth, water, father, mother, child; God, sun, moon, sky, star; cloud, rain, sound." Analogous syllabic nuclei form the verbs "to move, to grow, to see, to strike, to eat, to run, to live, to die." This rule holds good also regarding the radii of all suffixed, prefixed, or inserted syllables, expressing adjunct ideas. These still constitute, at the present day, the stock particles of the language, each having a well recognised, but generic, meaning. . Thus, "motion" and "to move," are the nuclei of the verbs "to walk, to run, to strike, to wave the hand, to grow," &c. These stock particles constitute the frame-work of the word-building power, the adjuncts of the grammar surround them as a garb, and they adhere by the simplest rules of syntax. If two consonants or two vowels come in contact in these accretions, one must be dispensed with; for there is no orthographical law more generally observed in syllabification than the one which directs that, for the sake of euphony, a vowel must either precede or follow a consonant. Where two vowels coalesce, as the ultimate and penultimate, they are pronounced as open vowels, and independent members of the sentence. Hence the rhythm of the language. Such words as Ontario, Oswego, Chicago, Potomac, Alabama, and Monongahela, are examples of this peculiarity.

A more critical research into the grammatical structure of the language will develop the fact, that the mental exuvia of constructiveness, as also the pertinacious adherence of the Indians to normal forms (the scaffolding which is left after the edifice is complete), and not the results of the ratiocination of synthesis, have given rise to duplications of meaning, redundancies, and other defects, as well as to the almost innumerable accumulation of forms and inflections, which have originated what have been called agglutinations. The ear of the Indian is not only critically accurate in the appreciation of sounds, but his mind also is fascinated by them; and it is evident that, at no period in their history, has the syntax been revised, and the cumbrousness of its forms reduced to a compact system. According to the natural classification, nouns and verbs have, strictly speaking, but three personal pronouns. "*I, thou.*" and the epicene, "*he*, or *she*."

These are changed into the plural, not by the use of such words as "*we, they, them,*" but by the numerical inflection of the verb; for it is a rule that pronouns in the objective case are distinguished from those in the nominative by the number of the verb, which is always an inflection. So that the sense is, by comparison with the English, as if we should say, not "I love," but "I loves," or "love does;" "I runs," for "I run," &c. The pronoun is also retained in the phrase as well as the noun; as, "John, *he* runs," instead of "John runs," &c.; denoting that the language could not have had a refined origin.

Number is formed by adding the letter *g* to the final vowel of all words of the animate or vital class, and the letter *n* to those of the inert or inanimate class. To the learner this simple arrangement at first presents an appearance of intricacy, but the system is soon found to be both regular and musical; for, if the singular end in *a, e, i, o, u*, the plural is changed to *ag, eeg, ig, og, ug;* and, if the word ends in the broad sound of *a* or *e*, we have two more forms, ending in *aig*, and *oag*, making seven kinds of plurals in the animate class. There are also seven kinds of plurals in the non-vital, or inanimate class, ending in *an, een, in, on, un*, or, for the broad vowels, in *ain* and *oan*. Thus, it will be perceived, there are fourteen modes of denoting the number which governs, as well as produces, a rythmical flow of language. This requires a thorough knowledge both of the grammar and the vocabulary.

Much of the apparent obscurity surrounding the noun is thus removed; but a much greater difficulty is encountered in the use of the verb and pronoun; for the very same vowelic rule of number pervades both parts of speech. When an Algonquin has pronounced the *amo* of his language, "*saug*," his next object is to add the person to it. This is done, at first, by prefixing the pronoun *neen*, "I," or its pronominal sign, *n;* but the verb must also denote the person beloved. He cannot speak in an infinitive sense. To do this, the particle *eā* is subjoined to the radix, making *saug-ea*—a particle derived from one of the great primary roots of the language; *i-e-au* signifying being or existence. In this connection it is the succedaneum for *you*, and, of course, *him* or *her*. There remains but one step more to render the expression plural, which is effected by suffixing the common animate letter *g*, rendering it *saugiaug*.

It was a mistake of the older inquirers into the construction of our Indian languages, to suppose that these tongues possessed no word for the expression of the substantive verb. The conclusion was, doubtless, drawn from the fact, that the Indians did not employ it in their ordinary colloquial terms; never saying, "I *am* sick," "I *am* well," &c.; but, merely, "I sick," "I well," &c. Neither is it otherwise used, at this day, in the Algonquin dialect; the reason for which is, that the verb "to be" is appropriated to the deity, and it is regarded as presumptive, or disrespectful, to apply it to human passions. *Iau*, the generic word for existence, is the radix for the Supreme Being, in which sense it may be supposed to convey the meaning of *ah* and *jah*, in words of the same import in the Hebrew.

The Indians appear to attach a peculiar importance to the expression, in its elementary forms; but their compound words abound with particles derived from it. Inquiry also renders it clear, that their medais, wabenas, and hieratic doctors use the verb "to be," in its elementary forms, in their declarative and boasting societarian and mystical songs. The performer, in these secret associations, when he has uttered the phrase, *Nin-dow-iau-iaun*,[1] or *Ni-mon-i-dowh*,[2] assumes very much the air of one who has uttered a sacred, if not sacrilegious, sentence, or as if, in so doing, he usurped the power or attributes of a God.

The radix for Great Spirit, in the numerous Algonquin tribes, is *mon*; in those of the Iroquois stock, *nio* — varying to *nioh* and *niuh*. The continent is denominated Great Island, or Island of the Great Spirit.

The radix for an island, in the Natic vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indians, was *menoh*; in the Delaware, *munah*; in the Shawnee, *mena*; in the Chippewa, *minis*; and the term varied in the numerous other known Algonquin dialects. In the Iroquois group, the radix was *weno*; in the Mohawk dialect, *kaweno*; in Oneida, *kahwano*; in the Onondaga, *kahwana*; and in the Cayuga, *kaweighno*. Generally there is a root-form, or radical particle, *on*, or *around* which, as a nucleus, all the adjuncts or contingencies of a word are concentrated. Thus *gee* is the radix for an orb, or heavenly phenomenon, while *gee-zis* is the sun, and *gee-zhig*, the sky. By putting the prefix *dibik*, meaning dark, or night, before this term, the moon is denoted. Thus, also, the radix *anu* is restricted to the higher atmospheric phenomena; by adding the formative inflection, *ng*, the word *star* is expressed; and by the use of the formative *ogud*, we have the word *cloud*. It is a favorite mode with the Indian speaker, in an accumulative language, rather to use prefixes or inflexions, or fragments of disintegrated terms, in connection with a radix, than to employ another and different radix, or to attempt to form a new one. This system denotes its antiquity.

Tense is expressed as simply and regularly as number. The verbs are conjugated, not by auxiliary verbs, but by adding tensal inflections to the terms for moods, and at the same time declining the prefixed pronouns by a similar method. Thus, by prefixing the first pronominal form, *ne* or *nen*, "I," to the tensal particle *ge*, the sense is, "I did, or was;" by prefixing *gah*, "I shall or will;" and by *gahgee*, "I shall or will have." The addition of the inflection *guh* forms the imperative, and *dah* the potential mood. Meantime the verb has its ordinary inflections for number. It has a perfect past tense ending in *bun*; there is a supplicatory form of the imperative, in *binuh*; and an interrogative in *nuh*. There is also a declarative form in *iwh*, or *owh*, the use of which is almost entirely confined to the hieratic circle of their priesthood. Thus a man can, by an inflection, change his personality, exclaiming, *Ni-mon-i-douh*, "I am a Maneto, or deity."

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[1] This is the generic form of the verb "to be," with a prefixed expression, made up of the first person, and the word *ow*, signifying *body*, or *person*.

[2] I am a spirit, or personate a spirit.

After all that has been written on the subject, the root-form of the verb remains the same, in all its numerous conjugations, and additions of prefix, suffix, and inflection, except in those minor alphabetic disorganizations, required by the cohesion of letters, and the law of euphony. In *four thousand and fifty* changes for tense and person in the verb *waub*, "to see,"[1] the integrity of this form is, throughout, maintained. Thus the multiplication of forms arises, not from the use of distinct tenses and persons, but from adjective or adverbial significations appended to the radix; as, "I see perfectly, imperfectly, partly, doubtfully, good, bad," &c.; or from negations, or dubitative senses. These voices of the Indian verb throw a false garb of refinement, in distinctions of person and tense, about it; but these are really crudities, and prove that the grammar has never been reformed by erudition, or systematized by logical thought.

The Algonquin language has no words for the expression of oaths; an Algonquin can neither swear nor blaspheme. The deity can be addressed, on solemn occasions, but it must be done with reverence or respect. On first beginning the study of the language, I endeavored to subject it to the test of that mystic text contained in the 14th chapter of Exodus, "I am that I am," and received this affirmed equivalent: NEEN DOW IAU WIAUN. Of this expression, the anti-penult and the penult, the syllables *iau* and *iaun*, are derivatives from the Algonquin verb "to be;" *iau* signifying the present and past tenses of the first person.

There is an anomalous dual in the language, used to express the word *we*, the object of which is to *include*, or *exclude*, the person or persons addressed. If an Algonquin should say, "We agree in what you have said," or "We dissent from it," the form of the word *we*, and, of course, *you*, *they*, and *them*, must denote whether the objective person and the speaker be of the same, or of another family, lodge, clan, or tribe. *Weenawau* is the inclusive, *keenawau* the exclusive, form of the pronoun. As neither of these terms appear to be, theoretically, applicable to the Deity, I was solicitous to ascertain, when I began to study the language, how prayer could be addressed to God, who could not be said to be of the family, clan, &c., and who would seem to lose all near personality by a rigid exclusion. Converts cut the grammatical knot by calling the Supreme Being, *Nosa*, "my father;" the precise term familiarly used in speaking to, or of, the father of a family.

There is a delicate mode of alluding to the dead, without mentioning the word death. It is done simply by suffixing the particle of the perfect past tense, *bun*, to the deceased person's name. Thus, "Pontiac;" the nominative, *Pontiac-ebun*, "the late Pontiac." Or, to make the rule more clear to the comprehension of an English scholar, suppose allusion is made to an honored name, fresh in our recollection, and meriting our respect: as, "Clinton," nominative; *Clinton-ebun*, objective; meaning "the late Mr. Clinton." Thus, by putting a man's name in the perfect past tense, the Indian denotes his death.

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[1] Vol. IV., pp. 297–388.

We are of the number of those who think that our Indian languages possess characteristics which have been greatly overrated on the one hand, and as greatly decried on the other. They form a medium of communication admirably adapted to all the purposes of Indian life, and capable of almost unlimited application and extension. To a vocabulary not multiform in its roots, they apply a system of elimination which enables the speaker, by the formation of derivatives and compounds, to multiply and re-multiply words and expressions in a manner, of which the English language gives not the slightest conception. Not only the subject noun, but its qualities, and its position; the persons, nominative and objective; and the action of which it is the active, passive, or reflective object, are all indicated in a single expression. This concrete character of the language gives to some of its words a copiousness of expression, which a rigid, monosyllabic language, like our own, does not possess; and the meaning conveyed by some single Indian words, would, in the English language, require an entire sentence for their explanation. The great art requisite is, to seize upon the principle of combination. The objection to this process of word-making is, that the expressions are inconveniently long; which defect is not, however, apparent in an oral language, but is very strikingly developed when it comes to be written—and written, as it usually is, without the aid of accents, to guide the pronunciation. Many of its concords, too, appear superfluous; such as its double indications of tense and number, and double possessives, &c., creating a rythmical flow of language, which, however, has a tendency rather to the verbose than to the poetic. One of its most ojectionable features appears to us to be the extension of the principle of gender, so far as to neutralize the distinction between masculine and feminine, in its verbal forms, requiring only a concordance in animate and inanimate objects. This does not abolish the use of masculine, feminine, and even sexual nouns, *i. e.*, words restricted in their use to males and females; but it leaves all the pronouns in the condition of mere animates. There is no distinction between *he* and *she*. The languages seem to be replete with resources when applied to the phenomena of nature. The heavens and the earth appear to constitute, in the imagination of the Indian, a symbolic volume, which even a child may read. All that relates to light and shade, to color and quality, to purity or impurity, to spirit or matter, to air or earth, are blended with the subject noun, and are indicated at one exhalation, or prolongation of the breath. *In* the sky, *on* the sky, or *under* the sky; *in* or *on* the water; *by* or *on* the shore; *in* or *on* the tree; *black* or *blue* clouds; *clear* or *muddy* water; *deep* or *shallow* streams; *up* the river, or *down* the river; *in* heaven or *on* earth, are but single words of a simple derivative character. But we have not space to pursue this subject, and will merely add that, unlike the modern cultivated languages, the Indian dialects are all homogeneous in their material, and strictly philosophic, or systematic, in their principles. The general tone of conversation is more elevated in point of thought, than among any analogous class of people in civilized life. The diction is simple and pure; and hence, the most common sentences of their speakers, when literally translated, are remarkably attractive. Exalted and disinterested sentiments are frequently expressed by their sententious polysyllables with a happy effect. In attempts to unravel the intricacies of its syntax, the mind is often led to wonder where a people so literally "peeled and scattered," should have derived, not the language itself, but the principles which govern its enunciation.

NOTE.—The limitation of the present volume prevents the insertion of the remaining papers on Language, embracing the vocabularies, &c.

SECTION TWENTY-EIGHTH.

STATISTICS, TRIBAL AND GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

CENSUS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1736 the French undertook to make an enumeration of the Indian tribes, and reported the number of warriors, or fighting-men, to be 16,403, which, at the usual ratio of computation, represented a population of 82,015 souls.[1] Subsequent to the conquest of Canada, and after returning from his western campaign, Colonel Henry Bouquet estimated their numbers at 56,500 warriors,[2] or 283,000 persons. In 1768, Thomas Hutchins, Esq., Surveyor-General of the British colonies, rated their military force more accurately, at 19,830 warriors, indicating an aggregate population of 99,150 souls.[3]

The latter two of these estimates comprise the aboriginal residents of the territory included in the original thirteen British colonies. The French estimate was manifestly confined to the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi, extending to the base of the Rocky mountains, and including all the region west of the Alleghanies and north of New Orleans. At the era of the origination of the American Revolution, the number of Indian warriors to be encountered, as reported to Congress, then located at Philadelphia, was 12,000, being the multiplicand of 60,000.

Variations, contradictions, and gross incertitudes, have marked the enumerations made at all periods. The present census comprehends the Indian population resident within the geographical area of the United States, as now organized, and presents a condensed view of the statistics of all the tribes, as reported to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, within a period of ten years.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 557.

[2] Ibid., p. 559.

[3] Topographical Description, &c.: London, 1768.

TABLE I.

CENSUS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES. 1857.

This Table includes all the Tribes with whom the Government is in communication by Local, or General Agents.

No.	Names.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857. Deduced standard of the decade.	Remarks.
1.	ABSAROKAS	5,300	....	....	....	4,000	....	....	....	....	4,650	4,650	Alpine bands of Rocky mountains. Called Crows by the traders and frontiersmen.
2.	ACOMA	350	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	350	A band of reclaimed Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Table XI.
3.	ADEES	250	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	250	Numbered 27 in 1825. Not estimated among Texas Indians.
4.	ALABAMAS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	The ancient Alabamas are merged into the Creeks.
5.	ALGONQUINS	17,197[1]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Noticed under their respective tribal names.
6.	ANADAKAS	450	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Texas. This tribe is noticed under Ionies and Caddoes.
7.	APACHES	11,000[2]	....	....	6,000	....	....	....	....	....	8,500	8,500	Including Jacarillas and Southern Utahs. Governor Bent's report.
8.	APALACHICOLAS	265[3]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	265	
9.	ARAPAHOES	....	....	....	3,500	2,500	....	....	....	3,000	....	3,000	Table XXII. On the Upper Arkansas and Kansas. Robbers and plunderers.
10.	ARICKAREES	1,300	....	....	1,500	1,200	....	....	....	3,000	1,550	1,990	Tables XI. and XXII. Allied to Pawnees. Wild and treacherous.
11.	ASSINABOINES	15,000[3]	....	....	7,000	6,500	....	....	....	....	7,100	8,900	Stone Sioux. Extending from the Missouri into the Hudson Bay territory.
12.	BEDIES	....	....	25 to 100	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	62[4]	
13.	BLACKFEET	6,480	....	....	....	13,000	....	....	....	9,171[5]	9,470	9,530	Nebraska.
14.	BLOODS	....	800	....	....	1,500	....	....	....	2,450	2,000	1,612	Sasitka family. Upper Missouri. Mitchell's report. This is a band of the Blackfeet tribe — Prairie Minnetarees, Pagans, and Gros Ventres.
15.	BONACKS — PONACKS	....	....	1,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,000	Table XIII. The Rocky mountain bands are included in the Utahs. Others in California and Oregon.
16.	BROTHERTONS	600	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	The Brothertons have assumed civilization, and are to be sought in the census of Wisconsin.
17.	CADDOES — CADRONS	1,500	....	1,450	....	1,200	....	....	....	....	1,550	1,425	Including Madahas of Texas.
18.	CALIFORNIA INDIANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	22,300	Table XXXVI. Not inserted under tribal names.
19.	CALAPELINS	....	....	....	1,200	1,250	....	....	....	....	....	1,225	Table XVIII. Pacific coast of Oregon, &c.
20.	CALIPOAS	....	....	....	60	....	....	....	....	....	....	60	Table XVIII. Pacific coast of Oregon, &c.
21.	CATAWBAS	....	....	....	250	....	....	....	....	....	200	200	Table XXII. South Carolina.
22.	CAYUSE	....	....	....	800[6]	....	....	100[7]	....	....	....	450	Table XVI. Oregon.
23.	CHEROKEES	18,000	....	....	....	26,000	....	17,367[8]	....	....	21,709[9]	21,709	Indian colony west.
24.	CHEHALIS	....	....	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Table XVIII. Oregon. Lane.
25.	CHEYENNES	2,536	....	....	2,500	....	2,000	....	....	....	....	2,345	Table XII. Matlock. Rovers and plunderers.
26.	CHICKASAWS	6,500	....	....	5,715	....	....	....	4,715	....	3,322	5,822	Table II. Indian colony west.
27.	CHINOOKS	....	....	....	100	....	....	....	300	....	....	300	Table XX. Including upper and lower band, and Quenlolts. Washington Territory. Declining rapidly.
28.	CHIPPEWAS	15,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	10,000[10]	....	....	12,500	Living in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.
29.	CHOCTAWS	16,000	....	....	12,760	....	....	....	15,767	....	22,707	22,707	Table II. Indian colony west.
30.	CLACKAMAS	....	....	....	60	60	....	....	....	....	60	60	Table XVIII. Oregon.
31.	CLATACAMIN	....	....	....	200	300	....	....	....	....	....	250	Table XVIII. Oregon.
32.	CLATSOP	....	....	....	50	50	....	....	....	....	....	50	Table XVIII. Oregon.
33.	COMANCHES	14,500	....	20,000	15,000	12,000	....	....	....	....	....	15,375	Tables, Vol. I. and II. Niunas. Texas. Of Shoshonee stock.
34.	COWLITZ	....	....	....	....	120	....	....	154	....	....	137	Table XX. Washington Territory Indians. Stevens' report.
35.	CREEKS	22,207[11]	....	....	25,000	....	....	....	....	....	27,757[12]	27,757	Muscogees, Muscogulges. Indian colony west. Including 882 slaves.
36.	CREES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	800	....	800	Tables XI. and XXII. A name for Kelistenos. Kenistenos. Upper Missouri.
37.	CROWS OF THE YELLOW STONE VALLEY	....	....	....	....	....	4,000	....	....	3,360	....	3,780	Tables XI. and XXII. "Rascals," report of 1852. Called Absarokas.
38.	DAKOTAHS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Same as Sioux. Noticed under their tribal names. Minnesota.
39.	DE CHUTES	....	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Table XVIII. Oregon.
	Total	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	179,961	

[1] Vol. I., p. 873.

[7] Reduced by a war with Oregon.

[2] Vol. III., p. 610.

[8] Vol. IV., p. 583.

[3] Vol. III., p. 311.

[9] Table II.

[4] Catlett's Report, 1849.

[10] Vol. IV., p. 609

[5] Stevens' Report, including Piegans.

[11] Vol. IV., p. 575.

[6] Stevens' Report.

[12] Table II.

TABLE I. [CONTINUED.]

No.	Names.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857. Deduced standard of the decade.	Remarks.
40.	DELAWARES	....	....	....	1,500	....	....	....	....	902	....	1,201	Table XV. Vol. I. Lenno Lenapi of early history. Mahingans and Loups, of the French.
41.	EEL RIVER INDIANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Miamies.
42.	EL PASO PUEBLO	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	150	Estimate from Table XXVIII. A Pueblo band. New Mexico.
43.	ERIES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Extinct. A few persons supposed to be incorporated with the Catawbas.
44.	EUQUATOPS	....	....	....	2,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Texas. Included in Apaches.
45.	FLATHEADS, EAST	....	....	....	....	....	....	380	....	....	....	350	Table XVII. In Rocky mountains, and heads of Missouri, Oregon, and Washington.
46.	FLATHEADS, WEST	....	320	....	800	....	....	....	....	....	....	410	Table XVIII. Salish family. Oregon.
47.	FOLLE AVOINES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	A name for Menomonees. Wisconsin.
48.	FOXES AND SACS	1,850	....	....	2,400	....	....	....	....	....	2,000	2,089	Transferred to Kansas.
49.	FRESNOS OF CALIFORNIA	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,837	....	....	1,337	Vol. IV., p. 608.
50.	GROS VENTRES	1,350	....	....	3,000	....	800[1]	....	....	....	....	1,212	Same as Minatarees of Upper Missouri.
51.	GROS VENTRES OF THE PRAIRIES	....	....	....	2,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,500	Table XI.
52.	HOKAMISH	....	....	....	800	....	....	....	....	....	....	600	Homanish, Tuanoh, &c. Oregon.
53.	IROQUOIS	3,753[3]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Table IV. Inserted under tribal heads.
54.	IONIES	....	....	450	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	450	Table XXVII. includes Caddoes. Texas.
55.	IOWAS	....	....	....	744	....	....	....	438	....	....	616	Table XXII.
56.	ISLETTA PUEBLOS	....	....	....	....	751	....	....	....	....	....	751	Table XXVIII.
57.	JEMEZ	365	....	....	....	365	....	....	....	....	....	365	Table XXVIII.
58.	JICARILLAS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Apaches. New Mexico.
59.	KANSAS	....	....	....	1,000	....	....	....	....	1,375	....	1,457	Table XXII., Vols. I. and II.
60.	KASKASKIAS	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Transferred to Kansas.
61.	KEECHIES	....	....	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Texas. Mixed with Wacoes and Towecarros.
62.	KICKAPOOS	....	....	....	600	....	....	....	....	....	....	600	Vol. I., p. 523.
63.	KILLAMUCK	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	200	Table XVII. Oregon.
64.	KIOWAS	....	....	1,500	2,000	....	2,800	....	....	1,375	....	1,918	Table XXII. Vols. I., III. and IV. Rovers on the sources of Red river and Kansas Territory.
65.	KOOLSATICARA	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Estimated in Comanches.
66.	KONIC AND KATHLAMET	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Spokans.
67.	LAGUNA PUEBLOS	150	....	....	....	749	....	....	....	....	....	749	Table XXVIII. Pueblos of New Mexico.
68.	LENNI LENAPEES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Delawares.
69.	LENTIS PUEBLOS	50	....	....	....	210	....	....	....	....	....	210	Table XXVIII. Pueblos of New Mexico.
70.	LIPANS	200	....	800	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	350	Table XXVIII., Vol. I., p. 518. Apache stock.
71.	MAKAW INDIANS	....	....	1,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,000	Table XVIII. Washington Territory. Lane.
72.	MANDANS	1,500	360	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	330	Reduced by the small-pox in 1838.
73.	MARIPOSA INDIANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3,407	....	....	3,407	Vol. IV., p. 608.
74.	MENOMONIES	....	....	....	2,500	....	....	....	....	1,930	....	2,215	Table XXII. Tables, Vol. I.
75.	MENDAWAKANTONS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Sioux.
76.	MERCEDE INDIANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	280	....	....	280	Vol. IV., Letter N, p. 608.
77.	MIAMIES	....	....	....	800	....	....	....	....	353	....	417	Table XXII.
78.	MINNATAREES	....	....	....	2,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Inserted under Gros Ventres. Upper Missouri.
79.	MISSOURIAS	....	600	....	500	....	....	....	....	....	....	550	Table XXII.
80.	MOHAWKS	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	New York census of 1845. Fled to Canada on the close of the Revolutionary War. Iroquois.
81.	MOHAVES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Colorado river. Number unknown.
82.	MOHICANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Returned by their tribal names of Stockbridges, &c.
83.	MOQUES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,450	New Mexico. Vol. I., p. 245.
84.	MUNSEES	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Delawares and Stockbridges.
85.	MUSCALEROS	....	....	....	1,500	....	....	....	....	500	....	1,000	Tables XXII. and XXVIII. Texas. Apaches.
86.	NADOWASIE	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	A synonym for Sioux. Inserted under the name Sioux and Dakotahs. An old term disused.
87.	NAMBE	....	....	....	....	111	....	....	....	....	....	111	Table XXVIII. Vol. III., p. 633. New Mexico. Pueblo.
88.	NARRAGANSETTS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	420	Returned at 420 in 1825. Vol. III., p. 633.
89.	NAVAJOES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,000	Vol. I., p. 245.
90.	NEOSHO SENECAS, AND SHAWNEES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	320	....	....	320	Vol. IV., Letter H, p. 590.
91.	NEW MEXICAN INDIANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,500	Not inserted by their separate names, both hunter and Pueblo tribes.
	Total	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	44,909	

[1] Table XI.

[3] Notes on the Iroquois, p. 32.

TABLE I. [CONTINUED.]

No.	Names.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857. Deduced standard of the decade.	Remarks.
92.	NEZ PERCES			1,800				1,700				1,600	Oregon. Tables XVII. and XVIII. Stevens. Lane.
93.	NIUNAS											....	Inserted under under the name of Comanches.
94.	NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES				710				710¹			710	Vol. IV., Letter M, p. 607.
95.	NOTTOWAS	47³										47	Remains of Virginia tribes.
96.	OGILLALAS				1,300						450	875	Tables XI. and XXXIII. Upper Missouri. Of the Sioux stock.
97.	OKINAGANS			700				550				626	Tables XVII. and XVIII. Washington Territory.
98.	OMAHAWS	1,000			2,000							1,500	Table XXII.
99.	ONEIDAS OF NEW YORK	157								249		249	Table XXII.
100.	ONEIDAS OF GREEN BAY	722								978		978	Table XXII.
101.	ONONDAGAS	268						472		349		407	Table XXXIV.
102.	OREGON INDIANS			20,078								11,539	Table XVIII. Inserted, chiefly, under tribal names.
103.	OSAGES	6,000			4,561				4,941			4,500	Vol. IV., Letter H, 590. Vernacular name, Washbasha.
104.	OTOES		600	900	560							750	Table IX.
105.	OTTOWAS	1,500			2,242					1,200		1,667	
106.	PASSAMAQUODDIES											379	Reported in 1825. Vol. I., p. 583.
107.	PAWNEES	17,000								4,000⁸		4,000	Nebraska Territory.
108.	POJOAQUE PUEBLO					48						48	Table XXVIII. New Mexico Pueblos.
109.	PENOBSCOTS	297										297	Reported in 1825. Vol. III., p. 583.
110.	PENOINTIKARA											....	Included in Comanches.
111.	PEORIAS				150					74		112	Table XXII.
112.	PIANKASHAWS				200					70		135	Table XXII.
113.	PICURIS	250				223						256	Table XXVIII. New Mexico Pueblos.
114.	PIEGANS	30,000²										....	Included under Blackfeet.
115.	PONCAS	1,000		800	700							800	Table XI.
116.	POTTAWATTAMIES	3,000			3,200					3,871		3,383	Table XXII. Vols. I. and III.
117.	PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO				7,867							....	Table XXVIII. The reclaimed bands consist of twenty-two Pueblos, who are inserted under their respective names. Vol. III., p. 633.
118.	QUALLIAMISH				560							560	Includes Picanipalish and Sinnamish. Oregon and Washington.
119.	QUAPPAS				400				314			357	Vol. IV., Letter H., p. 590.
120.	REYNARDS											....	French term for Fox tribe, which see.
121.	RICAREES; REES	1,800										....	Table XII. Inserted as Arickarees.
122.	SACRAMENTO VALLEY INDIANS						1,190					1,190	Table XXIX.
123.	SALISH			320								320	Table XVIII. Flatheads.
124.	SAN JUAN				275⁶	568						568	Table XXVIII.
125.	SANTA CLARA				380⁶	279						279	" "
126.	SAN ILDEFONSO				350⁶	139						139	" "
127.	SANDIA				400⁶	241						241	" "
128.	SANTA ANA				300⁶	399						399	" "
129.	SAN FELIPE				275⁶	411						411	" "
130.	SANTA DOMINGA				750⁶	666						666	" "
131.	SAAPTIN											....	A generic for Flatheads. Oregon.
132.	SEMINOLES									2,500		2,500	Table XXII. Vol. I., p. 524. Of the Creek family.
133.	SENECAS OF ALLEGHANY	811			768			757				778	Table XXXIV. Vol. I., p. 441.
134.	SENECAS OF BUFFALO	30										30	" "
135.	SENECAS OF CATTARAGUS	1,261						1,173				1,173	" "
136.	SENECAS OF TONAWANDA	576						661				561	" "
137.	SANPOILS				600							600	Table XVIII. Oregon Territory, in 1850. Vol. I., p. 521.
138.	SHAWNEES				1,600					850		1,225	Table XXII. Shawanoes, Oshawanoes. Old estimate. Vol. I., p. 524.
139.	SHINNECOCKS	200⁷								160		160	Table IV. New York census of 1855. Suffolk Co., Long Island, N. Y.
140.	SHOSHONEES			2,000	1,700							1,850	Table XIII. Excluding Bonacks. This is the generic family of the Rocky mountains. Vol. I., p. 521
141.	SKAGITS				500							500	Table XVIII.
142.	SKAYWHAMISH			450								450	" "
143.	SIOUX	21,600⁹			15,580					27,668		21,616	Table XXII. Dakotah stock. Vide also Vol. I., p. 498.
144.	SINNAMISH				350							350	Table IV.
145.	SISSITONS											....	Included in Sioux.
	Total											71,667	

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¹ Census of North Carolina.

² This is so manifest an excess as to be excluded from the estimate.

³ In 1825. Vol. III., p. 583.

⁴ Vol. I.

⁸ Table XXII.

⁷ Old estimate.

⁶ Vol. I., p. 519. Vol. III., p. 633.

⁹ Vol. III., p. 611.

TABLE I. [CONTINUED.]

No.	Names.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857. Deduced standard of the decade.	Remarks.
146.	SOCCORRO	....	....	....	120	....	....	....	....	....	....	120	Not included in general Pueblos.
147.	SOURIQUOIS	....	....	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Estimate of 1825. Vol. I.
148.	SOWANS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Vol. I., p. 521. Inserted in Cheyennes.
149.	SNAKES	450	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	450	
150.	SNOQUAMISH	....	....	....	500	....	....	....	....	....	....	500	Table XVIII. Estimate. Vol. I., p. 521.
151.	SNOQUALAMICK	....	....	....	350	....	....	....	....	....	....	350	" " " "
152.	STOCKBRIDGES	....	....	....	400	....	....	....	....	....	....	400	Wisconsin, or of Mohigan stock.
153.	ST. REGIS TRIBE	....	....	....	450	....	....	....	....	....	....	413	Table IV. Vol. I., p. 441. Iroquois stock.
154.	SUALTINE	....	....	....	60	....	....	....	....	....	....	60	Table XVIII. Governor Lane. Vol. I., p. 521.
155.	SUCHAMIER	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	" " " " "
156.	SUSSETONWAH	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	A synonym for Sissetons, which see. The native term. Vide Vol. III.
157.	SWAN CREEK AND BLACK R. CHIPPEWAS.	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	200	
158.	TAOS	....	....	....	....	360	....	....	....	....	....	360	Table XXVIII. New Mexico Pueblos. Vol. III., p. 633, pop. 119.
159.	TAWACARROS	....	....	....	400	361	....	....	....	....	....	380	Included in Pueblos of New Mexico. Vol. III., p. 633, pop. 168.
160.	TESUQUE	....	....	....	....	119	....	....	....	....	....	119	Table XXVIII.
161.	TETONS	....	....	....	3,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Sioux. Vol. I., p. 524. Dakotah stock.
162.	TILHUALWITS	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	200	Table XVIII. Governor Lane. Vol. I., p. 521.
163.	TONAWANDAS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	602	....	602	Table IV. Senecas; separately enumerated.
164.	TONCAHIRAS	....	....	....	650	....	....	....	....	....	....	650	Table XXVIII. Texas.
165.	TOTONIC BANDS	....	....	....	1,200	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,200	Table XIX. Oregon coast.
166.	TUCANOH	....	....	....	....	700	....	....	....	....	....	700	Table XVIII. Oregon.
167.	TUSCARORAS	....	....	....	285	....	....	....	....	290	....	285	Table IV. Iroquois, N. Y.
168.	UTCHEES	....	....	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	In Florida. The tribe of ancient Utchees is incorporated with Creeks.
169.	UMPQUAS	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	200	Table XVIII.
170.	UTAHS	....	....	....	7,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,000	Table XXII. Of Shoshonee or Apachee stock. Salt Lake valley.
171.	WACOS	....	....	....	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	Table XXVI. Texas. Neighbors.
172.	WAHKPATONS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Sioux.
173.	WAHKPACOOTA	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Dakotah designation for same band.
174.	WASHBASHAWS	4,941	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Osages, which see.
175.	WASHINGTON INDIANS, E. OF CASCADE.	....	....	....	....	....	....	6,500	....	....	....	6,500 }	Table XX. Stevens' report. For details, see Table.
176.	WASHINGTON INDIANS, W. OF CASCADE.	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,553	....	....	....	7,553 }	
177.	WASHINGTON TERRITORY INDIANS	5,898	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included above. Sterling's report. Vol. IV., p. 598. Superseded by Governor Stevens' report.
178.	WEAS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Miamies.
179.	WINNEBAGOES	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,754	1,754	Table XXI.
180.	WITCHETAWS	....	....	....	....	....	....	300	....	....	....	300	
181.	WYANDOTS	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	554	....	554	Table XXII.
182.	YACAWS	....	....	....	1,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,500	Pacific coast.
183.	YAM HILL INDIANS	....	....	90	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	90	Table XVIII.
184.	YAMPATICARA	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Of Comanche family. Texas. Vol. I., p. 522.
185.	YANCTONS	....	....	2,500	1,763	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Included in Sioux.
186.	YANCTONAS; YANCTONWAS	....	....	....	6,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Same as Yanctons.
187.	YUTAS, GRANDE UNITA RIVER	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3,000	New Mexico.
188.	YUTAS, SOUTHERN	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,400	New Mexico. Vol. I., p. 245. Governor Bent.
189.	ZUNIS	....	....	....	1,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,500	New Mexico. One of the seven Pueblos of ancient Cibola. Vol. III., p. 633.
	Total	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	39,027	

RECAPITULATION.

Table I., page 686	157,661
" " 687	44,909
" " 688	71,667
" " 689	39,027
Total	313,264

To this result may be added, for tribes who are not reported by the agents, who have been solicited for desiderata, or who have vaguely reported, and for tribes who occupy unexplored parts of the interior of Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, and Kansas, 66,000.

TABLE II.

APPALACHIAN TRIBES, 1857.

Names.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Aggregate.	Increase in the Decade, 2½ per cent.	Total.	Remarks.
Choctaws	3,816	4,172	7,779	15,767	3,940	19,707	
Chickasaws	1,122	1,117	2,470	4,715	1,107	5,822	
Cherokees	......	......	....	17,367	4,340	21,707	Number of Women and Children not given.
Creeks	10,513	10,249	....	22,664[1]	5,550	28,214	
Seminoles	......	......	....	1,500	370	1,870	Number of Families and Children not given.
Total	......	......	....	62,013	....	77,820	

TABLE III.

CENSUS OF CREEKS.

Towns.	Heads of Families.	Males.	Females.	Slaves.	Total.	Remarks.
Forty-five Towns	3,915	6,555	7,142	445	14,142	B. S. Parsons, Vol. IV., p. 577.
Thirty-nine Towns	3,448	3,958	3,107	457	8,522	T. J. Abbott, Vol. IV., p. 581.
	7,363	10,513	10,249	902	22,664	

TABLE IV.

POPULATION OF THE IROQUOIS AND ALGONQUINS OF NEW YORK, IN 1845 AND 1855.[2]

Reservations.	Where Located.	Total.		Sex.				Marriages year previous.		Births year previous.	
				Males.		Females.					
		1845.	1855.	1845.	1855.	1845.	1855.	1845.	1855.	1845.	1855.
Alleghany...	South Valley, Cold Spring, Bucktooth, Great Valley and Carrolton, Cattaraugus Co.	783	754	390	376	393	378	6	......	19	20
Buffalo	Lancaster, Erie Co.	446	......	200	......	246	......	3	......	10	......
Cattaraugus	Perrysburgh, Cattaraugus Co., Collins, Erie Co., and Hanover, Chautauque Co.	922	1,179	449	575	473	604	12	......	33	21
Oneida	Lenox, Madison Co., and Vernon, Oneida Co.	157	161	71	88	86	73	......	......	13	6
Onondaga ..	Fayette and Onondaga, Onondaga Co.	368	349	173	173	195	176	5	......	16	10
St. Regis ...	Bombay, Franklin Co.	260	413	126	206	134	207	......	......	7	17
Shinecock ..	Southampton, Suffolk Co.	......	160	......	89	......	71	......	......	......	......
Tonawanda	Pembroke and Alabama, Genesee Co., Newstead, Erie Co., and Royalton, Niagara Co.	505	602	224	290	281	312	4	7	13	10
Tuscarora ..	Lewiston, Niagara Co.	312	316	148	150	164	166	6	6	10	16
Total	....	3,753	3,934	1,781	1,947	1,972	1,987	36	13	121	100

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[1] Table III.

[2] Taken under the authority of New York, at the decennial census in 1855, and communicated by Mr. Headley.

TABLE V.

WINNEBAGOES, 1847.

[J. E. FLETCHER.[1]]

Tribal strength	2400
Number of regular hunters	300
Semi-agriculturalists	2100
Number of bands having chiefs	22
Number of half-breeds	75
Total number of mixed and pure	2475

Some of the Indians have this year cultivated their corn with the plough. The result has been such as will probably induce the general adoption of this mode of cultivation. Most of the bands have applied to be furnished with harness, wagons, and ploughs, which articles have been furnished them as far as practicable. Two wagons, ten sets of harness, ten sets of gears for ploughing, and ten ploughs, have been loaned to them. The Indians have, in all cases, furnished their own horses to use in the plough and wagon. They have this year cultivated 365 acres of land: of this, they have ploughed eighty acres themselves; 255 acres have been ploughed for them; and it is estimated that they have cultivated 30 acres without ploughing. Three additional fields have been ploughed and fenced this season for the bands who moved from the Mississippi and Root rivers, and are now located on the Iowa. They raise corn, oats, potatoes, beans, turnips, squashes, and other vegetables; they all, however, depend, in part, on hunting and fishing for a living. The half-breeds depend partly on themselves, and in part on the Indians, for a support.

The farms have this season undergone considerable repairs. It was found necessary to repair all the fences. Some 8885 rails and stakes have been made and used on the farm at the agency. To this farm an addition of 100 acres has been made this season; this was done with very little additional fence, forty acres of the ground added having been formerly cultivated. There has been an average force of about ten hands constantly at work on the farms since the middle of last March. The number of acres cultivated by the hands employed, exclusive of the land ploughed for the Indians, as stated above, is 237—48 acres in wheat, 19 acres in oats, 2½ acres in peas, 80 acres in corn, 10 acres in potatoes, 77½ acres in beans and turnips. The land cultivated in beans and turnips was intended for corn, but the spring was late and the ground wet, and could not be ploughed in season. Our wheat and oats were good, and were harvested in good condition; corn and potatoes promise a fine crop.

TABLE VI.

MENOMONIES, 1847.

[A. G. ELLIS.[2]]

Tribal strength	2500
Without cattle and farms	300
Live by fishing and hunting	2200
Number of good log houses	62

The Menomonies are a brave and patient people, the firm friends of the government, and rely with abiding confidence on its justice and magnanimity. The greater share of them are hunters, living exclusively by the chase and the fisheries; for the last they resort to Green Bay, and the rivers falling into it, where they take at all seasons of the year, but especially in winter, large quantities (beyond their own consumption) of trout and sturgeon. When the Menomonies shall leave the shores of Green Bay, the sturgeon fisheries will cease — none but the Indians being able to endure the cold and fatigue of taking them.

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1847, p. 851.

[2] Ann. Rep., 1847, p. 41.

Some three hundred of the Menomonies are Christians and farmers: the number is increasing, and the tribe will ere long become civilized, and abandon the chase. On a late visit to their village, I counted sixty-two log houses, erected by themselves, most of them comfortably finished and occupied. They have cleared up from the heavy timbered lands small fields, which are well fenced, and fine crops of corn and potatoes occupy every foot of ground: they will raise enough at lake Pah-way-hi-kun this year for their subsistence. The teams, farming utensils, &c., supplied them by the government, are in good order and highly prized: the quantity, annually, should be increased.

TABLE VII.

INDIANS OF MICHIGAN, 1853.

[H. C. GILBERT.]

I.—CHIPPEWAS OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

Interior Indians	1,759
Lake Indians	1,659
Bois Forte bands	482
Mixed Bloods	1,040
Total	4,940

II.—MICHIGAN INDIANS.

Ottawas and Chippewas	5,152
Chippewas and Saginaw	1,340
Chippewas of Swan creek and Black river	138
Pottawatamies	236
Pottawatamies of Huron	45
Total	6,911

Residing in Michigan	7,583
Residing in Wisconsin	3,210
Residing in Minnesota	1,058
Total in the agency	11,851

TABLE VIII.

INDIANS IN THE OSAGE AGENCY, IN 1846—47.

[ALFRED J. VAUGHN.[1]]

Pottawatamies of the Prairie	496
Do. of the Wabash	735
Do. of the Saint Joseph	710
Pottawatamies, total	1941
Ottowas	284
Chippewas	27
Piankeshaws	101
Weas	147
Peorias and Kaskaskias, estimated at	130
Total	2630 souls.

TABLE IX.

OTTOES, OMAHAS, AND PAWNEES, 1849.

[J. E. BURROWS.[2]]

1. Ottoes	900
2. Omahas	1200
3. Pawnees	4500
	6500

The Pawnees, since their great loss by cholera in 1828, number about 4500.

The Ottoes seem to gradually decrease, while the Omahas increase.

The Omahas arrived about the 10th ultimo from their summer hunts, having secured a sufficiency of meat and skins to do them until the approaching winter. On their return home they encountered a war party of Indians, supposed to be composed of Sioux and Poncas, with which they had an engagement of about four hours. The Omahas, having a large quantity of meat, besides being apprised of their enemy's intentions the day before, succeeded in throwing up such breastworks with it as made them amply secure before attacked by their enemies. After the loss of four or five men, together with some forty horses, they drove the enemy back, and became the victors of the field.

The Sioux and Poncas, it is supposed, had eight or nine men killed, and some ten or twelve wounded. Had the Omahas been met on the open prairie without any notice of the approach of the enemy, and without the means of fortifying themselves, they would, from the superior number of their opponents, have been almost entirely annihilated.

They have made a very good hunt; but, owing to the fearful ravages of the cholera, will make no corn.

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1847, p. 93.

[2] Ann. Rep., 1849.

TABLE X.

NEW YORK INDIANS, 1847 AND 1849.

[W. P. ANGEL.[1]]

1847.	Tuscaroras, residing in Niagara county	280
"	Oneidas, residing in Oneida county	159
"	Cayugas, residing with the Senecas in western New York	88
"	Onondagas, residing in Onondaga county	375
"	Onondagas, residing on the Alleghany reservation, in Cattaraugus county	88
"	Onondagas, residing on the Cattaraugus reservation, in Erie county	25
"	Onondagas, residing on the Tonawanda reservation, in Genesee county	7
"	Onondagas, residing with the Tuscaroras	22
"	Senecas, residing on the Alleghany reservation	811
"	Do. do. Cattaraugus reservation	1261
"	Do. do. Tonawanda reservation	576
"	Do. do. Buffalo	30
"	Oneidas, Onondagas, and Buffalo Senecas, residing at Tonawanda	79
	Whole number	3751

1849.	Senecas	2712
"	St. Regis	452
"	Onondagas	126
"	Tuscaroras	312
"	Oneidas	235
"	Onondagas residing with the Senecas	140
"	Cayugas residing with the Senecas	125
"	Oneidas do. do. do.	30
	Whole number	4132[2]

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1847, p. 94.

[2] S. P. Mead.

TABLE XI.

UPPER MISSOURI TRIBES, 1852.

[D. D. MITCHELL.[1]]

Tribes.	Lodges.	Men.	Souls.	Remarks.
Poncas	80	250	800	Living on the south side of Missouri, at the mouth of l'Eau que Court.
Yanctons	250	750	2,500	Lower band of Sioux, living near Vermilion river.
Tetons.....................	320	950	3,000	Lower band of Sioux, on the south of Missouri.
Ogellalas	150	500	1,500	Sioux — dialect a little different — same region.
Sowans	1,150	4,000	12,000	Sioux on the Cheyenne river, and Platte.
Yanctonas	600	1,800	6,000	Upper band of Sioux, near Mandans.
Mandans....................	30	120	300	Live in dirt lodges, on the Missouri.*
Arickarees	150	450	1,200	Occupy the same village with the Mandans.*
Gros Ventres	75	300	800	Live in dirt villages, eight miles above Mandans.*
Assinaboines.	800	2,500	7,000	Wandering tribe between Missouri and Red river of the north.
Crees	100	300	800	Language same as Chippewas — country, Assinaboine.
Crows	500	1,200	4,000	Rascals — on the head waters of Yellowstone.
Cheyennes.................	250	500	2,000	Wandering tribe on the Platte — language very remarkable.
Blackfeet	1,500	4,500	13,000	Wandering — near Falls of Missouri; both sides of the river.
Arapahoes	300	650	2,500	Prairie tribe, between the Platte and Arkansas.
Gros Ventres (Prairie)..	400	900	2,500	Wanderers between the Missouri and Sascatchewayne.
Snake	200	450	1,000	Poor tribe, in the Rocky mountains.
Flatheads	80	250	800	In the mountain — trade mostly on Columbia.*
Total	6,925	20,370	61,700	

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[1] The whole are wanderers except those marked with an asterisk (*).

TABLE XII.[1]

TRIBES OF THE UPPER MISSOURI, 1847.

[G. C. MATLOCK.]

No.	Tribes.	Lodges.	Population.
1.	The various bands of Sioux	2520	19,660
2.	Arickarees	240	1,800
3.	Gros Ventres	150	1,350
4.	Mandans	40	360
5.	Poncas	200	1,600
6.	Cheyennes	317	2,536
7.	Crows	530	5,300
8.	Blackfeet	810	6,480
9.	Assinaboines	980	6,860
	Total	5787	45,946

Total number of lodges 5787, which would be a fraction over eight souls to the lodge.

The Indians have been extravagantly estimated by my predecessors in office — they having estimated the Sioux alone at 50,000 souls; and I am at a loss to know from what source they derived their information, as they could not have obtained it from the Indians themselves. There are nine tribes in the agency.

The Arickarees are situated on the Missouri river, between the Gros Ventres and Sioux, and are much better Indians than they have character for being. They are inclined to treachery, are thievish and great libertines, yet they are better Indians than the Blackfeet and Assinaboines, yet not so good as the Gros Ventres, Poncas, and others above mentioned.

The Crows, Blackfeet, and Assinaboines have made no improvement whatever, tenaciously adhering to all the ferocious customs and miserable expedients of savage life.

These Indians are excessively fond of ardent spirits (with the exception of the Crows, who have never been known to drink, or use strong liquors); are also thievish, treacherous, and are only to be kept under through fear; for they still continue to despise and hate the white man, and every effort made to gain their love and friendship has been made in vain.

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[1] Annual Indian Report, 1848, p. 116.

TABLE XIII.

SHOSHONIES, UTAHS, BONACKS; 1847.

[J. Wilson.[1]]

Names of Bands.	Lodges.	No. to the Lodge.	Gross Population.
Shoshonies Bonacs	1000	4	4000
Utahs, viz.:			
1. Taos	300	4	1200
2. Yampapas	500	4	2000
3. Ewinte	50	4	200
4. Tenpenny Utahs	50	4	200
5. Parant Utahs	......	...	Unestimated.
6. Sampichês	......	...	
7. Pahmetes	......	...	
Total	1900	...	7600

Among the Shoshonies there are only two bands, properly speaking. The principal or better portion are called Shoshonies, or Snakes, who are rich enough to own horses; the others, the Shoshocoes, cannot or do not own horses. The principal chiefs of the Shoshonies are Momo, about forty-five years old, so called from a wound in his face or cheek, from a ball, that disfigures him; and Wiskin, Cut-hair.

Both bands number, probably, over 100 lodges, of four persons each; of the relative portion of each band no definite account can be given. Their language, with the exception of some *Patois* differences, is said to be that of the Comanche tribe. Their claim of boundary is, to the east, from the Red Buttes, on the North Fork of the Platte, to its head in the Park, Decayaque, or Buffalo Bull-pen, in the Rocky mountains; to the south, across the mountains, over to the Yanpapa, till it enters Green, or Colorado river, and then across to the backbone or ridge of mountains called the Bear River mountains, running nearly due west towards the Salt Lake, so as to take in most of the Salt Lake, and thence on to the Sinks of Marry's, or Humboldt's river; thence north to the fisheries, on the Snake river, in Oregon; and thence south (their northern boundary), to the Red Buttes, including the source of Green river—a territory probably 300 miles square, most of which has too high an elevation ever to be useful for cultivation of any sort. In most of these mountains and valleys it freezes every night in the year, and is, in summer, quite warm at noon, and to half-past three o'clock, P. M. Nothing whatever will grow, of grain or vegetables, but the most luxuriant and nutritious grasses grow in the greatest abundance, and the valleys are the richest of meadows.

The part of the Salt Lake valleys included in this boundary, the Cache valley, fifty by one hundred miles, and part of the valley near and beyond Fort Hall, down Snake river, can be cultivated, and with good results; but this forms a very small part of this country. How these people are to live, or even exist, for any length of time, I cannot by any means determine. Their support has, heretofore, been mostly game and certain roots, which, in their native state, are rank poison, called Tobacco root; but when put in a hole in the ground, and a large fire burned over them, become wholesome diet. The Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake valley has not only greatly diminished their formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources, which, to them, was an important resource, but their settlement, with the great emigration there, and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will unquestionably soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chances they have for food. This will, in a few years, produce a result not only disastrous to them, but must inevitably engage the sympathies of the nation. How this is to be avoided is a question of much difficulty; but it is, nevertheless, the more imperative on the Government, not only to discuss, but to put in practice, some mode of relief for these unfortunate people—the outside barriers, or inclosing mountains, of whose whole country are not only covered, in constant sight, with perpetual snow, but in whose lodges, every night in the year, ice is made over the water left in a basin, of near seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, except in three small places already named as exceptions; and two of these, the Salt Lake valley and the Snake river, are already taken from them by the whites, and there is little doubt but that the Cache valley will soon be so occupied.

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[1] Annual Indian Report, 1849.

The Utahs' claim of boundaries are all south of that of the Shoshonies, embracing the waters of the Colorado, going most probably to the Gulf of California. This is a much more fortunate location, and large portions of it are rich and fertile lands, and with a good climate. Their language is essentially Comanche, and although not technically, yet it is supposed to be substantially the same as that of the Shoshonies; for, although on first meeting they do not fully understand each other, yet, I am informed, four or five days' association enables them to converse freely together.

TABLE XIV.

SASITKAS, VIZ: BLOODS, BLACKFEET, PIEGANS, GROS VENTRES, 1855.

[GOV. ISAAC I. STEVENS.]

Sasitkas, or Blackfeet nation.	Tribes and Bands.	Lodges.	Population.	Warriors.
1.	Bloods	350	2450	875
2.	Blackfeet	250	1750	625
3.	Piegans	350	2450	875
4.	Gros Ventres	360	2520	900
Total...		1310	9170	3275

THE BLACKFEET NATION.

The general locality of the Blackfeet is understood to mean the country in which they reside or hunt, and is bounded as follows:—By a line beginning on the north, where the 50th parallel crosses the Rocky mountains; thence east on said parallel to the 106th meridian; thence south to the headwaters of Milk river, down said river to the Missouri; up the Missouri to the mouth of the Judith; thence up the Judith to its source; thence to the Rocky mountains, and north along their base to the place of beginning.

The country between the Missouri and the headwaters of the Yellowstone is unoccupied. It is the great road of the Blackfeet war-parties to and from the Crows, Flatheads, and Snakes. It is also the hunting-ground of the Flatheads and the Indian tribes generally of Washington Territory east of the Cascades, who resort hither at all seasons of the year to hunt buffalo.

The Blackfeet nation is divided into four distinct tribes or bands, names, numbers, and localities.

The above numbers of the four tribes of the Blackfeet nation are taken from Mr. Doty's enumeration. It is less than that of Mr. Stanley, who visited the Piegans in September last, and whose estimate of the Piegans, Bloods, and Blackfeet, was 1330 lodges, and 13,300 souls; and it is likewise less than my enumeration, derived from consulting all reliable sources of information in the Upper Missouri, and which made the four tribes of the Gros Ventres, Bloods, Piegans, and Blackfeet, amount to 14,400, or

XIV. [CONTINUED.]

5230 more than the estimate of Mr. Doty. Mr. Doty has, however, had the opportunity of making an actual count of more than half these Indians.

The Bloods and the Blackfeet occupy the country upon the source of Marias and Milk rivers, and north to the 50th parallel of latitude.

The Piegans occupy the country between Milk and Marias rivers, upon Marias river and the Teton, and between the Teton and the Missouri.

The Gros Ventres occupy the country bordering upon Milk river from its mouth to the Territory of the Piegans. These Gros Ventres, although incorporated with, and now considered a part of, the Blackfoot nation, are clearly a band of Arrapahoes, who seceded from their nation some forty years since, passed over to the Crow Indians, and were plundered and killed by that nation, losing many of their women, and nearly all their horses and guns. They wandered over this country several years, plundered the forts at the north, were driven away by the Kootenais, and finally, in a destitute and most miserable condition, settled some thirty years since in the country they now occupy. The Blackfoot nation in a manner adopted them — *i. e.*, made a lasting peace, and gave them many horses. The traders supplied them with guns and ammunition; their horses increased; they made many robes, and soon became wealthy; and are now more independent, saucy, and more unfriendly to the whites, than any other band of the Blackfeet.

The Bloods, Piegans, and Blackfeet, speak the same language, peculiar to the Blackfoot nation.

The Gros Ventres speak the Arrapahoe language, which is not understood by any white man or Indian, not of their tribe, in this country. Most of the Gros Ventres, however, speak the Blackfoot sufficiently for purposes of trade.

Their character is warlike. They are warriors and horse-thieves by profession and practice, and are always at war with some, or all, of the neighbouring nations.

TABLE XV.

TEXAS INDIANS OF NORTHERN ORIGIN, 1851.

[JESSE STEM.]

No.	Names.	Tribal strength.	Total.	Warriors.
1.	Towaccarros	141	293	90
2.	Wacoes	114		
3.	Keechies	38		
4.	Caddoes	161	476	161
5.	Andaicos	202		
6.	Ionies	113		
7.	Delawares		63	31
8.	Shawnees		70	35
Total....			902	317

There has been, and still is, a great want of certain information as to the numbers and condition of the various tribes in Texas. While among these Indians I endeavoured to ascertain their exact numbers, and with this view induced the chiefs to go among their people and count them. Having no system of numbers, they enumerated only with their fingers, or by means of bundles of sticks. They brought me a bundle of sticks for each tribe.

The above is the enumeration furnished me, which I consider very accurate.

TABLE XVI.

OFFICIAL LOCAL ESTIMATE OF NORTH OREGON IN 1851.

[DR. DART.]

Names of Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Walla-walla	52	40	38	130
Des Chutes	95	115	90	300
Dalles	129	206	147	482
Pelouse	60	62	59	181
Klikatat	297	195	....	492
Yakama (estimate)	....	....	....	1000
Rock Island	....	....	....	300
Okonagan	....	....	....	250
Colville	....	....	....	320
Sinhumanish (Spokane)	....	....	....	232
Cœur d'Alenes	....	....	....	200
Lower Pend d'Oreilles	....	....	....	520
Upper Pend d'Oreilles	....	....	....	480
Mission	....	....	....	210
Nez Perces	698	1182	....	1880
Cayuse	38	48	40	126
[1] Total population	....	....	....	7103

TABLE XVII.

EASTERN WASHINGTON AND OREGON IN 1853.

[GOV. I. I. STEVENS.[2]]

No.	Names of Tribes.	Lodges.	Population.
1.	Flatheads	60	350
2.	Cootenays and Flatbows	....	400
3.	Pend d'Oreilles of Upper Lake	40	280
4.	Pend d'Oreilles of Lower Lake	60	420
5.	Cœur d'Alenes	70	500
6.	Spokanes	....	600
7.	Nez Perces	....	1700
8.	Pelouses	100	500
9.	Cayuses	....	120
10.	Walla-wallas	....	300
11.	Dalles bands	....	200
12.	Cascades	....	36
13.	Klikatats	....	300
14.	Yakamas	....	600
15.	Pisquouse and Okinakanes	....	550
16.	Schwo-Yelpi, or Colville	....	500
Total	....	330	7350

Undoubtedly a large majority of the Nez Perces are in Washington Territory; but the major part of the Cayuses, Walla-wallas, and the Dalles Indians, are in Oregon.

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[1] The Pisquouse and Koutaines are omitted, and the band of Upper Chinooks at the Dalles included with the Walla-wallas.

[2] Ann. Rep., 1854, p. 252.

TABLE XVIII.

INDIANS IN OREGON IN 1849.—[Gov. Joseph Lane.]

1.	Shoshonies — one tribe 700 — total	2,000
2.	Ponishta Bonacks, Snake river	550
3.	Coutenay	400
4.	Flatheads, or Salish	320
5.	Colespelin	1,200
6.	Ponderas, Squeailips	1,200
7.	Colville, or Little Flathead Indians	800
8.	Cœur d'Alene	400
9.	Spokane	1,000
10.	Oukinagans	700
11.	Sempoiles	500
12.	Nez Perces	1,500
13.	Paloos	300
14.	Cayuse	800
15.	Walla-walla	1,000
16.	Des Chutes	300
17.	Wascopan	200
18.	Cascades	100
19.	Clackamas	60
20.	Willamette	20
21.	Clickatais	85
22.	Calipoa	60
23.	Sualtine	60
24.	Yam Hill	90
25.	Sackanoir	15
26.	Umpqua	200
27.	Hilleamuck	200
28.	Clatsaconin	300
29.	Clatsop	50
30.	Catelamet	58
31.	Calooit	200
	Total	14,168

North of the Columbia (now Washington).—[Mr. Thornton.]

1.	Makaw, Cape Flattery	1,000
2.	Nooselalum Dunginass	1,400
3.	Snoquamish	500
4.	Homamish	500
5.	Twanoh, Wood's canal	200
6.	Squallymish, &c., of Nisqually	550
7.	Sinamish of Whidley's Island	350
8.	Snoqualamick	350
9.	Skeywhomish	450
10.	Skagots	500
11.	Nookluolamic	220
12.	Cowlitz	120
13.	Chinooks	120
14.	Chehalis	300
	Carried forward	6,560

XVIII. [CONTINUED.]

	Brought forward	6,560
15.	Kathlamit	150
16.	Telhuemit	200
17.	Wyampam	130
18.	Yacamas	1,500
19.	Piscahoos	350
	Total	8,910

Gov. Lane concludes:

"Surrounded, as many of the tribes and bands now are by the whites, whose arts of civilization, by destroying the resources of the Indians, doom them to poverty, want and crime, the extinguishment of their title by purchase, and the locating them in a district removed from the settlements, is a measure of the most vital importance to them. Indeed, the cause of humanity calls loudly for their removal, from causes and influences so fatal to their existence. This measure is one of equal interest to our own people."

TABLE XIX.

TOTONIC TRIBES OF SOUTHERN OREGON, 1850.

[Port Orford Agency.]

Names of Bands.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.	Male Children.	Female Children.	Total.	No. of Villages.	Chiefs.	Location.
Nasomah	18	20	10	11	59	1	Clemma (John)	Coquille River.
Chockreletan	30	40	18	17	95	1	Chettakos	Coquille Forks.
Quahtomah	53	45	22	23	133	3	Hahultcah	Flores Creek.
Saquaacha	50	...	...	...	50	...	... ...	Elk River.
Cosulhentan	9	9	6	3	27	1	Chatalhakeah	Port Orford.
Yuquache	24	41	18	19	102	1	Ahchessee	Yuqua Creek.
Yah Shutes	39	45	24	12	120	2	Calwawesit	Rogue River.
Chetlessentan	16	15	11	9	51	1	Enetus	Pistol River.
Whistanatin	18	20	12	10	60	1	Nelyetahneska	Whale's Head.
Cheattee	117	18	22	19	176	1	Tohushaqueos	Chet Ko.
Tototen	39	47	22	12	120	1	Talmanetesa	Six miles above the mouth of Rogue R.
Sisticoosta	53	61	23	16	153	1	Yachaumsee	Above the big bend of Rogue River.
Maquelnoten	32	58	17	17	124	1	Tallialtus	Fourteen miles above mouth of Rogue R.
Total	...	...	...	...	1290	...		

On the settlement of Oregon, the most considerable of the Indian tribes, spread over that portion of the country, were those stretching north of Klamath river, of California, and the northern boundary line of this State, up the Pacific coast. They consisted of thirteen bands, bearing separate names, the most considerable and prominent of which were the four bands clustering about the confluence of the river, which, from their bad faith in trade, had been called by the early French traders, Coquille, or Rogue river Indians. These four bands bore the names Nassoma, Okreletan, Yah Shutes, and Tototens; and, as the whole group of these seacoast tribes speak dialects of the same language, they may be grouped together under the name of Totonic. About the year 1850, they were united in a league for defensive purposes, at the head of which there was a chief of some note called Chal Nah, and the combination of tribes, it is affirmed, bore the name of Tutoten.

The principal wars have been with these Totones, who have suffered a rapid declension of their numbers, partly owing to internal discords, and partly through hostilities with the settlers. The names and numbers of the bands, with their principal chiefs and residence, is embraced in the above table.

TABLE XX.

INDIAN TRIBES OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY, EAST OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS. 1854.

[GOV. ISAAC I. STEVENS.]

No.	Names of tribes and bands.	Where located.	Men.	Women.	Total bands.	Total tribes.	Remarks.
1.	Upper Chinooks, five bands, not including Cascade band.	Columbia river, above the Cowlitz.	......	......	......	200	Estimate. The upper of these bands are mixed with the Klikatats; the lower with the Cowlitz.
2.	Lower Chinooks — Chinook band	Columbia river, below the Cowlitz.	32	34	66	 116	One of these is intermarried with the Cowlitz; the rest with Chihalis.
3.	Four others (estimate)	Shoalwater bay	......	......	50		
4.	Chihalis	Gray's harbor, and Lower Chihalis river.	......	......	100	300	Estimate.
5.	"	Northern Forks, Chihalis river..	......	......	200		
6.	Cowlitz and Upper Chihalis.	On Cowlitz river, and the Chihalis, above the Satsop.	......	......	......	165	The two have become altogether intermarried.
7.	Taitinapan	Base of mountains on Cowlitz, &c.	......	......	......	75	Estimate.
8.	Quinaitle, &c.	Coast from Gray's harbor, northward.	......	......	......	500	"
9.	Makáhs	Cape Flattery and vicinity	......	......	......	150	"
10.	S'Klallams	Straits of Fuca	......	......	......	......	
11.	Kahtai	Port Townsend	67	88	155	850	
12.	Kaqualth	Port Discovery	24	26	50		
13.	Stehllum	New Dungeness	79	91	170		"
14.	All others	False Dungeness, &c., westward..	......	......	475		
15.	Chimakum	Port Townsend	......	......	......	70	
16.	Toánhooch	Hood's canal	123	109	265	 465	Some of the women omitted in the count; but estimated.
17.	Shokomish	Hood's canal, upper end..........	......	......	200	......	Shokomish, estimated.
18.	Quáks'namish	Case's inlet, &c.	19	21	40	170	
19.	S'Hotlemamish	Carr's inlet, &c.	14	13	27		
20.	Sahéhwamish	Hammersly's inlet, &c.	11	12	23		
21.	Sawámish	Totten's inlet, &c.	2	1	3		
22.	Squaiaitl	Eld's inlet, &c.	22	23	45		
23.	Stéhcha-ámish	Budd's inlet, &c.	......	......	20	......	Estimate.
24.	Noosechatl	South bay	......	......	12	......	"
25.	Squalliahmish, 6 bands...	Nisqually river and vicinity......	84	100	184	209	
26.	Steilacoomamish	Steilacoom creek and vicinity ...	......	......	25		
27.	Puyal'upamish	Mouth of Puyallup river, &c	......	......	50	100	Estimate.
28.	T'quaquamish	Heads of " "	......	......	50		
29.	Suquamish	Peninsula between Hood's canal and Admiralty inlet.	215	270	485	518	
30.	S'Homámish	Vashon's island	18	15	33		
31.	Dwamish	Lake Fork, Dwamish river	89	73	162	351	
32.	Samamish	Dwamish lake, &c.	71	30	101		
33.	S'ketéhlmish						
34.	Smelkámish	Head of White river	......	......	8		
35.	Skopeáhmish	Head of Green river	......	......	50		
36.	Stkámish	Main White river	......	......	30		
37.	Sinahomish	South end of Whitby's island, Sinahomish river.	161	138	350	 845	Part of the women omitted; but included in the total.
38.	N'quutlmamish	Upper branches, north side, Sinahomish river.	......	......	300		Estimate.
39.	Skywhamish					......	
40.	Sktahlejum						
41.	Snoqualmook	South fork, Sinahomish river	......	......	195		
42.	Stoluchwámish	Stoluchwámish river, &c.	......	......	200	275	
43.	Kikiallis	Kikiallis R., and Whitby's Island.	......	......	75		
44.	Skagit	Skagit river, and Penn's cove....	......	......	300	600	Estimate.
45.	N'quachamish	Branches of Skagit river..........	......	......	300		
46.	Smaléhhu						
47.	Miskaiwhu						
48.	Sakuméhu						
49.	Squinamish...........	North end Whitby's island, canoe passage and Sinamish river.	......	......	......	300	Estimate.
50.	Swodámish						
51.	Sinaahmish....						
52.	Samish	Samish R., and Bellingham bay.	......	......	......	150	"
53.	Nooksáak	South fork, Lummi river	......	......	......	450	"
54.	Lummi	Lummi river, and peninsula......	......	......	......	450	"
55.	Shimiahmoo	Between Lummi Point and Frazer's river.	......	......	......	250	"
	Total	....	......	......	......	7559	

TABLE XXI.

WINNEBAGOES IN 1856.

[J. E. FLETCHER.]

	Tribal strength in 1855.	Increase.	Total.
Winnebago Bands	1715	39	1754

At a census recently taken, there were seventeen hundred and fifty-four members of the tribe present, being an increase of thirty-nine over the number reported last year.

The improvements made have fallen far short of our intentions. We have only nine hundred and forty-three acres of land ploughed, in forty-two fields of different sizes, all of which are not yet enclosed. We have five thousand six hundred and forty rods of fence. Two hundred acres have been cultivated in wheat, fifty acres in oats, two hundred and thirteen acres in corn, one hundred and seventy-three acres in potatoes, one hundred and nine acres in ruta baga and white turnips, and six acres in peas, beans, and buckwheat. The Indians cultivated three hundred and eighty-seven acres of the aforesaid land after it was ploughed for them, and also cultivated numerous gardens, which they dug up with the hoe. Our crops, with the exception of a part of the corn, will be a fair average with the crops raised in the adjacent counties. The Indians used the scythes furnished them as a part of their annuity goods, and have made about one hundred and fifty tons of hay, and two hundred and seventy tons have been made by employées. A blacksmith shop, with two forges, a carpenter shop, a warehouse, fourteen dwelling-houses, a school-house, and a few stables, are the principal buildings erected. The loss of the dam at the saw-mill was a serious drawback on our means for building. The mill is now in operation; we have lumber seasoning, and the Indians will be assisted in building houses this fall.

This tribe, at their last two annuity payments, received per capita an unusually large amount of money. I was directed to observe and report the effect produced. Some few have learned to use their money with economy, but with the majority the result has been to encourage idleness and dissipation. The policy of paying annuity to Indians in money is objectionable. Necessity must be relied on mainly in effecting their civilization. They are indolent from inclination and habit, and will not work so long as they have any other dependence for a living.

TABLE XXII.

INDIAN TRIBES IN THE UNITED STATES WITH WHOM INTERCOURSE WAS KEPT UP BY AGENTS, IN 1855.[1]

No.	Name of Tribe.	No. of Souls.	Place of Residence.	Source of Information.
1.	Apaches	7,000	New Mexico Terr'ty	Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1855.
2.	Apaches	....	Texas	See "Mescaleros."
3.	Apaches	320	Arkansas river	Estimated by Agent Whitfield, 1854.
4.	Assinaboines	2,300	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855.
5.	Arickarees	800	" " "	" " "
6.	Arrapahoes	3,000	Arkansas & Platte R.	Estimated by Agent Whitfield, 1854.
7.	Anadarkoes, Caddoes, and Ionies	500	Texas	Report of Agent Hill, 1854.
8.	Blackfeet	7,500	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855
9.	Cherokees	17,530	West of Arkansas	Report of Agent Butler, 1852.
10.	Cherokees	2,200	N. Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama	Report of special agents, 1851, 1855
11.	Choctaws	16,000	West of Arkansas	Statement made by the office, 1853.
12.	Choctaws	1,000	Mississippi	" " "
13.	Chickasaws	4,787	West of Arkansas	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
14.	Creeks	25,000	" "	Statement made by the office, 1853.
15.	Creeks	100	Alabama	" " "
16.	Chippewas of Lake Superior	4,940	Michigan	Annual report of Agent Gilbert, 1855.
17.	Chippewas of Lake Superior		Wisconsin	
18.	Chippewas of Lake Superior		Minnesota Territory	
19.	Chippewas of the Mississippi	2,206	" "	Annuity pay rolls, 1854.
	Carried forward	96,183		

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[1] Annual Report of Indian Bureau, 1855.

XXII. [CONTINUED.]

No.	Name of Tribe.	No. of Souls.	Place of Residence.	Source of Information.
	Brought forward	96,183		
20.	Chippewas and Ottawas	5,152	Michigan	Report of Agent Gilbert, 1855.
21.	Chippewas of Saginaw	1,340	"	" " "
22.	Chippewas of Swan Creek, &c	138	"	" " "
23.	Chippewas of Swan Creek, &c	33	Kansas Territory	Report of Agent Chenault, 1851.
24.	Cayugas	143	New York	Report of Agent Johnson, 1855.
25.	Catawbas	200	N. and S. Carolina	Statement made by the office, 1853.
26.	Christians, or Munsees	44	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
27.	Crows	3,360	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855.
28.	Crees	800	" "	Report of Superintendent Mitchell, 1842.
29.	Caddoes	....	Texas.	See "Anadahkoes," &c.
30.	Comanches and Kioways	20,000	"	Report of Agent Howard, 1852.
31.	Comanches	....	New Mexico Terr'ty	Number not reported. See "Wandering Indians"
32.	Comanches	3,600	Arkansas river	Report of Agent Whitfield, 1854.
33.	Cheyennes	2,800	Arkansas & Platte R.	Estimated by Agent Whitfield, 1854.
34.	California Tribes	33,539[1]	California	Census report of Secretary of State of California, 1853.
35.	Delawares	902	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
36.	Gros Ventres	750	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855.
37.	Ionies	....	Texas.	See "Anadahkoes," &c.
38.	Iowas	433	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
39.	Kickapoos	344	" "	" "
40.	Kickapoos	....	Texas border	Number not reported; supposed to be but few.
41.	Kioways	....	Texas	See "Comanches and Kioways."
42.	Kioways	2,800	Arkansas river	Report of Agent Whitfield, 1854.
43.	Kansas	1,375	Kansas Territory	Statement made by the office, 1853.
44.	Keechies, Wacoes, and Towacarros	300	Texas	Report of Agent Hill, 1853.
45.	Kaskaskias	....	Kansas Territory	See "Peorias," &c.
46.	Lipans	560	Texas	Report of Agent Howard, 1853
47.	Miamies	207	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
48.	Miamies	353	Indiana	Statement made by office, 1853.
49.	Mandans	250	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855.
50.	Minatarees	2,500	" "	History of Indian tribes, 1850
51.	Menomonees	1,930	Wisconsin	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
52.	Missourias	....	Nebraska Territory	See "Ottoes and Missourias."
53.	Munsees	....	Kansas Territory	See "Christians, or Munsees."
54.	Muscaleros, or Apaches	400	Texas	Report of Agent Howard, 1853.
55.	Navajoes	7,500	New Mexico Terr'ty	Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1855.
56.	Oneidas	249	New York	Report of Agent Johnson, 1855.
57.	Oneidas	978	Wisconsin	Report of Agent Hunkins, 1855.
58.	Onondagoes	470	New York	Report of Agent Johnson, 1855.
59.	Ottawas	....	Michigan	See "Chippewas and Ottawas."
60.	Ottawas	249	Kansas Territory	Statement made by office, 1853.
61.	Omahas	800	Nebraska Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
62.	Ottoes and Missourias	600	" "	Report of Agent Hepner, 1855.
63.	Osages	4,098	West of Arkansas	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
64.	Oregon Territory Tribes	13,000	Oregon Territory	Report of Governor Lane, 1851.
65.	Poncas	700	Nebraska Territory	History of Indian Tribes, 1850.
66.	Pottawattamies	236	Michigan	Report of Agent Gilbert, 1855.
67.	Pottawattamies of Huron	45	"	" " "
68.	Pottawattamies	3,440	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
69.	Pawnees	4,000	Nebraska Territory	Report of Agent Hepner, 1855.
70.	Piankeshaws, Weas, Peorias, and Kaskaskias	220	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
71.	Pueblo Indians	10,000	New Mexico Terr'ty	Report of the Governor of New Mexico 1855.
72.	Quapaws	314	West of Arkansas	Statement made by office, 1853.
73.	Stockbridges	13	Kansas Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
74.	Stockbridges	240	Wisconsin	Estimated by the office, 1855.
75.	Sioux of the Mississippi	6,383	Minnesota Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
76.	Sioux of the Missouri	15,440	Upper Missouri R.	Report of Agent Vaughan, 1855.
77.	Sioux of the Plains	5,600	Platte & Arkansas R.	Report of Agent Whitfield, 1854.
78.	St. Regis Indians	450	New York	Report of Sub-agent Mead, 1849.
79.	Senecas	2,557	"	Report of Agent Johnson, 1855.
80.	Senecas (Sandusky)	180	West of Arkansas	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
81.	Senecas and Shawnees (Lewistown)	271	" "	" "
82.	Shawnees	851	Kansas Territory	" "
83.	Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi	1,626	" "	" "
84.	Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri	180	" "	" "
85.	Seminoles	2,500	West of Arkansas	Statement made by office, 1853.
86.	Seminoles	500	Florida	" " "
87.	Tuscaroras	280	New York	Report of Agent Johnson, 1855.
88.	Towacarros	....	Texas	See "Keechies," &c.
89.	Tonkawas	400	"	Report of Agent Howard, 1853.
90.	Utah Territory Tribes	12,000	Utah Territory	History of Indian Tribes, Part IV., 1855.
91.	Utahs	2,500	New Mexico Terr'ty	Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1855.
92.	Wacoes	....	Texas	See "Keechies," &c.
93.	Wichitas	950	"	Report of Agent Hill, 1854.
94.	Weas	....	Kansas Territory	See "Piankeshaws," &c.
95.	Winnebagoes	2,546	Minnesota Territory	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
96.	Winnebagoes	298	Kansas Territory	Report of Agent Vandersllee, 1853.
97.	Wyandots	554	" "	Annuity pay roll, 1854.
98.	Washington Territory Tribes	14,000	Washington Terr'ty	Report of Governor Stevens, 1854.
99.	Wandering Indians of Comanches, Cheyenne, and other Tribes	17,000	New Mexico Terr'ty	Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1855.
	Total number	314,622		

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[1] Obtained from a report of the Secretary of State of California, on the Census of 1852, in which they are designated as "domesticated Indians." Superintendent Beale, in November, 1852, estimated the Indian population of California at from 75,000 to 100,000; Commissioners Barbour and Wozencraft, in March, 1851, 200,000 to 300,000; though their colleague, Redick M'Kee, Esq., at the same time stated that he had information which would greatly reduce that number. And the Spanish missionary authorities reported it to be, in 1802, 32,231. The census of the State of California is believed to be the most reliable.

TABLE XXIII.

IROQUOIS OF NEW YORK, 1851.

[C. P. WASHBURN.]

Senecas at Alleghany	819	
" at Cattaraugus	1218	
" at Tonawanda	642	
Total Senecas in New York		2679
Tuscaroras		290
Cayugas		139
Onondagas at Onondaga	315	
" at Alleghany	88	
" at Cattaraugus	25	
" at Tuscarora	22	
" at Tonawanda	7	
Total Onondagas in New York		457
Oneidas at Oneida	171	
" at Onondaga	37	
" at Cattaraugus	5	
Total Oneidas in New York		213
Total in New York sub-agency		3778

TABLE XXIV.

OTTOES, MISSOURIAS, AND OMAHAS, 1847.

[JOHN MILLER.[1]]

			Blacksmith work.					
		Loss by war.	Axes.	Tomahawks.	Hoes.	Tin kettles.	Cups.	Shovels.
Ottoes and Missourias	1200	180	300	100	45	29	49	25
Omahas	1000							

Although these three tribes have been living contiguous to, and had intercourse with the whites, they unfortunately appear only to have learned their vices. The Omahas, as I have been informed by their interpreter, have given, in the last twelve months, some 30 horses for whiskey, not getting more for a pony than from two to four gallons, and that well watered. This trade has been carried on by the Pottawatamie half-breeds, on the opposite side of the river. The river was frozen over for the most part of last winter, which gave them great facilities in crossing for the article. It appears almost impossible to prevent them from getting it. I am sorry to state that there are men who live on or near the State line of Missouri, who keep whiskey, as I am told, to sell to these half-breeds and Indians. These unfortunate creatures, when spoken to about the impropriety of drinking, frequently reply, the white man makes it and sells it to us. Nothing short of divine or supernatural power will reform or cure their thirst for whiskey. I am in great hopes that the late amendment to the law in regard to making an Indian a competent witness, will have a salutary influence in the Indian country; and could it reach those base men who keep it along the line, for the purpose of selling to the Indians, it would, in a great degree, effect the desired object.

The Omahas were once a considerable tribe, but, from the ravages of cholera, smallpox, and wars, they are reduced to but little more than one thousand. At present there are a great many children among them.

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1848, p. 137.

TABLE XXV.

INDIANS OF NORTHERN SUPERINTENDENCY IN 1856.

[F. HUEBSCHMANN.[1]]

1. Menominees	1,930
2. Oneidas	978
3. Stockbridges and Munsees	407
4. Winnebagoes	2,546
5. Chippewas of Mississippi	2,206
6. Pillagers of Leech lake, &c.	2,031
7. Menduwakanton and Wapakotah Sioux	2,379
8. Suiaton and Wapaton Sioux	4,004
9. Chippewas, Boisfort, and Red Lake	1,600
10. Yankton, Teton, and Cheyenne Sioux	4,000
11. Chippewas of Lake Superior, Minnesota, and Wisconsin	4,268
12. Strolling Pottawatamies	600
	26,949

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TABLE XXVI.

INDIAN POPULATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN 1837, AS EXHIBITED AT THE TREATY OF JANUARY 15, 1838.

[R. GILLETT, ESQ.]

Senecas	2309
Onondagas	194
Cayugas	130
Onondagas at Onondaga	300
Tuscaroras	273
St. Regis, in New York	350
Oneidas, at Green Bay	600
" in New York	620
Stockbridges	217
Munsees	132
Brothertons	360
Total	5485
Less Wisconsin Oneidas	600
Total	4885

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1856, p. 44. This report is in mass, and very vague in the last four items.

TABLE XXVII.

TEXAS INDIANS IN 1849.

[R. S. Neig[illegible]s.[1]]

Names.	No. of Souls.	No. of Warriors.
Comanches	20,000	4,000
Kiowas	1,500	300
Lipans	500	100
Caddoes Ionies Anadahkas } Associates	1,400	280
Keechies	300	60
Wichitas Wacos Tahwaccarros } Associates	1,000	200
Tonkahiras	650	130
Delawares Shawnees } Associates	650	130
Creeks	50	10
Cherokees	25	5
Euquatops Muscaleros } Apache bands	2,000 1,500	400 300
Total supposed number	29,575	5,915

This estimate is made from the best information that could be obtained from the Indians by frequent inquiry on the subject.

These Indians range promiscuously across our frontier, from Red river to the Rio Grande, during the greater portion of the year, and seek shelter during the winter in the upper cross timbers of Texas, between the head waters of the Colorado river and the Wichita mountains. They have, for the last two years, shown a disposition to establish friendly relations with the government and citizens of the United States.

With several of the bands our intercourse has been extremely limited, for the want of proper means, and a sufficient number of agents, or men, calculated to cultivate friendly intercourse. This has been particularly the case with the Kiowas, the Apaches, and the upper bands of Comanches.

The only serious misunderstanding that exists with any of the tribes is that growing out of the attacks on the Wichitas and Lipans last summer. All intercourse with them has ceased for some months past; and it will be impossible to adjust those differences satisfactorily, without money or presents to give them as indemnity, they claiming to be the aggrieved party.

Most of the tribes are disposed to cultivate the soil; and, by proper encouragement could be induced, in a short period, to settle down and turn their attention to farming. By the laws of this State, the right of soil is denied the Indians; consequently they have made but small progress in farming. The advance of the white settlements, since the annexation of Texas, has been so rapid, that the Indians were led to believe they would ultimately be driven out of the country.

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[1] Ann. Rep., 1849, p. 28.

TABLE XXVIII.

PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO IN 1851.

[GOV. J. S. CALHOUN.]

From a note addressed to Governor Munroe by O. H. Merritt, marshal, I learn that the aggregate of the population of New Mexico amounts to 61,574, including, as I have reason to suppose, soldiers, Government teamsters, and Pueblo Indians. There are not, in my opinion, 300 American citizens in this Territory unconnected with the army, and many of these remain upon compulsion. The population of the Territory has suffered considerable diminution during the past year. The causes I have already placed before you, and the same causes are yet in full force.

The marshal's return of the census to the department will show, as I am informed by the assistant marshals, the population of the Pueblos named below to be as follows:

Taos	361
Picaris	222
San Juan	568
Santa Clara	279
San Ildefonso	139
Pojodque	48
Tesuque	119
Nambe	111
Zuni	1500
Laguna	749
Acoma	350
Lentis	210
Isletta	751
Sandia	241
Cia	124
Santana	399
Jenies	365
San Felipe	411
Santa Domingo	666
Cochiti	254
Total	7867

This, you will remember, does not include the two Pueblos below El Paso, nor the seven Moque Pueblos.

Aggregate of census return	61,574
Pueblo Indians	7,867
Total	53,707

Americans, Mexicans, and all others, 53,707.

TABLE XXIX.

INDIAN TRIBES, OR BANDS, OF THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY, CALIFORNIA.

[A. Johnson.]

No.	Name of Tribe, or Band.	Gross Population.	Location.
1.	Hocks	80	Sutter's Land.
2.	Yubas	180	Yuba river.
3.	Olippas	90	Feather river.
4.	Bogas	70	Feather river.
5.	Holilepas	......	Feather City.
6.	Erskines	80	Butter creek.
7.	Wachucknas	90	Potter's Ranche.
8.	Cushnas	600	South Yuba.
9.	Tagas[1]	......	Butter creek.
10.	Nimsus[1]	......	Suma region.
	Total	1190	

The Indians of the Valley of the Sacramento are not a warlike people. They possess no war clubs, scalping-knife, or tomahawks, so universally used by the Indians east of the Sierra Nevada. They are mostly indolent, docile, and tractable, but many of them are thievish; they are fond of dress of almost any kind, and readily learn the more simple arts of agriculture.

The construction of their huts and villages is much the same. They are constructed by excavating the earth, the size of the room or lodge they desire, some five feet deep. This is covered over with a dome-like top several feet above the surface of the earth. In the centre of the roof, or dome, there is generally an aperture or opening, which serves the double purpose of admitting light, and letting the smoke escape. This is the only opening in the lodge, except the entrance, which is in the side, and barely large enough to admit a human body. Through this they enter, feet foremost, on their hands and knees. When once inside these lodges they are not uncomfortable. The thickness of the earth over them prevents the sun from penetrating them in the hot season, while in the colder season, they protect them from the winds.

The men and children are, in general, naked. Some of them have obtained a few articles of clothing from the whites, such as shirts, handkerchiefs, &c., of which they seem quite proud. The females are also without any covering, except what they call the "*Du-eeh.*" This is nothing more than a bunch of grass or rushes, about one foot in length, suspended from a belt or girdle around the waist, in front and in the rear.

I could discover no distinction in their customs, habits of life, or their general language, which could induce me to think they were not originally the same people. Indeed, their customs and manner of living are in many respects almost identical. Their huts, or lodges, are constructed in the same manner. They do not scalp those whom they kill, but universally throw the dead body into water. They all burn the dead.

They all subsist on roots and grass-seed from the earth, acorns and pine seeds from the trees, and fish from the streams. Acorns, nuts, and shell-fish are gathered in great quantities, and stored in magazines prepared for the purpose. Within the short period since the occupancy of this country by the whites, the red man has been fast fading away. Many have died with disease, and others fled to the mountains, to enjoy, for a brief period, their primeval sports of hunting and fishing. Almost the entire tribes of the Costanoes, or Coast Indians, have passed away. Of the numerous tribes which but a few years ago inhabited the country bordering on the Bay of San Francisco, scarcely an individual is left.

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[1] Number unknown.

TABLE XXX.

CALIFORNIA COAST TRIBES NORTH OF SAN FRANCISCO, 1851.

[R. M'Kee.]

1. In the valleys of Sonora and Russian river there may be in all, say	1200
2. On Clear Lake and mountains adjacent	1000
3. In the two first valleys of south fork of Eel river, with language and customs similar to the above, and who should be colonized with them, from 1000 to 1100, say	1100
4. On the coast from the old Russian settlement at Fort Ross, down to San Francisco, and around the bay, by St Raphael, Pelatoma, &c.	500
5. On the mountains and valleys of Eel river, South, Middle, and Vanderson's forks, and about its mouth	500
6. From the mouth of Eel river south, on ——— river, Cape Mendocino, and to Fort Ross, say	400
7. On Humboldt bay, and north to Mad river, a mile or so above the head of the bay	300
Total	5000

In California I have found the Indian population almost universally overrated as to numbers, and underrated as to intelligence and capacity for improvement. From information at Benicia, Sonoma, &c., I was led to expect that I should find some 2000 or 3000 Indians on Russian river, at least 3000 on Clear Lake, and 2500 or 3000 on Eel river. After passing through their country, and counting every soul in some half a dozen rancheros, to test the accuracy of their own estimates as well as those of the whites, I make the actual number less than one-half, generally about two-fifths of the number usually estimated by the settlers below.

Having as yet visited but one or two rancheros on the coast, I do not offer the above estimate with much confidence, though I think it approximates the truth, while it is only about one-third or one-fourth of the number generally estimated by the old settlers. For many years past the Indian population has been rapidly diminishing by diseases introduced by the whites, internal dissensions, and, in some cases, by want of food. At Humboldt bay, and at other places on the coast, where they depend almost wholly on fish and crabs, many sicken and die every winter; and if the benevolent designs of our Government for their preservation and improvement are not speedily set in operation, and vigorously prosecuted, the Indians, now wearing out a miserable existence along the coast, will all die off.

Back on the rivers and mountains, the Indians are generally a hale, healthy, vigorous-looking people, though of small stature. They are all docile in their habits, and evince a great desire to learn our language and the arts of agriculture; with proper instructions, and assistance for a few years, I have entire confidence in their reclamation from ignorance, idleness, and heathenism, and their ability to maintain themselves and families.

INTERIOR TRIBES NORTH OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Tribes and principal Chiefs.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Naloh, Carlotsapo	30	26	19	75
Chowechak, Chedochog	25	25	27	77
Choiteu, Misalah	34	42	13	89
Bacowa, Tuwanah	23	29	28	80
Saminda, Cachenah	15	25	19	59
Total				380

TABLE XXXI.

VITAL STATISTICS OF OSAGES IN 1850.

[H. Harvey.]

Total population	4561
Births during the year	150
Deaths " "	73
" namely, Men	17
" Women	25
" Children	31
Aged and helpless males	18
" " " females	15
Cripples, entirely helpless	25
Total, requiring to be taken care of	75

The great and little Osages number, according to the "pay-roll" I have made out with much care, and which is believed to be correct, 4561 souls. They have no farms, except those belonging to the half-breeds, the head chief George Whitehair, and a few others. The half-breeds manage their farms well; but, owing to the drought the past summer, the corn was all ruined. Most of the Indians who had no ground enclosed, planted lots of corn along the water-courses, where they could dig the ground with hoes, and thus cultivate the corn, and that, at so great a distance from their villages, as to be out of danger from being destroyed by their horses, and what little other stock they have. These lots of corn their women cultivated, until all went on their "summer hunt," but on their return, recently, they found no corn, but all entirely ruined. I think I may safely say, that there were not (including the missionaries and half-breeds, who tended their crops well), 100 bushels of corn raised within the limits of the Osage nation this season. This is a sad affair for these Indians, and leaves them in a very destitute condition; as much so as they were in a few years since, when the flood swept their corn off. That subject then claimed the favourable attention of government, which I hope will now be the case, in this equally calamitous dispensation of Divine Providence.

The Osages have been remarkably healthy the present year, which will appear from the number of deaths, which have been ascertained and will be seen in this report.

They have drunk very little liquor in the nation, as may readily be inferred from the fact that but one murder has been committed the past year within the nation, and that was done when the parties were stupefied with whiskey.

TABLE XXXII.

UPPER PLATTE AGENCY IN 1856.

[THOMAS S. TWISS.]

Tribes.	Lodges.	Average to the Lodges.	Warriors to the Lodges.	Total Warriors.	Total Indians.
1. Ogellalas	450	5½	2	2225	2475
2. Brulé Sioux	250	5½	2	500	1375
3. Arapahoes	160	5½	2	300	580
4. Cheyennes	140	5½	2	280	770
Total	1000	....	....	3305	5200

In reference to the population of the Indian tribes within the range of this agency, I would observe that, from a careful enumeration of the Sioux bands, denominated the Ogellala and Brulé bands of the Upper Platte, by counting the lodges when they came to receive the annuity goods due under treaty stipulations, and also of the Arapahoe band of this agency, I find accurately, that the

Ogellala band has	450 lodges,
Brulé band has	250 "
Arapahoe band has	160 "
Cheyenne band has	140 "
Total	1000 lodges.

The enumeration of the Cheyenne band was made one year ago. As to the number of persons for each lodge, I am of the opinion that a fair average will not exceed five and a half (5½), making a total of 5500 souls, men, women, and children, for 1000 lodges. The number of warriors, or those capable of using the bow and arrow against their enemies, I should estimate at two for each lodge, making 2000 warriors for 1000 lodges. The population is only about one person to twenty-five square miles, which is a sparse population even for an Indian country. The white population is limited to the Indian traders and their employées, in all not exceeding 100 persons, and to the garrisons of the military posts at Fort Laramie, and the bridge crossing of the North Platte, which will average not far from 400 men. Total whites, 500.

In truth and in fact, there are no actual settlers nor settlements within the agency. The right of soil still remains with the Indian tribes.

TABLE XXXIII.

A LIST

Of the different Nations and Tribes of Indians in the Northern Districts of North America, with the number of their Fighting-men, &c., &c. — BY THOMAS HUTCHINS. — *Topographical Description, &c.: London*, 1778.

No.	Names.	No. of each.	Their Dwelling-grounds.	Their Hunting-grounds.
1.	**Mohocks**	160	Mohock river	Between Mohock river and Lake George.
2.	**Oneidas**	300	East side of Oneida Lake, and on the head waters of the East branch of Susquehanna.	In the country where they live.
3.	**Tuscaroras**	200	Between the Oneidas and Onondagas	Between Oneida Lake and Lake Ontario.
4.	**Onondagoes**	260	Near the Onondaga Lake	Between the Onondago Lake and the mouth of the Seneca river, near Oswego.
5.	**Cayugas**	200	On two small lakes called the Cayugas, near the North branch of Susquehanna	Near the north branch of Susquehanna.
6.	**Senecas**	1,000	Seneca country, on the waters of Susquehanna, the waters of Lake Ontario, and on the heads of Ohio river	Their chief hunting county, where they live.
7.	**Aughquagas**	150	East branch of Susquehanna river, and on Aughquaga	On the East branch of Susquehanna, and on Aughquagga.
8.	**Nanticokes**	100	Utfonango, Chaghnet, Oswego, and on the East branch of Susquehanna	Where they respectively reside.
9.	**Mohickons**	100		
10.	**Conoys**	30		
11.	**Munsays**	150	At Diahago and other villages up the North branch of Susquehanna	Where they respectively reside.
12.	**Sapoones**	30		
13.	**Delawares**	150		
14.	**Delawares**	600	Between the Ohio and Lake Erie, and on the branches of Beaver creek, Muskingum, and Gugehago	Between the Ohio river and Lake Erie.
15.	**Shawanoes**	300	On Sioto and a branch of Muskingum	Between the Ohio river and Lake Erie.
16.	**Wayondotts**	300	In villages near Sandusky	On the head branches of Sioto.
17.	**Mohickons**			
18.	**Cohnnawagas**			
19.	**Twightwees**	250	Miami river near Fort Miami	On the ground where they reside.
20.	**Kickapoos**	1,000	On the Wabash and its branches	Between the mouth of the Wabash and the Miami rivers.
21.	**Pyankeshaws**			
22.	**Musquitons**			
23.	**Kaskaskias**	300	Near the settlements in the Illinois country.	In the Illinois country.
24.	**Piorias**			
25.	**Mitchigamas**			
26.	**Wiyondotts**	250	Near Fort Detroit	About Lake Erie.
27.	**Ottawas**	400		
28.	**Putawatimes**	150		
29.	**Chepawas and**	200	On Saginaw bay, a part of Lake Huron	On Saginaw bay and Lake Huron.
30.	**Ottawas**			
31.	**Kickapoos**	400	Near the entrance of Lake Superior, and not far from St. Mary's	About Lake Superior.
32.	**Chepawas**	550	Near Bay Puan, a part of Lake Michigan	About Bay Puan and Lake Michigan.
33.	**Mynomanies**			
34.	**Saukeys**			
35.	**Putawatimes**	200	Near Fort St. Joseph's	The country between Lake Michigan and the Miami fort.
36.	**Ottawas**	150		
37.	**Kickapooses**	4,000	On Lake Michigan, and between it and the Mississippi	Where they respectively reside.
38.	**Outtagomies**			
39.	**Musquatons**			
40.	**Miscotins**			
41.	**Outtamacks**			
42.	**Musquakeys**			
43.	**Oswegatches**	100	At Swagatchey in Canada, and on the river St. Lawrence	Near where they live.
44.	**Connefedagoes**	300	Near Montreal	Near where they live.
45.	**Cognawagoes**			
46.	**Orondocks**	100	Near Trois river	Near where they live.
47.	**Abonakies**	150		
48.	**Alagonkins**	100		
49.	**La Sue**	10,000	Westward of Lake Superior and the Mississippi	In the country where they reside.
50.	**Ottawas**	200	On the east side of Lake Michigan, twenty-one miles from Michilimackinac	In the country between Lakes Michigan and Huron.
51.	**Chepawas**	1,000	On Lake Superior, and the islands in that lake.	Round Lake Superior.
	Total	23,830		

TABLE XXXIV.

CENSUS OF CAYUGAS, 1855.

Residence.	Heads of Families.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
In the State of New York......	48	29	37	77	143	201
West of Mississippi river.......	10	....	....	....	58	

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TABLE XXXV.

CALIFORNIA INDIANS.

[THOMAS J. HENLY.]

The number of Indians now collected and residing upon reservations is—

At Klamath	2500
At Nome Lacke	2000
At Mendocino	500
At Fresno	900
At Tejon	700
At Nome Cult valley (attached to Nome Lacke)	3000
At King's river (attached to Fresno)	400

Making in all ten thousand.

The number of Indians not connected with the reserves cannot be correctly estimated.

The following statement is made up from the most reliable information I have been able to obtain:

On and attached to the reservation as above	10,000
In San Diego and San Bernardino counties	8,000
In Los Angelos, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Monterey, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz counties	2,000
In Tulare and Mariposa counties	2,500
In Tuolumne, Calaveras, San Joaquin, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties	4,100
In Sacramento, Eldorado, and Placer counties	3,500
In Sutter, Yuba, Nevada, and Sierra counties	3,500
In Butte, Shasta, and Siskiyou counties	5,500
In Klamath, Humboldt, and Trinity counties	6,500
In Mendocino, Colusi, Yolo, Napa, Sonoma, and Marin counties	15,000

Making the total number of Indians within this superintendency 61,600.

At the date of my assuming the duties of superintendent of Indian affairs for this State, the system of colonizing and subsisting Indians upon reservations selected for that purpose, and instructing them in the arts of agricultural labour, &c., had been commenced, and a reservation selected at the Tejon Pass, in the northern part of the State.

This reservation is in a prosperous condition. The number of Indians who reside here is 700. The quantity of land in cultivation this year is about seven hundred acres, five hundred of which are in wheat and barley, and the remainder in corn and vegetables; most of the latter being the exclusive property of the Indians, cultivated entirely by them, and in their own way. The Indians work cheerfully, and perform all the labour upon the farm, white men being only employed as overseers and mechanics. Owing to the extraordinary drought of the past season, in that portion of the State, the product of the farm is much less than it should have been; enough, however, has been produced for the consumption of the place.
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XXXV. [CONTINUED.]

There are on the reserve eight adobe buildings — the first of which is one hundred feet in length by twenty-four feet in breadth, two stories high; it is used as a granary and storehouse. The second is the residence of the agent, and is sixty feet in length by twenty feet in breadth. The remainder are residences of the Indian chiefs, and are about forty feet in length by twenty feet in breadth. All the labour of building these houses was performed by Indians, except the mechanical part of it. The mill is in complete order, and by it all the grain produced upon the place is manufactured into unbolted flour before it is issued to the Indians. The property used in conducting the farm is twenty-six horses, thirty-eight mules, seven oxen, eight wagons, and fourteen ploughs.

Fresno and King's River Farms. — Owing to the difficulty of procuring a suitable location for a reservation in the central portion of the State, no permanent selection has yet been made; but, in order to provide for the Indians according to the intentions of the government, land has been rented at Fresno and King's river, and the Indians collected and subsisted at these points in the same manner as upon permanent reservations. The crops consist of 700 acres of wheat and barley, and 100 acres of corn. Owing to the drought, the wheat and barley crop was an entire failure. The corn, having been irrigated, will be an ordinary crop. This failure of the crops will be a source of serious difficulty to the superintendency. There are about three thousand Indians in the vicinity of these farms, all of whom could have been provided with food had the crops been successful. The drought having been general in this region, grain can only be purchased at exorbitant rates, such as would not be justifiable except to prevent starvation. Every precaution, however, has been taken to avoid the consequences of this misfortune. The agents have been instructed to turn the attention of the Indians to their mode of living before the care of the government had been extended over them; and parties have been sent to the mountains, in various directions, to collect acorns, berries, seeds, and such other food as they were formerly accustomed to subsist upon; and, as if to demonstrate the fact that Providence never leaves any portion of the human family entirely unprovided with the means to sustain life, the phenomenon exists that the salmon, which for several years have failed to make their appearance in the San Joaquin river in any numbers worth mentioning, are this year abundant in that stream, and the prospect seems to be that the threatened famine will be in a great degree averted by this providential supply of fish from the ocean, though it is distant from the coast, by the meandering of the stream, some three hundred miles. A portion of the Indians from the farms have been removed to and encamped upon the river, and every facility furnished them for catching and curing fish, which, should the supply continue, will enable them to provide a sufficient quantity for a great portion of the winter. Another source, which is now looked upon as of great importance, is the Tule lake, lying about fifty miles northwest of the San Joaquin river, which abounds with fish of excellent quality, and is, during the winter season, the resort of an unlimited number of wild geese and ducks, from which the Indians have heretofore, when undisturbed by the whites, obtained a comfortable subsistence. Agents Lewis and Ridley are now examining the lake country for a suitable location, to which, if found, it is intended to remove some ten or fifteen hundred of the Indians for support during the winter. Although the prospect for these Indians seems to be gloomy, yet I have great confidence that, by industry, energy, and judicious management, we shall be enabled to provide for them in such a way as to prevent starvation, and preserve the peace of the country.

Passing from the Fresno, we have a much more cheering prospect at Nome Lacke reservation, at which place there are collected about two thousand Indians. Land in cultivation, one thousand acres; estimated product of wheat, fifteen thousand bushels; corn, pumpkins, melons, turnips, and other vegetables in great abundance. Nothing in the pursuits of industry could have been more satisfactory or interesting than the harvesting of the wheat crop; it was cut entirely with small German reaping-hooks, which were used by the Indians with extraordinary dexterity. About two hundred men, furnished with these sickles, cut the wheat and threw it into bunches, and were followed by a sufficient number of women and boys to bind it into sheaves and put it into stacks ready for threshing. In this way, and at their leisure, in about ten days, taking it as it ripened, the entire harvesting was completed, all the labour having been performed by the Indians, only three or four white men being engaged as overseers. It was estimated by the white men in charge of the work, that one hundred of these Indians could be selected, who would cut and take care of as much grain as any fifty white men not regularly accustomed to this description of labour. Considering the fact that these Indians eighteen months ago were entirely wild, and totally ignorant of everything connected with industrial habits, the labour they have performed, and the skill and dexterity with which they perform their work, is alone a sufficient answer to the question so often asked, "Can Indians be made to perform labour sufficient to provide for their support?" It is a fact, too, worthy of particular remark, that all this labour has been most cheerfully performed, no coercion or chastisement having been necessary. Attached to Nome Lacke a farm has recently been established at Nome Cult valley. This valley is located in the coast range of mountains, about forty miles east of Cape Mendocino, and there are in the vicinity about three thousand Indians. The farm is placed in charge of three of the employées from Nome Lacke. The Indians are now engaged, under the direction of the persons in charge of them, in collecting acor[illegible] manzanito berries, and other wild food for their winter supply, of which there will be plenty for their subsistence until crops can be produced for their support. There are on the Nome Lacke reserve three adobe houses, one flouring mill, and fourteen frame houses. In addition to these improvements, there is in the course of erection an adobe building intended for a fortification. It is to be one hundred feet square, with a thick adobe wall ten feet high. In the centre will be erected a two-story substantial adobe building, which will be used as a guard-house and prison. The property used in conducting this farm are twenty-five horses, eight mules, seventy-seven oxen, twenty-one ploughs, and five wagons.

Klamath reservation is located on the river of that name, which discharges its waters into the Pacific ocean twenty miles south of Crescent city.

The Indians at this place number about two thousand. They are proud and somewhat insolent, and not inclined to labour, alleging that, as they have always heretofore lived upon the fish of the river, and the roots, berries, and seeds of their native hills, they can continue to do so if left unmolested by the whites, whose encroachments upon what they call their country they are disposed to resist. Their prejudices upon these points are fast giving way before the policy of the government, and no serious difficulty will be encountered in initiating the system of labour among them. The land on this river is peculiarly adapted to the growth of vegetables, and it is expected that potatoes and other vegetable food, which can be produced in any abundance, together with the salmon and other fish which abound plentifully in the Klamath river, shall constitute the principal food for these Indians. It is confidently expected in this way to avoid the purchase of beef, which forms so expensive an item at those places where there is no substitute for it. The establishment of the Klamath reserve has undoubtedly prevented the spread of the Indian wars of Oregon down into northern California. There are on this reserve five log houses, seven board houses, four slab houses, one smoke-house, one poultry-house, and thirty Indian huts. The property used in conducting the farming operations is two mules, thirteen oxen, and six ploughs.

Mendocino reservation is located fifty miles south of Cape Mendocino, on the Pacific coast. This reserve has been but recently established. The number of Indians at present collected there is about five hundred. They subsist almost entirely upon fish and muscles. They are furnished with boats, seines, and all the necessary tackle for fishing. A smoke-house has been erected, and the agent has a large number of Indians engaged in catching and curing fish for the winter supply of food. There are several rivers discharging into the ocean through this reserve, in which, at all seasons of the year, an abundant supply of fish can be taken. The coast at this point is somewhat shoaly, and the beach is covered with muscles, over which the tide ebbs and flows, and they are covered with an inexhaustible quantity of muscles, but little inferior in flavour and richness to oysters. These two articles will always, in case of a failure of crops upon the reserve, afford sustenance to the Indians without any other food. The land on this reserve, like that of the Klamath, will produce corn, wheat, oats, &c., but is peculiarly adapted to the production of vegetables. The quantity of land of this description amounts to several thousand acres, the products of which, with the fish and muscles of the rivers and coast in plentiful abundance, will afford support for a very large number of Indians; which I consider safe to estimate at not less than ten thousand. Indeed, I know of no location, either in California or elsewhere, so well adapted to the purposes of an Indian reservation as Mendocino. There are on this reserve eight houses. The property used to establish and carry on operations at this place is five horses, two mules, twenty-four oxen, one cart, and two ploughs.

XXXV. [CONTINUED.]

In regard to the system of colonizing and subsisting Indians on reservations, I have only to say that it has so far succeeded entirely beyond my expectations, and is, in my judgment, the only system that can be of any real benefit to the Indians. It enables the government to withdraw them from the contaminating influences of an unrestrained intercourse with the whites, and gives an opportunity to provide for them just such, and no more, assistance than their wants from time to time may actually require.

Indians should be treated as wards, and the government should act as their guardian, judging for them at all times of their real wants, and providing for them accordingly. This has been the policy pursued in the California superintendency, and I have so far found no difficulty in its application.

TABLE XXXVI.

IROQUOIS OF NEW YORK, 1853.

[M. H. JOHNSON.[1]]

Names of Tribes and Location.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Aggregate number of Men, Women and Children.	Total Population of each tribe.
Senecas at Cattaraugus	297	324	552	1173	2581
Senecas at Alleghany	184	201	372	757	
Senecas at Townawanda	176	195	280	651	
Total	657	720	1204		
Senecas at Cattaraugus by adoption, but not entitled to annuities: Susan Kinjockety's family	1	3	8		
Onondagas at Onondaga Castle	80	98	144	322	472
Onondagas with Senecas at Cattaraugus	9	6	17	32	
Onondagas with Senecas at Alleghany	19	14	54	87	
Onondagas with Senecas at Tonawanda	......	1	3	4	
Onondagas with Tuscaroras at Tuscarora	2	5	20	27	
Total	110	124	238		
Cayugas with Senecas	39	31	73	143	143
Tuscaroras at Tuscarora	68	63	151	282	282
Oneidas at Oneida Castle	43	44	89	176	255
Oneidas with Senecas at Cattaraugus	4	1	1	6	
Oneidas with Onondagas at Onondaga Castle	19	24	29	72	
Oneidas with Senecas at Tonawanda	......	1	......	1	
Total	66	70	119		
Add Susan Kinjockety's family, who are not entitled to goods annuity	......	......	......	....	12
Total number of Six Nations of New York Indians.	......	......	......	....	3745

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[1] Annual Report of Indian Bureau, 1853, p. 38.

CHAPTER II.

FISCAL STATISTICS.

THE policy of the American government respecting the Indians, is in nothing more marked than in the just and elevated tone of its financial transactions with them. Other nations, who preceded the present government, in their dealings with the Indians satisfied their sense of justice and benevolence by periodical presents and gratuities. Spain, France, and Great Britain acted upon this principle. The Revolution of 1776 put this matter on a different footing. The tribes were assembled in councils by their chiefs and principal warriors, and treated with as foreign nations. These treaties were laid before the Senate for its ratification. When so ratified they were proclaimed, as other treaties, and published to the world, with the records of our national diplomacy. Such has been the practice down to the present day. This record forms one of the most noble evidences of the national justice to the poor, ignorant, and feeble hunter tribes of America. The awards thus made to them for their lands have rapidly increased with the growth and prosperity of the States; and the system is destined to go on, in an accelerated ratio, while civilization requires lands, which the Indians can supply.

In 1820, the total sum required to meet the payment of Indian annuities was $152,575.[1] Nothing better evidences the increased demand for, and value of, the Indian lands, as also the progress of the intercourse with the tribes, than the rapid multiplication of the annuities paid to them. In 1851, the sum required to be paid in fulfilment of treaty stipulations was $868,833·04; in 1852, $1,001,201·74; in 1853, $1,472,605·58; and in 1854, $905,171·23. During the same period the aggregate of salaries and cost of management, rose from $147,033·43 to $195,550·68.

In the year 1855, the appropriation to meet the requirements of treaties was $1,505,762·76; and in 1856, $1,804,332·52. The entire appropriation, for all objects, during the XXXIst, XXXIId, and XXXIIId Congresses, was respectively, $5,556,850·36, $4,782,093·24, and $5,989,375·48.[2]

The distribution of these sums amongst the different tribes, and the amounts vested in public stocks for their benefit, by the Treasury Department, are set forth in the subjoined tables, numbered I., II., III., IV., V., VI.

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[1] Table II., p. 690.

[2] Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, 1856, p. 268.

TABLE I.

INTEREST PAID INDIANS ON STOCKS HELD BY THEM IN 1847.

Names of Tribes.	Amount provided by treaty for investment.	Rate per cent.	Amount of interest annually appropriated.	Authority by which made.
Delawares	$46,080	5	$2,304	Treaty, September 29, 1829.
Chippewas and Ottowas	200,000	6	12,000	Resol'n, Senate, May 27, 1836.
Sioux of Mississippi	300,000	5	15,000	Treaty, September 29, 1837.
Sacs and Foxes of Missouri	175,400	5	8,770	Treaty, October 21, 1837.
Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi	1,000,000	5	50,000	Treaties, October 21, 1837, and October 11, 1842.
Winnebagoes	1,100,000	5	55,000	Treaty, November 1, 1837.
Iowas	157,500	5	7,875	Resol'n, Senate, Jan. 19, 1838.
Osages	69,120	5	3,456	Resol'n, Senate, Jan. 19, 1838.
Creeks	350,000	5	17,500	Treaty, November 23, 1838.
Senecas of New York	75,000	5	3,750	Treaty, May 20, 1842.
Choctaws	43,600	5	2,180	Treaty, September 27, 1830.
Total	$3,516,700		$177,835	

TABLE II.

INTEREST PAID INDIANS IN 1851.[1]

Names of Tribes.	Amount provided by treaty for investment.	Rate per cent.	Amount of interest annually appropriated.	Authority by which it is made.
Delawares	$46,080	5	$2,304	Treaty, September 29, 1829.
Chippewas and Ottawas	200,000	6	12,000	Resolution of the Senate, May 27, 1836.
Sioux, Mississippi	300,000	5	15,000	Treaty, September 29, 1837.
Sacs and Foxes, Missouri	175,400	5	8,770	Treaty, October 21, 1837.
Winnebagoes	1,185,000	5	59,250	Treaties, November 1, 1837, and October 13, 1846.
Sacs and Foxes, Mississippi	1,000,000	5	50,000	Treaties, October 21, 1837, and October 11, 1842.
Iowas	157,500	5	7,875	Resolution of the Senate, January 19, 1838.
Osages	69,120	5	3,456	Resolution of the Senate, January 19, 1838.
Creeks	350,000	5	17,500	Treaty, November 23, 1838.
Senecas, New York	75,000	5	3,750	Treaty, May 20, 1842, and law of Congress, June 27, 1846.
Kanzas	200,000	5	10,000	Treaty, January 14, 1846.
Pottawattamies	643,000	5	32,150	Treaty, June 5, 1846.
Choctaws	872,000	5	43,600	Treaty, September 27, 1830, and laws of 1842 and 1845.
Total	$5,273,1[illegible]0		$265,655	

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[1] Ann. Rep.-1851.

TABLE III.

PER CAPITA PAYMENTS MADE TO INDIAN TRIBES IN 1854.

No.	Names of Tribes.	Total number of Indians.	Payment per capita.	Total amount paid.
1.	Menomonies	1,930	$9·75	$18,817·00
2.	Sioux of Mississippi, viz. :			
	Sesectoan and Wahpaytoan band	4,004	9·00	36,043·51
	Medawakantoan and Wahpakootah	2,379	23·50	55,916·17
	Winnebagoes	2,561	15·00	38,415·00
3.	Chippewas of Lake Superior :			
	Three bands	606	3·89	2,362·94
	Twenty bands	2,479	2·14	5,323·21
4.	Chippewas of Mississippi	2,206	4·25	9,375·50
5.	Pottawattamies	3,440	18·50	63,862·50
6.	Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi	1,626	24·50	40,000·00
7.	Chippewas and Ottawas, viz. :			
	Sixteen bands	1,590	6·38	10,147·78
	Six bands	755	6·75	5,101·22
	Ten bands	1,061	9·85	10,457·44
	Twelve bands	1,746	8·75	15,293·56
8.	Ottowas, fourteen bands	1,212	1·40	1,700·00
9.	Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies	236	6·72	1,587·50
10.	Pottawattamies of Huron	45	8.88	400·00
11.	Chippewas of Swan creek and Black river	138	2·17	300·00
12.	Chippewas of Saginaw	1,340	1·64	2,200·00
13.	Delawares	902	42·50	38,335·00
14.	Wyandots	554	36·00	19,944·00
15.	Shawnees	851	67·50	54,067·50
16.	Stockbridges in the Territory of Kanzas	13	4·60	59·80
17.	Christian Indians	44	9 00	402·80
18.	Kaskaskias, Peorias, Weas, and Piankashaws	220	38·00	8,360.00
19.	Miamies west	207	206·00	42,642·00
20.	Miamies in Indiana	276	154·92	42,758·98
21.	Miamies of Eel river	12	183·00	2,196·00
22.	Senecas	180	6·50	1,250·00
23.	Senecas and Shawnees	271	4 00	1,940·37
24.	Osages	4,098	2·50	10,245·00
25.	Chickasaws	4,787	10·00	47,870·00
26.	Sacs and Foxes of Missouri	180	83·00	15,000.00
27.	Iowas	433	57.00	24,681·00
28.	Kickapoos	344	72·50	25,000·00
29.	Omahas	800	25·00	20,000·00
30.	Senecas of New York	683 2,146	2·14 3·48	1,461·62 7,468·08
	Total	46,349	....	$680,985·48

TABLE IV.

INDIAN TRUST FUNDS IN 1855.

[PREPARED BY THE INDIAN BUREAU.]

Tribes, and Dates of Acts, Treaties, and Conventions.	U. States Loan, 1842, 6 per cent.	U. States Loan, 1847, 6 per cent.	Virginia, 6 per cent.	Maryland, 6 per cent.	Maryland, 5 per cent.	Kentucky, 5 per cent.	Tennessee, 5 per cent.	Missouri, 6 per cent.	Missouri, 5½ per cent.	Indiana, 5 per cent.	Michigan, 6 per cent.	Totals.
Creek Orphans, second article of treaty, 1832	$49,900·84		$73,800·00			$1,000·00	$20,000·00	$28,041·76	$28,000·00			$200,742·60
Menomonee Treaty, 1836	26,114·88	$21,321·10				77,000·00	19,000.00	9,967·60				153,403·58
Ottawas and Chippewas, fourth article, treaty, 1836	4,588·97	2,274·47	3,000·00				1,000·00	10,062·30				20,925·74
Chippewas of Swan creek, treaty, 1836								5,587·42				5,587·42
Ottawas of Roche Bœuf, treaty, 1831								1,571·13				1,571·13
Ottawas of Blanchard's Fork, treaty, 1831								8,473·22				8,473·22
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies, mills and education, third article of treaty, 1833	7,478·64	8,317·37		$130,850·43				150·00		$68,000·00		214,796·44
Senecas and Shawnees, acts, June 14, 1836, and January 9, 1837						6,000·00		3,466·10	7,000·00			16,466·10
Kansas schools, treaty, 1825	4,444·66	1,540·06						2,570·28	18,000·00			26,555·00
Choctaws, under convention with Chickasaws, February 17, 1837	1,734·71		450,000·00					2,000·00				453,734·71
Delaware, education, treaty, 1829	7,806·28											7,806·28
Osages, education, treaty, 1825	24,679·56							7,044·46				31,724·02
Stockbridges and Munsees, treaty, 1840	5,204·16											5,204·16
Choctaws, education, treaty, 1830	60,893·62	18,026·97						19,471·20				98,391·79
Wyandots, Senate amendment to treaty, April 1, 1850							105,000·00	1,594,53				106,594·53
Cherokee Schools, 1819	10,000·00	5,800·00			$41,138·00							56,938·00
Cherokee treaty of 1835, and Supplement of 1836			270,000·00	761·39		94,000·00	250,000·00				$64,000,00	678,761·29
Senecas, acts, June 14, 1836; and January 9, 1837						5,000·00						5,000·00
Total												$2,092,676·11

TABLE V.

ANNUITIES PAID TO INDIANS IN 1856.

[PREPARED BY THE INDIAN BUREAU.]

To which Tribe paid.	In Money.	In Goods.	In Provisions.
To the Chippewas of Saginaw, Swan creek, and Black river	$10,300·00	....	....
To the Ottowas and Chippewas	28,300·00	....	....
To the Pottawatamies (Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies in Michigan)	1,587·50	....	....
To the Pottawatamies of Huron	400·00	....	....
To the Menomonies	20,000·00	....	$3,000·00
To the Six Nations of New York, viz:			
Stockbridges, Green Bay $214			
Stockbridges, West 56			
Oneidas, Green Bay 882			
	1,152·00	....	....
To the Six Nations of New York Indians	....	$3,694·50	....
To the Chippewas of Lake Superior, treaties 1837, 1842, and 1854	19,666·67	24,077·17	2,666·67
To the Chippewas of Mississippi, treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1855	27,333·33	9,853·75	1,500·00
To the Pillager and Lake Winnebigoshish band of Chippewa Indians	10,666·66	7,933·75	....
To the Delawares	41,850·00	....	....
To the Pottawatamies	61,412·50	....	....
To the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi	80,862·50	....	....
To the Ottawas, west	2,600·00	....	....
To the Miamies, west	36,674·49	....	....
To the Kaskaskias and Peorias, and Weas and Piankashaws	9,000·00	....	....
To the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri	15,000·00	....	....
To the Omahas	37,700·00	....	....
To the Ottoes and Missourias	15,750·00	....	....
To the Shawnee Indians	90,000·00	....	....
To the Wyandots	126,666·67	....	....
To the Kickapoos	20,000·00	....	....
To the Kanzas	8,000·00	....	....
To the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches	....	18,117·07	....
To the Blackfeet Indians, in goods, provisions, &c.	....	25,905·50	....
To the Winnebagoes	92,899·24	19,386·20	10,000·00
To the Sioux of Mississippi	90,078·59	21,671·11	13,000·00
To the Choctaws	3,600·00	....	....
To the Creeks	24,500·00	2,000·00	....
To the Chickasaws	3,000·00	....	....
To the Osages	12,000·00	8,000·00	....
To the Senecas	1,000·00	....	....
To the Senecas and Shawnees	1,000·00	....	....
To the Senecas of New York	11,902·50	....	....
To the Florida Indians, or Seminoles	3,000·00	2,000·00	....
For tribes, parties to treaties at Fort Laramie	....	48,253·78	....
Total	907,902·65	190,892·83	30,166·67

TABLE VI.

FUNDS APPROPRIATED FOR INDIAN ACCOUNT, ANNUALLY DURING SIX YEARS; 1851, '52, '53, '54, '55, '56.

[PREPARED BY THE INDIAN BUREAU.]

Appropriations and Estimates of each Congress, from 1851 to 1856, Amounts of Unestimated Appropriations, and Amounts Drawn.	For fulfilling Treaties, &c.	For Salaries, &c.	General Expenses and Miscellaneous Payments.	Total.
Thirty-first Congress.				
Appropriated at 1st session	$868,833·04	$147,033·43	$1,913,951·31	$2,929,817·78
" at 2d session	1,001,201·74	154,666·66	1,471,164·18	2,627,032·58
Estimated to 1st session	856,833·04	147,033·43	458,926·22	1,462,792·69
" to 2d session	1,001,201·74	154,666·66	1,453,963·97	2,609,832·37
Amounts appropriated, and not estimated	12,000·00	....	1,237,308·61	1,249,308·61
Drawn during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851	1,025,740·34	117,433·16	1,585,044·36	2,728,217·86
Drawn during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1852	676,488·91	161,282·55	1,720,886·96	2,558,658·42
Thirty-second Congress.				
Appropriated at 1st session	1,472,605·58	172,968·68	1,513,301·42	3,158,875·68
" at 2d session	905,171·23	195,550·00	522,496·33	1,623,217·56
Estimated to 1st session	1,472,605·58	172,968·68	1,499,087·60	3,144,661·86
" to 2d "	905,171·23	195,550·00	202,099·00	1,302,820·23
Amounts appropriated, and not estimated	....	....	304,167·50	304,167·50
Drawn during the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1853	1,529,644·44	200,967·98	1,990,816·18	3,721,428·60
Drawn during the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1854	861,646·33	169,067·37	312,800·24	1,343,513·94
Thirty-third Congress.				
Appropriated at 1st session	1,505,762·76	189,500·00	1,384,547·59	3,079,810·35
" " 2d "	1,804,332·52	211,041·79	894,190·82	2,909,565·13
Estimated to 1st session	1,505,762·76	189,500·00	1,267,400·66	2,962,663·42
" " 2d "	1,804,332·52	206,041·79	666,340·13	2,676,714·44
Amounts appropriated and not estimated	....	5,000·00	304,397·62	309,397·62
Drawn during the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1855	1,405,112·72	178,724·46	1,138,523·13	2,722,360·31
Drawn during the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1856	1,816,716·11	157,579·56	707,120·07	2,681,414·74

TABLE VI. [CONTINUED.]

RECAPITULATION.

Aggregates.	31st Congress.		32d Congress.		33d Congress.	
	Appropriations.	Estimates.	Appropriations.	Estimates.	Appropriations.	Estimates.
Aggregates of Appropriations and Estimates for each Congress, for fulfilling Treaties	$1,870,034·78	$1,858,034·78	$2,377,776·81	$2,377,776·81	$3,310,095·28	$3,310,095·28
Aggregates of Appropriations and Estimates for each Congress, for Salaries, &c.	301,700·09	301,700·09	368,518·68	368,518·68	400,541·79	395,541·79
Aggregates of Appropriations and Estimates for each Congress, for General Expenses, Miscellaneous Payments, &c.	3,385,115·49	1,912,890·19	2,035,797·75	1,701,186·60	2,278,738·41	1,933,740·79
Total	5,556,850·36	4,072,625·06	4,782,093·24	4,447,482·09	5,989,375·48	5,639,377·86

RECAPITULATION OF AMOUNTS DRAWN.

Purpose of Appropriation.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1851.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1852.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1853.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1854.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1855.	During fiscal year, ending June 30, 1856.
For fulfilling Treaties, &c.	$1,025,740·34	$676,488·91	$1,529,644·44	$861,646·33	$1,405,112·72	$1,816,715·11
For Salaries, &c.	117,433·16	161,282·55	200,967·98	169,067·37	178,724·46	157,579·56
For General Expenses, and Miscellaneous Payments, &c.	1,585,044·36	1,720,886·96	1,990,816·18	312,800·24	1,138,523·13	707,120·07
Total	2,728,217·86	2,558,658·42	3,721,428·60	1,343,513·94	2,722,360·31	2,681,414·74

NOTE. — The appropriations for the Indian service at the 1st session of the 34th Congress amount to $2,831,613·78, which would be distributed on the basis of the above table, as follows:

For fulfilling Treaties, &c.	$1,874,860·92
For Salaries, &c.	107,500·00
For general Expenses, &c.	849,252·86
Total	2,831,613·78

CHAPTER III.

STATISTICS OF THE FUR TRADE.

TABLE I.

PUBLIC SALE OF UNITED STATES FURS AT THE COMMERCIAL SALE ROOMS, MINCING LANE, LONDON.

Description of Furs from the United States.[1]

DATES OF SALES.	NAMES OF SKINS AND FURS RECOGNISED IN THE TRADE.												
	Bear.	Beaver.	Black Musquash.	Cat, Common.	Cross Fox.	Deer Skins.	Deer Skins in the hair, and shaved.	Elk.	Fawn.	Fisher.	Grey Fox.	Kitt Fox.	Lynx.
1854, January 19	......	459	....	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" March 10, 13, 14, and 15	915	183	1,032	2,844	192	......	......	......	......	954	4,223	......	66
" March 20	......	......	....	......	......	......	3,621	......	......	......	......	......	......
" July 20	......	......	....	......	......	......	18,720	16	2,607	......	......	......	......
" August 31, September 4 and 5	430	2,014	38,587	2,088	316	......	......	......	......	1,200	3,788	......	304
" November 15	......	......	....	......	......	......	6,097	......	347	......	......	......	......
1855, January 18	......	2,382	....	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" March 9, 12, 13, and 14	492	354	27,503	3,878	235	......	......	......	......	881	5,554	5,086	27
" April 17	......	......	....	......	......	5,696	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" August 14	......	......	....	......	......	......	10,444	......	839	......	......	......	......
" September 3, 4 and 5	1,882	3,442	40,548	3,111	496	......	......	......	......	2,009	10,272	......	491
1856, January 17	......	1,614	....	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" February 15	......	......	....	......	......	......	15,250	......	1,276	......	......	......	......
" February 29, March 3 and 4	1,014	244	3,271	3,752	411	......	......	......	......	1,034	9,148	......	342
Total	4,733	11,492	110,941	15,673	1,650	5,696	54,132	16	5,069	6,078	32,985	5,086	1,230

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[1] Original Catalogues of sales furnished by Ramsay Crooks, Esq., New York.

TABLE I. [CONTINUED.]

PUBLIC SALE OF UNITED STATES FURS AT THE COMMERCIAL SALE ROOMS, MINCING LANE, LONDON.

Description of Furs from the United States.[1]

DATES OF SALES.		Names of Skins and Furs recognised in the Trade.											
		Martin.	Mink.	Musquash.	Opossum.	Otter.	Rabbit.	Raccoon.	Red Fox.	Russian Sable.	Silver Fox.	Silver Grey Rabbit.	Sea Otter.
1854,	January 19	......	....	423,421	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	March 10, 13, 14, and 15	3,037	72,464	118,088	......	508	......	258,991	15,739	......	45	......	41
"	March 20	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	July 20	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	August 31, September 4 and 5	2,022	73,440	367,788	......	2,238	......	214,000	16,806	......	51	......	35
"	November 15	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
1855,	January 18	......	....	589,224	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	March 9, 12, 13, and 14	3,043	61,266	166,052	......	2,494	......	264,595	14,612	......	56	......	100
"	April 17	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	August 14	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	September 3, 4 and 5	7,861	67,558	398,978	12,745	1,558	......	217,487	21,093	......	48	2,095	52
1856,	January 17	......	....	362,865	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	February 15	......	....	....	......	......	......	....	......	......	......	......	......
"	February 29, March 3 and 4	5,559	31,358	45,965	52,584	1,898	......	179,228	6,833	320	133	......	134
	Total	21,522	306,086	2,472,381	65,329	8,696	......	1,134,301	75,083	320	333	2,095	362

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[1] Original Catalogues of sales furnished by Ramsay Crooks, Esq., New York.

TABLE II.

PUBLIC SALE OF FURS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, AT THEIR HOUSE IN FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON.

Description of Furs of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

DATE OF SALES.	NAMES OF SKINS AND FURS RECOGNIZED IN THE TRADE.									
	American Rabbit.	Bear.	Black Bear.	Brown, Grey, and White Bear.	Badger.	Beaver.	Beaver Coat, lbs.	Cat.	Cross Fox.	Deer.
1854, January 18	82,470	......	......	......	......	499,000	47	......	......	......
" March 7, 8 and 9	....	......	3,155	597	867	....	......	......	976	......
" August 29 and 30	....	2,464	......	......	......	10,249	......	130	......	981
1855, January 17	82,734	......	......	......	......	45,950	42	.....	......	......
" March 6, 7 and 8	....	......	3,423	610	884	....	.... .	......	1,402	......
" August 29 and 30	....	4,928	......	......	......	16,402	......	374	......	490
1856, January 16	....	......	......	......	......	56,033	66	......	......	......
" February 26, 27 and 28	....	......	3,123	826	892	....	......	......	1,519	......
Total	165,204	7,392	9,701	2,033	2,643	627,634	155	504	3,897	1,471

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[1] Original Catalogues of sales furnished by Ramsay Crooks, Esq., New York.

TABLE II. [CONTINUED.]

PUBLIC SALE OF FURS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, AT THEIR HOUSE IN FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON.

Description of Furs of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

DATES OF SALES.	Names of Skins and Furs recognised in the Trade.									
	Fisher.	Fox.	Hair Seal.	Kitt Fox.	Lynx.	Martin.	Mink.	Musquash.	Otter.	Raccoon.
1854, January 18	......	......	......	......	......	....	... .	506,452	......	......
" March 7, 8 and 9	4,576	......	......	5,565	3,939	73,575	29,934	....	11,242	......
" August 29 and 30	327	291	1,959	......	603	18,031	12,305	5,828	806	792
1855, January 17	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	302,634	......	......
" March 6, 7 and 8	3,833	......	......	4,646	4,245	109,578	37,493	....	10,331	......
" August 29 and 30	1,028	1,357	2,380	......	1,388	26,935	13,227	30,635	763	1,416
1856, January 16	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	240,620	......	......
" February 26, 27 and 28	4,281	......	......	3,870	8,970	149,533	46,030	....	9,027	......
Total	14,045	1,648	4,339	13,581	19,145	377,652	138,989	1,086,169	32,169	2,208

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[1] Original Catalogues of sales furnished by Ramsay Crooks, Esq., New York.

- TABLE II. [CONTINUED.]

PUBLIC SALE OF FURS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, AT THEIR HOUSE IN FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON.

Description of Furs of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

DATES OF SALES.	Names of Skins and Furs recognized in the Trade.									
	Red Fox.	Sea Otter.	Sea Otter, Pups, tails, and pieces.	Skunk.	Silver Fox.	Swan.	White and Blue Fox.	Wolf.	Wolverine.	White Fox.
1854, January 18	....	......	......	....	......	......	....	....	......	......
" March 7, 8 and 9	3,015	......	......	4,467	308	1,281	....	6,586	758	4,062
" August 29 and 30	....	208	242	....	......	......	....	105	289	......
1855, January 17	....	......	......	....	......	......	....	....	......	......
" March 6, 7 and 8	7,319	......	......	5,945	371	1,211	....	13,754	706	1,846
" August 29 and 30	....	288	253	....	......	......	....	1,638	418	......
1856, January 16	....	......	......	....	......	......	....	....	......	......
" February 26, 27 and 28	6,567	......	......	11,300	491	1,032	10,366	6,822	630	......
Total	16,901	496	495	21,712	1,170	3,524	10,366	28,905	2,801	5,908

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[1] Original Catalogues of sales furnished by Ramsay Crooks, Esq., New York.

CHAPTER IV.

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY.[1]

THE revision by me of these topics, in contemplation two years since, when the fifth volume was submitted to the public, was found to be impracticable, owing to the accumulated labor arising from the condensations required of me. At my request, the subject has been investigated by Mr. Langdon, who has evinced therein a spirit of appreciation and research, resulting in a degree of success, believed not to have been previously attained in this department.

Whatever may be advanced respecting the manners and character of the Indians, must necessarily be of subordinate importance to the details of their moral status. However much we may deplore the Indian's decadence, hope for his reformation, and desire his restoration to the family of civilized man, it is only by reference to moral data of the kind here exhibited, that we are able to understand truly, both what he now *is*, and what he is destined to *be*. Mr. Langdon's prominent activity in the vital cause of religious associations of the young men of the country, designated him as being eminently fitted for pursuing this investigation, and the results are presented in the peculiar form of tables, in which, by a *coup d'œil*, the reader will be able to grasp all the facts, as detailed in Mr. Langdon's own words and mode of illustration.

A SUMMARY OF MISSIONS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

[BY WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON, A. M.]

The following pages present a summary view of the efforts to civilize and evangelize the Indian which have been put forth by Christians of various creeds from the earliest days of North American colonization.

While it is manifest that, whatever amount of time were devoted to the labor, any hope of rendering complete a statement of this kind must be disappointed, the few weeks which have been allowed for the present investigation and the varied and scattered sources from which information has of necessity been sought have confined the results attained to an approximation which, however far it may fall short of what may be desired and of what has been attempted, it is yet believed will be found more full and complete than any compilation which has heretofore been made, and will serve as a useful base for a future investigator.

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[1] Vol. V., Table XI.

Deficient however as these pages may be and are in *completeness*, every effort has been made to attain *accuracy;* and it is believed that, if they contain errors, the fault lies with the authorities upon which reliance has been placed: and that therefore while they may often prove valueless as *negative* testimony, their *positive* evidence may be accepted with confidence.

The following tables are restricted in their field to that part of North America at present possessed either by the United States or by Great Britain: and they present, the one, the comparative chronology; and the other, the statistics of the various missions within that field for nearly three hundred years. These are, in each case, grouped chronologically under the several organizations by which they were respectively established, or to which they owed a fostering care; these organizations being themselves arranged in the order of time in which they first took active part in this work — although, in a few instances, this arrangement has been held subordinate to that of derivation.

There are two CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, of which the first embraces the missions of those organizations whose labors were confined to, or have extended from, the colonial period; the second, of those whose initial labors are within the national era. The *heavy* lines on the chart represent the organizations themselves; the *lighter* lines, their several missions: in either case, their lateral extent over the lines which mark each fifth year showing the period of the active occupancy of their respective fields. The *vertical* lines represent transference, or the migration either of missionaries, of tribes, or of both, as the case may be. The *dotted* lines represent the continuance of a mission under other auspices than those in question.

Of the STATISTICAL TABLES, the one in like manner extends into the colonial, while the other is confined to the national era. The column of *stations* embraces "stations" and "out-stations" of all kinds; that of *converts* in no case, so far as known, embraces baptized infants; that of *hearers* is confined to the actual attendants upon public worship and the preaching of the gospel. The statistics of all abandoned missions are drawn, so far as possible, from the period of their best estate; those of existing missions, from the latest accessible reports — the number of converts, of course, being aggregates. In both sets of tables the missions still in existence are italicized.

In addition to the reports and publications of the various Societies and Boards referred to and to communications from their Secretaries — to whom, in a majority of cases, the statistics and data have been forwarded for verification — the following have been the principal of the works consulted (the precise reference to which has, in the case of the earlier missions, been given in a note, when the fact quoted might easily escape the search of an investigator):

Smith and Choules' History of Missions: Boston, 1832.
Fessenden's Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge: Brattleboro', 1835.
Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions: New York, 1854.
Allen's American Biographical Dictionary: 3d edition, Boston, 1857.
(To the author of which acknowledgments should be made for valuable manuscript information.)
Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus: Paris, 1844.
Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Lyons, 1819.
Shea's History of Catholic Missions: New York, 1855.
De Smet's History of Oregon Missions: New York, 1847.
Relation de la Nouvelle France, 6 Nos.: Paris, 1647–1667.
Mather's Magnalia: Hartford, 1820.
Mather's Life of Eliot: Boston, 1691.
Mayhew's Indian Converts: London, 1727.
Anderson's History of the Colonial Church: London, 1845.
Styles' Life of Brainerd: Boston, 1812.
Wheelock's Narrative of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut: Boston, 1763.
Wheelock's Continuations of the same: Boston, 1765 and 1771.
Wheelock's Continuations of the same, and at Hanover, New Hampshire: Boston, 1773–1775.
Brief Narrative of Wheelock's Indian Charity School: London, 1766.
Lothrop's Life of Kirkland,—Sparks' American Biography: Boston, 1847
Loskiel's History of Missions of the United Brethren: London, 1794.
North American Indians and Friends: London, 1844.
Bowden's History of Friends in America: London, 1850.
Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians: Cincinnati, 1855.
Proceedings of Joint Committee of Friends, relative to the Seneca Nation: Baltimore, 1847.
Lowrie's Manual of Missions of the Presbyterian Church: New York, 1855.
Strickland's History of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church: Cincinnati, 1854.

NOTES TO CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, No. I.

[1] Of the permanent missions to the North American Indians, those of the Spanish Franciscans were the earliest. Next, were those of the French missionaries in New France, of whom the greater part and the most distinguished were Jesuits, though some were Recollects (or Reformed Franciscans) and a few, Capuchins. Between the systems pursued by the Spanish and French priests there were marked differences. While the missions of the former were independent of, and separated by vast extents of territory from each other, those of the latter grew the one out of the other, as, from its first footing upon the soil of Acadia, one steady conquest spread slowly over the whole empire of the North and West. While the former sought jointly to evangelize, to civilize, and to subjugate, its pioneers being composed of Spanish soldiers and artizans, together with the priests and, when practicable, Christian Indians; the latter identified its laborers with the tribes to whom they were sent, if by any means they might win some. Of the latter, should ever be preserved and honored the names of Brebeuf, Jogues, Lallemand, Allouez, Marquette, Gravier, Marest and Rasle. During the colonial period Quebec was, under authority from Rome, the base of all the missionary operations of the Jesuits save those of Louisiana. These latter depended upon a Superior at New Orleans.

[2] The Abenaquis migrations of 1703 and 1724 were from Maine to Canada East.

[3] The Western Hurons migrated in 1702 from Upper to Lower Michigan; in 1751 to Ohio.

[4] The Ottawas of Lake Superior migrated in 1671 to Mackinaw.

[5] This mission of the English Roman Catholics to the Potomac Indians owed its existence to the exertions of Lord Baltimore.

[6] The missions more or less fostered in their early days by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England had their several bases entirely within that territory, and were established rather by individuals than by the Society, of which the former were rather beneficiaries in part than appointees.

[7] The remarkable mission to the Indians of Martha's Vinyard and Nantucket was, during a period of 160 years, handed down from the son, through the father and grandson, to the fifth generation inclusive from Thomas Mayhew, sr., first Governor of the former island. Of the many Christian Indians who assisted the Mayhews in the ministry, the name of Hiacoomes at least should be remembered.

[8] The labors of the "apostolic Eliot" were chiefly bestowed upon the Natick Indians of Massachusetts Colony—the gospel having been first preached to them where the town of Newton now stands. Of this tribe few, if any, remain at the present day.

[9] Plymouth Colony was the field of these devoted missionaries—to whom should be added some mention of the Rev. Mr. Fitch, who, about this time, first preached the gospel to the Mohicans of Connecticut.

[10] The mission to the Hoosatunnuk or Stockbridge Indians as they are now generally called, has not been abandoned; but after the removal of Edwards was continued by the descendants of their first missionary, Sergeant, in New Stockbridge, N. Y. until about 1828, when the tribe emigrated to the neighborhood of Lake Winnebago, in Wisconsin. Here, until 1848, they received attention from the American Board. They are now under the care of the Methodists.

[11] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has, both in the last century and in late years, paid more attention to English colonists than to native missions; and what *has* been done for the Indians under its auspices, has rarely been distinguished in the reports of the Society from the results of colonial missions. Still there has been something attempted. Indian wars alone cut short a mission to the Yemassees of South Carolina, which was appointed in 1702; an Indian school, containing at one time seventy-three scholars, was established from 1710–1718, in Virginia; and a systematic effort was made by a succession of missionaries from 1704 to the War of the Revolution, to evangelize the Mohawks, to which tribe the attention of this Society is now directed in Canada West.

[12] The Hon. Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, like the last mentioned but one, did more, through its Commissioners in the colonies, to *aid*, than to *establish* missions to the Indians.

[13] The brief labors of Brainerd, first at Kaunaumeek near Albany, and then in New Jersey and Pennsylvania near the Forks of the Delaware and on the Susquehanna, were full of result, though their history is barren of statistics. They were, after his death, continued by his brother, John Brainerd and by Wm. Tennent.

[14] The system of Dr. Wheelock was to educate Indian and white youths together, and to send them off in pairs, one of each, to establish schools and to preach among the tribes of New York and Pennsylvania. The school at Lebanon was, therefore a normal institution, rather than a mission in itself; and such "Moor's Charity School," as established in connection with Dartmouth College, was, and, in theory, still is. Among Dr. Wheelock's pupils at Lebanon were Dr. Samuel Kirkland and Samson Occum, the first Indian who ever preached in England. The celebrated Brant was also of the number.

[15] Dr. Kirkland was recognised as a missionary of the present society until the year 1797, from which time to his death he represented the Boston "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of North America," *q. v.*

[16] "The Church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravian, has been a missionary Church since 1732; the direction of its missionary operations being in the hands of Count Zinzendorf, until his death in 1760. The general directory of the Church, or Unity's Elders' Conference (Berthelsdorf, near Hernnhut, Saxony), is divided into several departments, of one of which, the Mission Department, the Provincial Elders' (Helpers') Conferences at Salem, N. C., and Bethlehem, Pa., act as agents for North America; the funds for these North American missions being provided principally by the 'Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,' Bethlehem, Pa., instituted 1787.

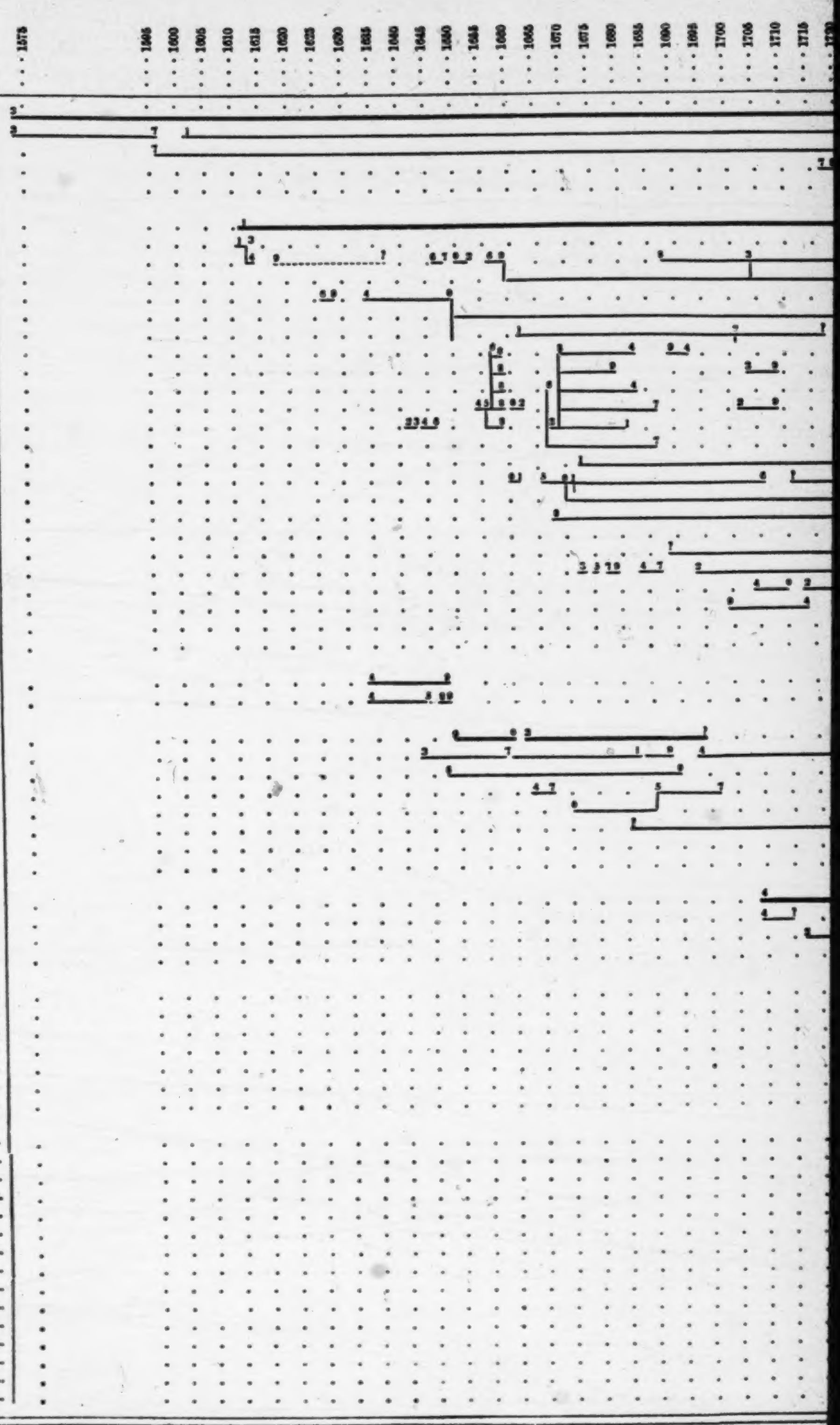
"The mission of this Church among the North American Indians has ever been a singularly migrating one (owing to the disturbances of wars, and to the encroachments of the whites), as will appear from the Chronological Table. The missionaries usually accompanied their migrating congregations."—*Communication from the Secretary.*

TABLE I.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, NO. I.

MISSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED DURING THE C

ORGANIZATION.	CENTRAL SEAT.	Date of Organization.	Date of Entry on Indian Missions.	LOCALITY OR TRIBE.
SPANISH FRANCISCANS[1]			1573	
Florida Mission				Apalaches, Yemassees, Seminoles, &c.
New Mexico Mission				*Pueblos, &c.*
Texan Mission				The Texas and Nacogloches
Californian Mission				Yumas and other Tribes
FRENCH JESUITS[2]	ROME		1611	
				To the Micmacs
Abenaquis Mission				*Abenaquis in Maine*[3]
				“ “ *Canada East*
				Hurons in Canada West
Huron (or Wyandot) Mission				“ in *Canada East*
				“ in Michigan and Ohio[3]
				Oneidas in New York
				Senecas “ “
				Cayugas “ “
Iroquois Mission				Onondagas in “
				Mohawks in “
				Cayugas in Canada West
				Iroquois in Canada East
				Ottawas on Lake Superior, and at Mackinaw[4]
Ottawa Mission				*Menomonees and Winnebagoes in Wisconsin*
				Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie
				Ottawas on Eastern Shore of Lake Michigan
				Miamis and Pottawattomies on St. Jos. River
Illinois Mission				Kaskaskias and Peorias in Illinois
				Cahokias and Tamaroas in “
Louisiana Mission				Yazoos, Choctaws, &c., in the Gulf States
				The Tribes of Missouri, Kansas, and Indian Ter.
Oregon Mission				*To the Flatheads and Ponderas*
ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS IN MARYLAND[5]	BALTIMORE		1634	
				Piscataways and Patuxents
SOC. FOR PROPAGATING GOSPEL IN N. ENGLAND[6]	LONDON	1649	1649	
The Mayhew Family[7]				Nantucket Indians of Martha's Vinyard
John Eliot[8]				Natick Indians of Massachusetts Colony
John Cotton[9]				Martha's Vinyard and Plymouth Colony
Richard Bourne[9]				Plymouth Colony
Samuel Treat[9]				“ “
John Sergeant[10]				Hoosatunnuk or Stockbridge Indians
Jonathan Edwards[10]				“ “ “
SOC. FOR PROPAGATION OF GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.[11]	LONDON	1701	1704	
				Iroquois generally in New York
				Mohawks in New York
				Iroquois and Ojibwas in Canada West
HON. SOC. IN SCOTLAND FOR PROP. CHR. KNOWLEDGE.[12]	EDINBURGH.	1710	1730	
David Brainerd[13]				Kaunaumeek, New York
“ “				Delawares of Pennsylvania and New Jersey
Eleazer Wheelock[14]				Mohicans at Lebanon, Connecticut
“ “				At Hanover, New Hampshire
Samuel Kirkland[14]				Senecas in New York
“ “				Oneidas “ “
UNITED (MORAVIAN) BRETHREN[15]	SAVANNAH, GA.	1735	1735	
	BETHLEHEM, PA.	1740	1740	
				Cherokees, Creeks, &c., in Georgia
				Mohicans and Wampanoags in N. York and Conn.
				“ Delawares, &c., East Pennsylvania
				Delawares, Iroquois, &c., West Pennsylvania
				“ &c., Muskingum Valley
				“ Sandusky River, Ohio
				“ Huron River, Michigan
				“ South Shore of Lake Erie
				“ *in Canada West*
				“ on White River, Indiana
				“ *in Kansas*
				Cherokees in Georgia
				“ *in West Arkansas*



(*To face Page 734.*)

TABLE I.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, NO. I.

OF ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED DURING THE COLONIAL ERA.

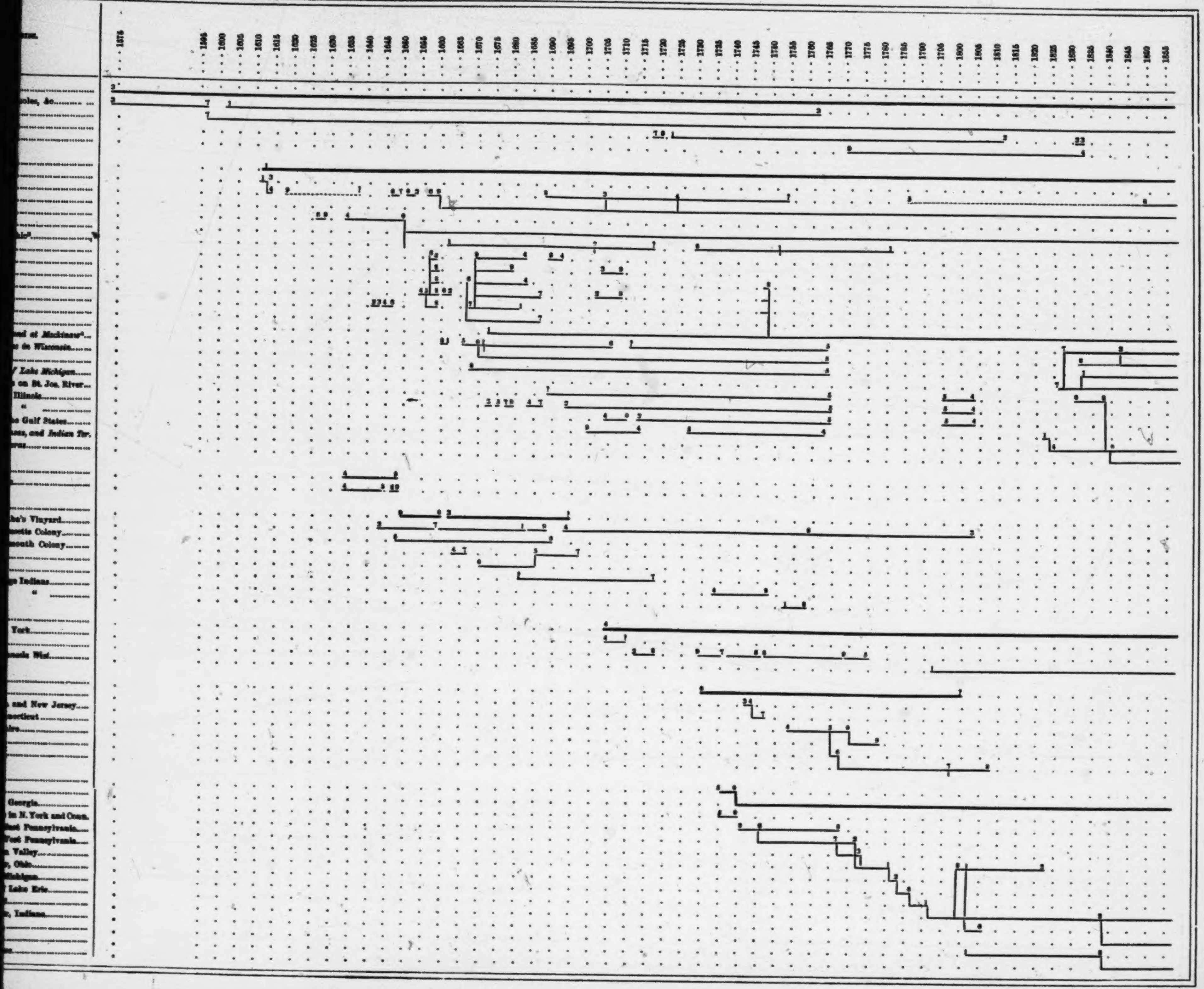
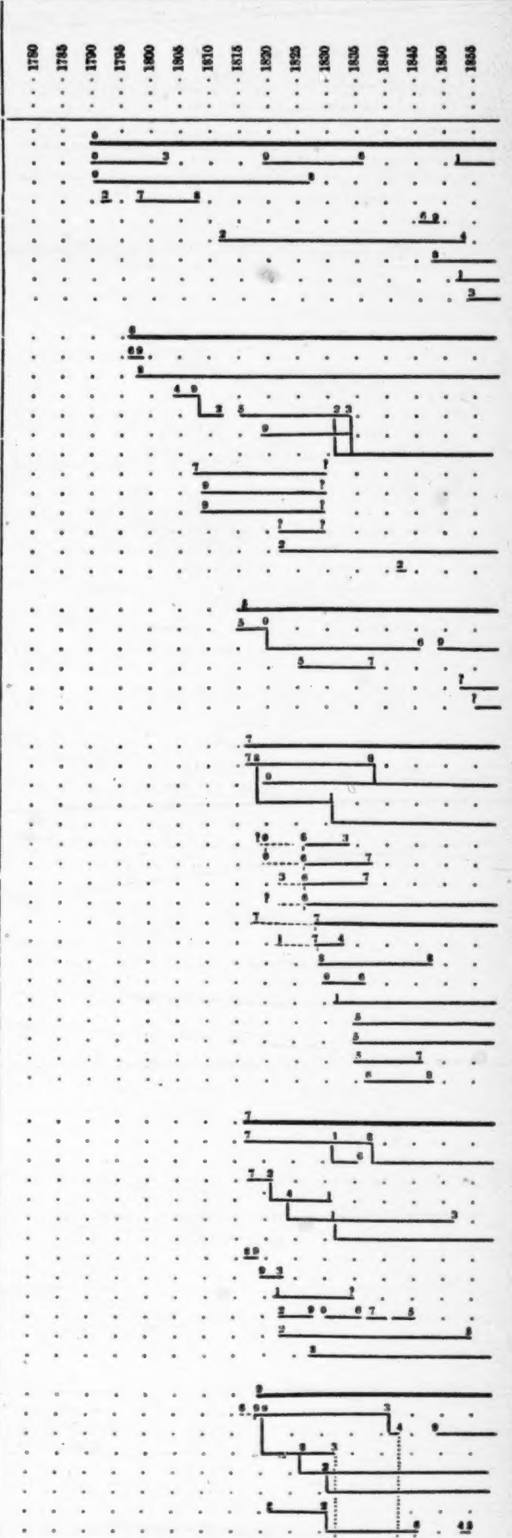


TABLE II.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, NO. II.

MISSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED DURING THE NATIONAL ERA.

ORGANIZATION.	CENTRAL SEAT.	Date of Organization.	Date of Entry on Indian Missions.	LOCALITY OR TRIBE.
SOC. FOR PROP. GOSPEL AMONG INDIANS OF N. AMERICA.	BOSTON	1787	1790	
Z. Mayhew, Bayleis, &c.		......	......	*At Martha's Vineyard*
The Sergeants		......	......	Stockbridge Indians, Massachusetts and N.York.
Principally Samuel Kirkland		......	......	Oneidas in New York
Eleazer Williams		......	......	" in Wisconsin
Phineas Fish		......	......	At Marshpee, Massachusetts
		......	......	*Onondagas in New York*
		......	......	*St. Regis, in North-eastern New York*
		......	......	*Caughnawagas in Canada East*
THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS		......	1796	
Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia	PHILADELPHIA	......	1796	Oneidas in New York
				Senecas in New York
Yearly Meeting of Baltimore	BALTIMORE	......	1804	Wyandots and Delawares in Indiana
Yearly Meetings of Baltimore, Ohio and Indiana	BALTIMORE	......	1809	Shawnees in Ohio
				Lewiston Indians
				Shawnees in Kansas
Yearly Meeting of New York	NEW YORK	......	1807	Brotherton Indians in New York
				Stockbridge Indians in New York
				Oneidas in New York
				Onondagas in "
Yearly Meeting of New England	PROVIDENCE	......	1822	*Penobscots in Maine*
				Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF U. S.		......	1815	
Diocese of New York		......	......	Oneidas
North-west Diocese		......	......	*Oneidas at Duck Creek, Wisconsin*
		......	......	Menomonees at Green Bay, Wisconsin
		......	......	*Ojibwas in Minnesota*
Diocese of Michigan		......	......	
AMER. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOR. MISSIONS.	BOSTON	1810	1817	
		......	......	Cherokees in Tenn., Georgia and Alabama
		......	......	*Cherokees in Indian Territory*
		......	......	Choctaws in Mississippi
		......	......	*Choctaws in Indian Territory*
		......	......	Ottawas in Ohio
		......	......	Osages in Arkansas and Missouri
		......	......	Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie
		......	......	*Iroquois in Western N. York.* *Senecas*
		......	......	*Tuscaroras.*
		......	......	Chickasaws in Mississippi
		......	......	Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin
		......	......	Creeks in Indian Territory
		......	......	*Ojibwas on Lake Superior*
		......	......	*Dakotahs in Minnesota*
		......	......	*Abenaquis in Canada East*
		......	......	Pawnees in Nebraska
		......	......	Oregon Tribes
AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION	BOSTON	1814	1817	
		......	......	Cherokees in North Carolina
		......	......	*Cherokees in Indian Territory*
		......	......	Pottawattomies in Indiana
		......	......	" in Michigan
		......	......	Ottawas in Michigan
		......	......	*Delawares and Ottawas in Kansas*
		......	......	Wyandots at Sandusky, Ohio
		......	......	Choctaws and Chickasaws
		......	......	Iroquois in New York
		......	......	Creeks in Georgia
		......	......	Shawnees
		......	......	*Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie*
MISSIONARY SOC. OF THE METH. EPIS. CHURCH	NEW YORK	1819	1819	
		......	......	Wyandots in Ohio
		......	......	*Wyandots in Kansas*
		......	......	Mohawks in Canada West
		......	......	*Oneidas, Onondagas and Senecas in N. York*
		......	......	*Oneidas in Wisconsin*
		......	......	Cherokees in Georgia
		......	......	Cherokees in Indian Territory



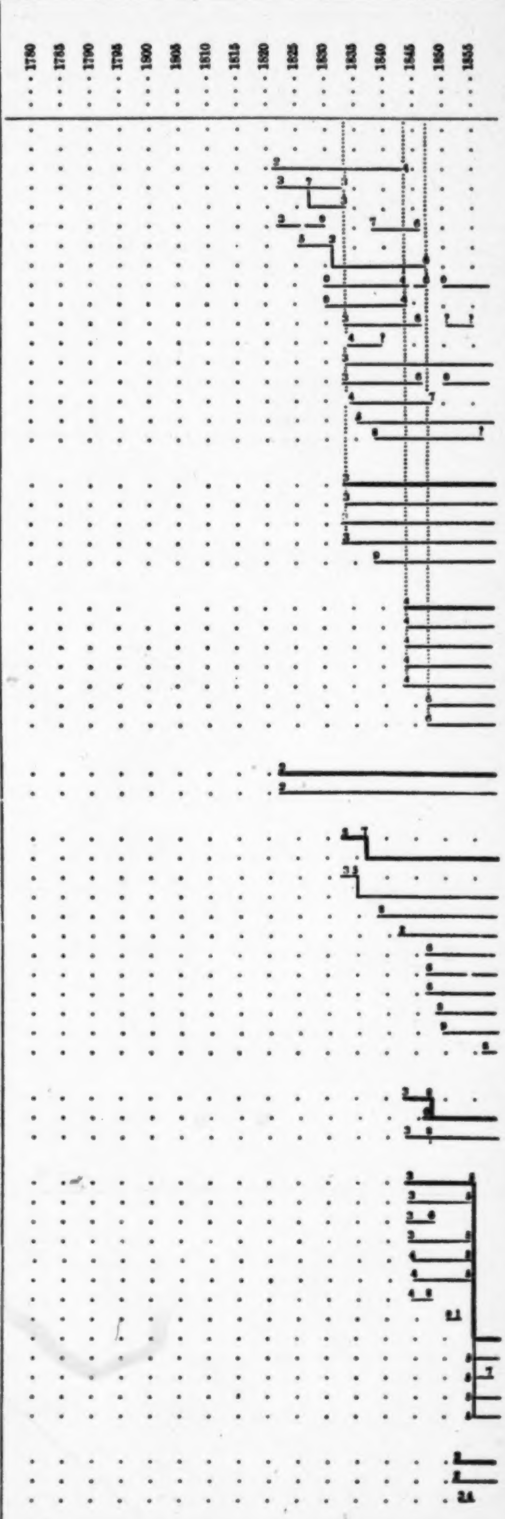
(*To follow Table I.*)

TABLE II. [CONTINUED.]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, NO. II.

MISSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED DURING THE NATIONAL ERA.

ORGANIZATION.	Central Seat.	Date of Organization.	Date of Entry on Indian Missions.	Locality or Tribe.
Missionary Soc. Meth. Epis. Church (*Continued*)...				
				Creeks in Alabama and Georgia
				Mississaugas on R. Credit, Canada West
				Ojibwas in Canada West
				Pottawattomies
				Choctaws in Mississippi
				Choctaws in Indian Territory
				Shawnees in Kansas
				Iroquois and Kickapoos
				Peorias
				Hurons on Detroit River
				Ottawas in Michigan
				Delawares in Kansas
				Flatheads in Oregon
				Dakotahs, &c., on Grand Traverse Bay
				Brotherton Indians on Lake Winnebago
Wesleyan Missionary Society	London	1817	1838	
				Mohawks in Canada West
				Mississaugas on R. Credit, Canada West
				Ojibwas in Canada West
				Missions in Hudson Bay Co.'s Territory
Missionary Society Meth. Epis. Church South	Nashville	1844	1844	
				Wyandots in Kansas
				Creeks in Alabama and Georgia
				Shawnees and Kansas
				Kickapoos
				Cherokees in Indian Territory
				Choctaws in Indian Territory
Church Missionary Society	London	1800	1822	
				Hudson Bay Co's Territory
Western Foreign Missionary Society	Pittsburg		1833	
Board of For. Missions of Presbyterian Church.	New York	1837	1837	
				Weas
				Iowas and Sacs
				Ojibwas and Ottawas
				Creeks
				Choctaws
				Otoes
				Omahas
				Seminoles
				Chickasaws
				Kickapoos
Western Evangelical Missionary Society		1843	1843	
American Missionary Association	New York	1846	1848	
				Ojibwas in Minnesota
American Indian Missionary Association	Louisville	1842	1843	
				Pottawattomies
				Shawnees
				Weas, Piankashaws, &c.
				Choctaws
				Creeks
				Cherokees
				Miamies
Domestic Miss. Board South. Baptist Convention.	Marion, Ala.	1845	1855	
				Pottawattomies
				Weas, Piankashaws, &c.
				Choctaws
				Creeks
American Baptist Home Missionary Society	New York	1832	1852	
				Pueblos in New Mexico
				Ojibwas



(To follow Table II.)

TABLE III.

STATISTICAL DATA, No. I.

Missions of Organizations established during the Colonial Era.

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS.	Date of Origin.	Date of Close.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES. Clerical. White.	MISSIONARIES. Clerical. Native.	MISSIONARIES. Teachers. White. Male.	MISSIONARIES. Teachers. White. Female	MISSIONARIES. Teachers. Native.	MISSIONARIES. Total.	No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.
SPANISH FRANCISCANS —												
Florida Mission	1573[1]	1763	25	79	......	1	......	......	80	600+	......	......
New Mexican Mission	1597	......	11	11	......	......	......	......	11	8,000	......	8,000
Texan Mission	1717	1835	8	14	......	7	......	......	21	......	......	......
Californian Mission[2]	1769	1834	19	38	......	......	......	......	38	13,500	......	30,650
FRENCH MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, AND OTHERS —												
Abenaquis Mission—Micmacs in Nova Scotia	1611	1613	1	2	......	......	......	......	22	......	......	1,000
" " *Abenaquis in Maine*[3]	1613	......	5	22	......	......	......	......				
" " " *Canada East*[3]	1659	......	3	......	......	......	......	......				
Huron Mission—Hurons in Canada West[4]	1626	1650	15	30	......	......	......	......	30	100	......	......
" " " *in Canada East*	1650	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	......	......	......
" " In Michigan and Ohio[5]	1661	1781	6	8+	......	......	2	......	10+	400?	......	500
Iroquois Mission—Mohawks in New York	1642	1681	1	......	......	......	......	......	40	500+	[6]	......
" " Onondagas in "	1654	1700	1	......	......	......	......	......		501+		
" " Oneidas in "	1656	1694	1	......	......	......	......	......		64+		
" " Senecas in "	1656	1709	1	......	......	......	......	......		211+		
" " Cayugas in "	1656	1684	1	......	......	......	......	......		233+		
" " " Canada West[7]	1666	1687	1	8	......	......	......	......	8	......	......	......
" " *Iroquois in Canada East*[8]	1671	......	4	3	......	......	......	2	5	2,550	......	......
Ottawa Mission—*Ottawas on L. Sup. and Mackinaw*[9]	1650	......	19	17	......	8	2	......	27	......	......	6,000?
" " *Menomonees & Winnebagoes, Wis.*[10]	1670	......										
" " *Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie*	1668	......										
" " *Ottawas on L. Michigan, E. Shore*[11]	1827	......										
Illinois Mission—Miamis and Pottawattomies[12]	1688?	1765	1	7	......	......	......	......	33	about 200	......	2,000
" " Kaskaskias and Peorias[12]	1673	1765	2	19	......	......	......	......				
" " Cahokias and Tamaroas[13]	1704	1765	1	13	......	......	......	......				
Louisiana Mission—Yazoos, &c., in Gulf States[13]	1699	1764	9	17	......	......	......	......	17	......	......	......
" " *Tribes of Indian Territory, &c.*	1824	......	20	8	......	14	15	......	37	......	210	......
Oregon Mission—*Flatheads and Ponderas*[14]	1840	......	9	15	......	8	6	......	29	3,400	......	......
ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION —												
Piscataways and Patuxents[15]	1634	1649	6	5+	......	......	......	......	5+	150	......	......

NOTES.

[1] An attempt even earlier, 1566-70, was made by the Spanish Jesuits.

[2] In 1601, the Carmelites attempted a Mission here. The present, the Franciscan Mission, grew out of a Jesuit Mission in Lower California, established in 1642, though not formally recognized till 1679.

[3] Soon after removing from Nova Scotia to Maine, this Mission divided between the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians and the Abenaquis on the Kennebec: from these latter chiefly, by three partial migrations, the St. Francis Mission in Canada East arose.

[4] Occupying the peninsula between Lakes Huron and Erie, until almost destroyed by the Iroquois, a remnant colonized, under their Missionaries, near Quebec.

[5] Another remnant migrating from Mackinaw to Detroit, and thence to Sandusky, Ohio.

[6] Total adults baptized, 1668-78, 2221.

[7] This Mission was at Bay Quinté.

[8] This Mission, composed chiefly of Oneida and Mohawk emigrants, was at St. Francis Xavier des prés near Montreal, and at Caughnawaga.

[9] First established at La Pointe on Lake Superior; but migrated, in 1671, to Mackinaw and adjacent isles.

[10] Occupying the shores of Green Bay and Lake Winnebago, and penetrating to the interior of Wisconsin.

[11] Arbre Croche being the chief station; also on Grand River; and, till 1838, on St. Joseph's River.

[12] First visited by Marquette, in 1673, in his expedition for discovery and descent of the Mississippi.

[13] These tribes have all returned, of late years, to the care of the Jesuits in the Indian Territory.

[14] The Eastern portion from Missouri; the Western nearly simultaneously from Canada.

N. B. Of the above, the statistics of the existing Abenaquis, Huron and Iroquois Missions, are drawn only from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; no modern returns having been procured. The Ottawa missions in these centuries engaged 30 missionaries: the statistics given are from the Metrop. Catholic Almanac, 1857.

[15] Father White. Baltimore became, in late years, a centre of Western Indian Missions.

TABLE III. [CONTINUED]

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS.	Date of Origin.	Date of Close.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES.						No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.
				Clerical.		Teachers.			Total.			
				White.	Native.	White. Male.	White. Female	Native.				
Soc. for Propagating Gospel in New England—												
Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket:												
Thomas Mayhew, Jr	1643	1657	2	1	1[1]	......	......	2[1]	4	282[3]	30[3]	....
Thomas Mayhew, Sr	1657	1681	3	2[4]	5[1]	......	......	2[1]	9	1500[2]	....	3000[2]
John Mayhew	1681	1689	......	1	4[1]	......	......	2[1]	7	....	....	....
Experience Mayhew	1694	1758	6[5]	1	8[1]	......	......	1[1]	10	....	....	....
Zechariah Mayhew	1758	1803[9]	......	1	......	2[10]	......	1	4	....	....	....
Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies:												
John Eliot	1646	1690	14[11]	4[12]	......	......	......	......	4	....	....	....
John Cotton	1664	1697	13[13]	3[13]	13[13]	......	......	......	17	....	....	500[14]
Richard Bourne	1670	1685										
Samuel Treat	1680?	1717?[16]	4[15]	1	......	4[15]	......	4[16]	9	....	....	505[16]
Housatunnuk Indians at Stockbridge:												
John Sergeant	1734	1749	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	42+	....	129
Jonathan Edwards	1751	1758	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
Soc. for Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts—												
General Iroquois Mission	1704	1710?	......	2	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
Mohawk Mission in New York	1712	1775	......	5	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
Ojibwas and Mohawks of Canada West	1791	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	179[17]	....	1080[17]
Hon. Soc. in Scotland for Prop. Chr. Knowledge—												
D. Brainerd, at Kaunaumeek	1743	1744	1	1	......	......	......	1	2	....	....	....
" Delaware Forks	1744	1747	3	1	......	......	......	2	3	50[18]	45[19]	40-95[19]
E. Wheelock, at Lebanon, Connecticut[20]	1754	1770	1-6[20]	1-3[20]	1-1	......	......	-8[21]+	2-12[21]	....	26[22]-100[23]	....
" Hanover, New Hampshire	1770	1779	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
Samuel Kirkland; Senecas in New York	1765	1766	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
" Oneidas "	1766	1808	......	1	......	......	1	......	......	....	....	....
United (Moravian) Brethren—			[24]	[24]	[25]						[26]	
Cherokees, Creeks, &c., in Georgia	1735	1740	2	5	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
Mohicans and Wampanoags in N. York and Conn.	1740	1768	4	24	6	......	6	......	......	298	....	....
" " Delawares, East Pennsylvania	1746	1772	8	22	13	......	......	......	......	....	....	500
Delawares and Iroquois, West Pennsylvania	1767	1773	4	8	3	......	......	......	......	.........[27]	....	....
" &c., Muskingum Valley	1772	1823	7	29	9	......	......	......	......	98	....	....
" Sandusky River, Ohio	1781	1782	1	11	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
" Huron River, Michigan	1782	1786	2	10	2	......	......	......	......	....	....	....
" South Shore of Lake Erie	1786	1791	2	9	2	......	......	......	......	....	....	200
" *in Canada West*	1791	......	1	27	......	......	1	......	......	179	....	218
" on White River, Indiana	1801	1806	1	5	1	......	......	......	......	23	....	....
" *in Kansas*	1838	......	1	4	5	......	1	......	......	....	....	....
Cherokees in Georgia	1801	1838	2	12	......	......	......	......	......	45	15	114
" *in West Arkansas*	1838	......	2	7	......	......	2	......	......	....	....	....

NOTES.

[1] Generally more: these are minimum statements, collated from Mayhew's Indian Converts.
[2] Number in 1652; in 1657, "many hundred."—Indian Converts, pp. 290. 291.
[3] Indian Converts, p. 289.
[4] Including assistance of John Cotton from 1664-7. Ind. Con., p. 299.
[5] Four in Martha's Vineyard, and one (John Gibs) in Nantucket. Life of Eliot, p. 110
[6] In 1676. Life of Eliot, p. 112. [7] Indian Converts, p. 290.
[8] Encyclopædia Religious Knowledge, p. 788
[9] According to Smith & Choules, I., p. 29. Some authorities give 1806.
[10] Report of Boston Society for Prop. Gospel in N. America, p. 10.
[11] Smith & Choules, I., p. 28. [12] Life of Eliot, p. 113.
[13] Life of Eliot, p. 90. [14] Mather's Magnalia, II., p. 382.
[15] Allen's Biog. Dict. [16] 1693. Mather's Mag., II., p. 380.
N. B.—Increase Mather, Boston, 1687, gives as total for "N. England" 24 Indian preachers. Life of Eliot, p. 92.
Cotton Mather, Boston, 1698, gives as total for "this province" 30 Indian assemblies, and over 3000 converts. Indian Conv., p. 306.
About the same time, Rev. Mr. Fitch conducted a most interesting Mission among the Mohicans of Connecticut Colony.

[17] These are the statistics of the two Missions of Grand River and Walpole's Island (the former under date of 1854, the latter of 1856), the only instances where Indian statistics can be eliminated from those of white colonists, and the only Missions distinguished in the reports as purely Indian. See note to Chronological Chart.

[18] Loskiel's Hist. Moravian Missions, p. 114.
[19] Life of Brainerd, pp. 86, 151, 191.
[20] The two sets of figures refer, the first, to Lebanon itself; and the second, to the distant stations.
[21] Brief Narrative, &c., p. 4.
[22] Continuation, 2d, &c., p. 8.
[23] Idem., pp. 12, 13, 15, 25.

These statistics were verified, and, to a great extent, prepared by the Secretary from the records of the Society.
[24] The numbers under these heads indicate the aggregate numbers engaged during the continuance of the several Missions.
[25] The number of native assistants cannot always be ascertained: the practice was *always* to have such.
[26] The clerical Missionaries usually added to their clerical labors the conduct of schools.
[27] *Total* number of baptisms, to 1772, was 720.
The aggregate number of converts baptized, to the present time, probably exceeds 2500.
In 1856, the Mission field embraced, in Canada West, Kansas and the West of Arkansas, 4 stations, 9 missionaries, and 514 converts.

TABLE IV.

STATISTICAL DATA, No. II.

Missions of Organizations established during the National Era.

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS	Date of Origin.	Date of Close.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES.						No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.
				Clerical.		Teachers.			Total.			
						White.		Native.				
				White.	Native.	Male.	Female					
Soc. for Prop. Gospel among Indians of N. America[1]—												
Stockbridge Indians, N. York and Massachusetts.	1790	1828	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Oneidas in New York[2]	1792	1808	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" in Wisconsin[3]	1846	1849	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	12	......
At Marshpee, Massachusetts	1812	1854	2	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
At Martha's Vineyard, &c.	1790	......	3	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Onondagas in New York	1848	......	......	2	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
St. Regis Indians, in North-eastern New York	1851	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	25	23	75
Caughnawagas in Canada East	1853	......	3	1	4	......	......	......	5	......	......	......
The Society of Friends[4]—												
Philadelphia Mission to New York Oneidas	1796	1799	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Baltimore Mission to Wyandots and Delawares	1804	1809	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
New York Mission to Brotherton Indians	1807	?	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" " New York Oneidas	1809	?	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" " Stockbridge Indians	1809	?	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
" " Onondagas in New York	1822?	?	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Joint Mission to Shawnees in Ohio	1809	1833*	1	......	......	2	1	......	3	......	16	......
" Lewiston Indians	1819	1833*	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
New England Mission to Passamaquoddy Indians.	1842	1843	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Philadelphia Mission to New York Senecas	1798	......	2	......	......	1	1	......	2	......	30	......
New England Mission to the Penobscots	1822	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Joint Mission to Shawnees in Kansas	*1833	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	45[5]	......
Protestant Episcopal Church of the U. States[6]—												
The Oneidas in New York	1815	1820*	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Menomonees at Green Bay	1825	1839?	1	1	......	1	4	......	6	......	270	250
The Oneidas at Duck Creek, Wisconsin	*1820	......	1	1	......	?	?	......	?	85	80	700
The Ojibwas in Minnesota	185?	......	2	2	......	?	......	?	?	100+	......	......
——— *in Michigan*	185?	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......

NOTES.

[1] The Missionaries of this Society are of all denominations of Protestant Christians; and, until lately, it has paid more attention to Domestic, than to Indian Missions. It frequently assists those in a given field, as well as sends Missionaries to new; as in the case of the Sergeants at Stockbridge and of Z. Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard. The Society also educates Indian youths at Lawrence University, Wisconsin; Wesleyan Seminary, Albion, Michigan; and Twinsburg Seminary, Ohio.

[2] S. Kirkland, from his disconnection from the Scotch Society to his death.

[3] The Episcopal Mission during its disconnection from that Church.

Special Authorities.—Historical Report of 1855 and communication from the Secretary.

[4] These Missions are, to a large extent, educational and civilizational; much attention being given to elevating the character and sphere of woman. The three North-eastern Yearly Meetings have acted independently (save when they united to protect the Senecas from dispoliation of their land under Government treaty): the other three have united in maintaining the Shawnee Mission, the Yearly Meeting of Indiana being the executive.

[5] The number of scholars in 1843.

Special Authorities.— Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and communication from Clerk of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

[6] The Indian Missions of this Church are exclusively Diocesan; its General Missionary Board at New York having no supervision of them.

Special Authorities.— The Spirit of Missions, letters from Missionaries and information from the Secretary of the Board.

TABLE IV. [CONTINUED]

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS.	Date of Origin.	Date of Close.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES.						No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.
				Clerical.		Teachers.			Total.			
				White.	Native.	White.		Native.				
						Male.	Female					
Amer. Board of Commissioners for For. Missions[1] —												
Cherokees in Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama	1817	1838	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Choctaws in Mississippi	1818	1831	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Ottawas in Ohio[2]	1826	1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Osages in Arkansas and Missouri[2]	1826	1837	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie[2]	1826	1837	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Chickasaws in Mississippi[3]	1827	1834	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin[4]	1828	1848	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Creeks in Indian Territory	1830	1836	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Pawnees in Nebraska	1835	1847	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Oregon Tribes	1836	1848	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Cherokees in Indian Territory	1820	......	5	4	1	1	8	4	18	234	130	......
Iroquois in Western New York. { *Senecas*[2]	1826	......	4	3	1	1	6	3	14	196	347	......
Iroquois in Western New York. { *Tuscaroras*[2]	1827	......	2	1	......	......	3	......	4	124	10	......
Choctaws in Indian Territory	1831	......	10	7	4	3	19	1	34	1292	250	......
Ojibwas on Lake Superior	1831	......	1	1	......	......	2	1	4	25	60	......
Dakotahs in Minnesota	1835	......	2	2	......	......	4	1	7	46	54	......
Abenaquis in Canada East	1835	......	1	......	1	......	......	......	1	40	......	......
			25	18	7	5	42	10	82	1957	851	......
American Baptist Missionary Union[5] —												
Cherokees in North Carolina	1817	1838	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Pottawattomies in Indiana	1817	1822	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Wyandots at Sandusky	1818	1819	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Choctaws and Chickasaws	1819	1823	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Iroquois in New York	1821	1835	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Creeks in Georgia	1822	1846	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Shawnees	1822	1855	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Pottawattomies in Michigan	1822	1831	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Ottawas in Michigan	1824	1858	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
The Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie	1828	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	24	......	......
The Delawares and Ottawas in Kansas	1831	......	3	2	......	......	4	......	6	96	50	......
Cherokees in Indian Territory	1831	......	13	3	3	......	3	......	9	1450	80	......
			17	6	3	......	7	......	16	1570	130	......
Missionary Soc. of the Meth. Epis. Church[6] —												
Wyandots in Ohio	1819	1843	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Mohawks in Canada West[7]	1820	1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Cherokees in Georgia	1822	1832	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Creeks in Alabama and Georgia[8]	1822	1844	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Mississaugas in Canada West[7]	1823	1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Pottawattomies	1823	1840	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Choctaws in Mississippi	1825	1832	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
Ojibwas in Canada West[7]	1827	1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......

NOTES.

[1] Though this Board is not denominational, it is practically the organ of the Congregational and N. S. Presbyterian Churches and also, until this year (1857), of the Dutch Reformed.

[2] The Ottowa, Osage, Ojibwa (at Sault Ste. Marie) Seneca and Tuscarora Missions were, in 1826, transferred from the "United Foreign Missionary Society."

[3] The Chickasaw Mission was, in 1827, transferred from the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

[4] The Stockbridge Mission was, probably, handed down unbroken, through the Boston S. P. G. I. N. A., from Sergeant, Edwards and their successors. They have no Mission now.

Special Authorities.—The statistics of the Missionary corps are taken from the report of 1857; the columns of converts and scholars chiefly from a late communication from the Secretary

[5] The organ of the Baptist Churches of the Northern States for *foreign* Missions, to which class those to the Indians were generally regarded as belonging; though, of late years, while this Society retains those already organized, new Missions to the Indians have been opened by the Home Missionary Society—q. v.

Special Authorities.—The report for 1857 and a communication from the Secretary.

[6] Until 1844, the organ of the whole Methodist Church of the United States; at which time a division took place between the Churches of the Northern and Southern States and since which it has continued the organ only of the former.

[7] Strictly speaking, these three Missions were in the care of the Canadian Conference from 1828 to 1833, when they were transferred to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as shown more clearly on the Chronological Chart.

[8] See Note on next page.

TABLE IV. [CONTINUED.]

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS.	Date of Origin.	Date of Close.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES. Clerical. White.	Clerical. Native.	Teachers. White. Male.	Teachers. White. Female	Teachers. Native.	Total.	No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.	NOTES.
MISSIONARY SOC. METH. EPIS. CHURCH (*Continued*) —													
Iroquois and Kickapoos[1]	1830	1844**	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	[1] Of the six Missions (which, on the division, fell within the bounds of the Methodist Church South), those to the Creeks, the Kickapoos and the Wyandots were transferred in 1844; those to the Choctaws and the Cherokees, in 1846; and that to the Shawnees and Kansas, partly in 1844 and partly in 1846. Subsequently, new Missions to the Wyandots, the Shawnees and the Cherokees were organized by the present Society. See the Chronological Chart. The statistics are chiefly from the report for 1857; from which, as they are summed up by Conferences, it is almost impossible to eliminate the statistics of the several tribes. The dates here furnished are, it is believed, correct; but inconsistencies between the general and the annual reports of the Society create some uncertainty.
Cherokees in Indian Territory[1]	‡1832 1854	1846 1855	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Choctaws in Indian Territory[1]	°1832	1846??	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Peorias	1833	1855?	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Hurons on Detroit River	1834	1840?	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Flatheads in Oregon	1834	1847	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Brotherton Indians on Lake Winnebago	1838	1852?	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Oneidas, Onondagas and Senecas in New York	1828	......	3	2	4	2	1	1	10	102	149	....	
Shawnees in Kansas[1]	1830 1850	(1846?)	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Oneidas at Green Bay, Wisconsin	1832	......	1	2	......	......	......	......	?	198	....	....	
Ottawas in Michigan	1833	......	......	2	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Delawares in Kansas	1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	13	....	....	
Dakotahs, &c., on Grand Traverse Bay	1835	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Wyandots in Kansas[1]	*1843 1849	(1844?)	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	104	....	....	
			......	20	......	......	......	......	......	1316	....	....	
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY —													
Hudson Bay Co.'s Territory[2]	1822	......	13	11	3	2	1	15	32	604	641	508	[2] The various stations of this Mission are along Red River between Lakes Winnepeg and Minnesota, and on Moose Lake. *Special Authority.*—Report of 1856.
WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY —													
Mohawks in Canada West[3]	†1833	......											[3] For the origin of these three Missions, see Miss. Society Methodist Epis. Church.
Mississaugas on R. Credit, Canada West[3]	‖1833	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	44	1983	....	6020	
Ojibwas in Canada West[3]	‡‡1833	......											
Mission in Hudson Bay Co.'s Territory[4]	1833	......	4	2	......	4	......	......	6	120	74	300	[4] The labors of this Mission extend over the territory between Hudson's Bay, Lake Superior and Lake Winnepeg, and even further to the North-west. The statistics are, through Newcomb's Cyclopædia, from report of 1853. [In addition to the above, the Canadian Conference reports, this year (1857), 1374 Indian members of its communion.]
			......	......	......	......	......	......	50	2003	74	6320	
WESTERN FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY —													
Weas	1833	1835	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
Iowas and Sacs	1835	1837*	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH[5] —													
Iowas and Sacs	*1837	......	1	1	......	1	4	......	6	25	45	350	[5] The Western Foreign Missionary Society was the germ of this Board, which is the organ of the Presbyterian Church (O. S.). Statistics and data from report of 1857 and communications from Secretary
Ojibwas and Ottawas	1838	......	3	2	......	3	9	......	14	86	110	375	
Creeks	1842	......	2	2	1	1	6	1	11	67	88	600	
Choctaws	1846	......	3	4	......	4	9	1	18	125	152	800	
Otoes	1846	......	1	1	......	1	3	4	9	4	30	250	
Omahas	1846	......	1	1	......	1	6	4	12	4	50	600	
Seminoles	1848	......	1	1	......	1	3	......	5	43	26	400	
Chickasaws	1849	......	2	1	......	2	8	......	11	32	96	500	
Kickapoos	1856	......	1	1	......	2	2	1	6	....	40	200	
			15	14	1	16	50	11	92	386	637	4075	

TABLE IV. [CONTINUED.]

ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSIONS.	Date of Organ.	Date of Clos.	No. of Stations.	MISSIONARIES.						No. of Converts.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Hearers.	NOTES.
				Clerical.		Teachers.							
						White.			Total.				
				White.	Native.	Male.	Female	Native.					
WESTERN EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY[1] —													
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION[2] —													
Ojibwas in Minnesota	1843	......	4	2	......	5	8	......	15	12	30	....	[1] The first of these Societies, established in 1843, was one of four which were united as the American Missionary Society; which latter is the organ of Churches conducting Missions on the basis of opposition to slavery. Report of 1857.
AMERICAN INDIAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION[3] —													
Pottawattomies	1843	1855*	3	3	......	2	3	......	8	....	62	....	[3] The organ of the Baptist Churches of the South-west: in 1855, merged into the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, to which all its then existing Missions were transferred.
Shawnees	1843	1846	3	1	1	......	......	......	2	28	....	....	
Weas, Piankashaws, &c.	1843	1855†	5	2	1	......	3	......	6	....	38	....	
Choctaws	1844	1855‡	14	4	3	......	4	......	10	220	68	....	[4] Although the Mission to the Weas, Piankashaws, &c., has this year been abandoned, its statistics are embraced in the total for 1857.
Creeks	1844	1855§	22	2	6	......	......	......	8	295	32	....	
Cherokees	1844	1848	3	1	......	......	3	......	4	38	....	....	
Miamies	1850	1851	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	
DOMESTIC MISS. BOARD SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION—													*Special Authorities*.—Report of 1857; and a table prepared by the Secretary from the records of the two societies.
Weas, Piankashaws, &c[4]	†1855	1857	2	1	......	2	......	......	3	....	....	....	
Pottawattomies	*1855	......	1	1	......	1	1	......	3	....	41	....	
Choctaws	‡1855	......	11	2	6	......	......	2	10	....	63	....	
Creeks	‖1855	......	15	2	13	......	......	......	15	....	....	....	
			29	6	19	3	1	2	31	2424	104	....	
MISSIONARY SOCIETY METH. EPIS. CHURCH SOUTH[5] —													
Wyandots in Kansas	¶1844	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	70	25	....	[5] This Society resulted from the division of the Methodist Church in 1844, from which all its Missions were transferred in 1844 and 1846.
Creeks in Alabama and Georgia	§1844	......	6	6	12	......	3	......	21	766	121	....	The statistics are chiefly from the report of 1857 (though the columns of stations, converts and scholars are the same as in that of 1856, while the report shows numerous changes and increases): those of the native and female assistants, which are deduced from the reports of 1855–6–7, are as complete as can be obtained. It is not thought that the totals are reliable.
Shawnees, Kansas and Delawares	⊕1844	......	4	3	......	......	......	......	3	122	300	....	
Kickapoos	**1844	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	48	80	....	
Cherokees in Indian Territory	∴1846	......	8	5	6	......	......	4	15	1359	285	....	
Choctaws in Indian Territory	††1846	......	10	10	10	......	5	......	25	1206	550	....	
Echota Mission	?	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	158	100	....	
			31	27	28	......	8	4	67	2729	1461	....	
AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY[6] —													
Ojibwas	1853	1854	1	......	1	1	......	......	2	....	8	....	[6] The organ of the Baptist Churches of the Northern States for Home Missions, to which class those to the Indians, though formerly conducted as foreign Missions by the Missionary Union (q. v.), are now regarded as belonging.
Pueblos in New Mexico	1852	......	1	1	......	......	1	1	3	1	12	50	Statistics furnished by the Secretary.
			......	......	......	......	......	......	......	....	....	....	

TABLE V.

STATISTICS OF MORAVIAN, OR UNITED BRETHREN'S CHURCH, 1855.

Country.	Congregation.	Home Mission Churches.	Souls.
AMERICA	29	....	8,445
	....	12	1,292
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND	32	....	4,914
CONTINENT OF EUROPE— Germany, Denmark, Holland, and Russia	18	....	5,894
Totals	79	12	20,545

BOARDING-SCHOOLS.

Country.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
AMERICA	4	92	838
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND	14	45	350
CONTINENT	30	220	1200
Totals	48	357	2388

MISSIONS.

Country.	Stations.	Missionaries.	Converts.
GREENLAND	4	22	2,109
LABRADOR	4	31	1,302
INDIANS	4	12	392
ST. THOMAS (W. I.)	3	6	2,277
ST. CROIX, "	3	13	5,841
ST. JUAN, "	2	6	1,658
JAMAICA, "	13	34	12,794
ANTIGUA, "	7	24	8,227
ST. KITTS, "	4	8	3,152
BARBADOES, "	4	10	3,596
TOBAGO, "	2	6	2,127
CENTRAL AMERICA	1	6	53
SURINAM	8	56	20,567
S. AFRICA	8	54	6,937
AUSTRALIA	1	3	....
MONGOLIA	1	2	....
Totals	69	293	71,032
Add Home Congregations	....	....	20,545
Total members of Moravian Church	....	....	91,577

CHAPTER V.

STATISTICS OF HISTORY.

A Chronological Table of Events in the History of the North American Indians.

A. D. 387. According to Alva, the Toltecs reach Huehuetlalpallan, in Mexico.

498. They found Tula.

510. They begin their monarchy.

870. The Fāroe Islands are known and visited about this time by the Northmen, and by the Celts from the coasts of Iceland and the British group.

875. The natives of Iceland discovered by Naddod, of Norway, who, in an attempt to reach the Fāroe Islands, is driven on the coast by storms.

953. The Toltec monarchy ends in Mexico.

963. The Chichemecs and Acolhuans, or Tezcocans, occupy the Valley of Mexico; and Xolotl, their first king, begins his reign.

983. Greenland is first settled by the Northmen, under Ingolf; having been seen by their bold navigators, and recognised, a century before.

986. Leif Erickson descries parts of the North American coast, being driven this year from off the Greenland coast towards the south; but he does not land.

1000. Scandinavian America is discovered by Lief, the son of Eric the Red, in a voyage from Greenland. He lands on some part along the coast, between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and reaches to about latitude 41° 30′ North. The country is named Vinland.

1002. The Esquimaux are about this time supposed to occupy the Vinland coasts. They are called Skroellings, or Dwarfs, but are described as fierce and courageous.

1120. Eric Upsi undertakes a Christian mission from Greenland to Vinland. Huitramannaland (Virginia,) is, at this period, reported to have a Celtic element of population.

1160. The Aztecs leave Aztalan.

1200. Welch tradition affirms that a colony of Britons, led by Prince Madoc, sailed west to America.

1216. The Toltecs arrive in the Valley of Mexico.

1324. The foundation of the Indian city of Mexico, or Tenuchtitlan, is laid.

1375.	Acamapichtci elected king	1st King.
1396.	Huitzilihuitl succeeds	2d "
1417.	Chimalpopoca	3d "
1427.	Ytcoatl	4th "
1440.	Montezuma I.	5th "
1469.	Acayacatl	6th "
1482.	Tizoc	7th "
1486.	Ahuitzol	8th "

Between the rise of the Toltec and Aztec monarchies, and the discovery of America, the Missisippi valley is supposed to have been occupied by numerous active, warlike tribes, who carried on destructive wars against each other.

A.D. 1492. St. Domingo, or Hayti, the Caribs, and the Caribbean Islands, are discovered by Columbus (October 12th, O. S.), after having confidently predicted the existence of land in this quarter, from the study of the geography and hydrography of the globe.

1497. Cabot discovers the Algonquin families of the North American coast, from Lat. 56° to 36°, and thus lays the claim of England to the country. He landed at Newfoundland, named it, and had an interview with the Indians.

1500. Atotarho is supposed to rule the Iroquois at this period.

1502. Montezuma II. succeeds to the head of the Mexican Indian empire.

1512. Ponce de Leon lands in Florida, and bestows this name on all North America, north of the Gulf of Mexico.

1517. Cordova discovers Yucatan and the Yucatanese.

1518. Grizalba lands on the Mexican coasts.

About this period, Vasquez D'Allyon lands on the Atlantic coast of Chicora, now South Carolina, with the commission of Atalantado — traffics with the Chicora Indians, at the mouth of the Combahee river, who, in return for former treacheries in carrying off the natives to St. Domingo, massacre his crew, and he is driven, mortally wounded, on board his vessels.

1519. Mexico is invaded by Cortez, who defeats the natives in every encounter, and enters the city of Mexico, whence he is eventually expelled, after desperate fighting, and hastens back to the seacoast, where Narvaez is sent from Cuba with an army to arrest him.

1520. Cortez defeats Narvaez, founds Vera Cruz, and re-appears before the city of Mexico, which he enters by razing the buildings as he advances.

1520. Montezuma is killed by a dart, and the city falls.

1524. Verrazani visits the harbor of New York, and is visited by Algonquins.

1528. Pamphilio de Narvaez lands in Florida with an army, where he is fiercely resisted by the Appalachians, and suffers from want of provisions. He constructs boats at the mouth of the Apalachicola, and proceeds west along the Gulf coasts, whence he is driven to sea, and lost.

The mother of Hirrahagua is torn to pieces, in Florida, by Spanish bloodhounds.

1534. Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence, where he holds interviews with the Algonquins, and afterwards, on ascending the river, with the Wyandot, or Huron tribe of the Iroquois.

1535. Cartier discovers Hochelaga, or Montreal, and Canada.

1537. Caba de Vaca, who had escaped with three men from the wreck of the boats of Narvaez, after nine years' wanderings among the Indian tribes, reaches Compostella, on the Colorado coast.

1538. Ferdinand de Soto, who had distinguished himself in the wars of the conquest of Peru, lands, with a well-appointed army, in Florida. With extraordinary fortitude, he traverses the vast area which comprises the present States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, being opposed, with courage, by the Choctaws and their confederates, who attack, and well nigh defeat him, at Mauvilla.

1539. Tuscaloosa perishes in the conflagration of Mauvilla.

1540. Francesco Vasquez Coronado is placed by Mendoza in command of an army, for the discovery and conquest of the country since called New Mexico, by which our knowledge of the Indian tribes in that quarter is much extended.

De Soto discovers the Mississippi River, on its left banks, in the country of the Chickasaws, within the present boundaries of the State of Tennessee.

1541. De Soto dies at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and his body, entombed in a tree, is sunk in the Mississippi.

1542. The expedition of Coronado, and his compeers, returns, and abandons the country.

The expedition of De Soto terminates, having suffered by hardship, disease, and death; the commander himself having fallen a victim to his intrepidity; the survivors descend the Mississippi in boats, and reach Tampico.

1562. Ribault enters the St. John's River, in Florida; then sails to, and enters Port Royal, and builds Fort Charles, at or near Beaufort, South Carolina.

1564. Laudonniere visits the River St. John's, Florida, and erects Fort Caroline.

St. Augustine founded.

A.D. 1565. Admiral Coligny resumes the settlement of Florida by Protestants. Second voyage of Ribault; his capture by Melendez, under a false guise, and the treacherous massacre of Ribault and his men.

1567. Gourgues revenges the outrages perpetrated by Melendez.

1583. Indians are kidnapped on the New England coasts.

1584. Virginia is discovered, and named. The coast is occupied by Algonquin tribes, under the rule of Powhatan.

1607. The colony of Virginia is founded in the midst of the Powhatanic tribes.

1609. Hudson enters the Bay of New York, where he holds intercourse with the Mohican family of the Algonquins. He discovers it to be the receptacle of a large river, which he ascends to the boundaries of the Iroquois at Albany

1616. Pocahontas dies in England.

1618. Powhatan dies.

1620. English ships, freighted with emigrants fleeing from ecclesiastical tyranny, land in Massachusetts bay, and find the coasts occupied by Algonquin tribes, of the Mohican sub-type. They are under the rule of Massasoit.

1622. The Indians of Virginia, under Opechanganough, rise, by preconcert, against the colonists, and commit an appalling massacre.

1627. The Maine and New Hampshire coasts are visited, and found to be occupied by Algonquins.

1630. Tammany, or Tamenund, is supposed to rule the Lenno Lenapees, from the Delaware River to Manhattan Island.

1631. Maryland is colonized in the territorial dominions of the Susquehannocks and Nanticokes.

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